The J. Paul Getty Museum

JOURNAL Volume 12/1984

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JOURNAL Volume 12/1984

Including Acquisitions/1983

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Nine Fragments of Early Cycladic Sculpture in Southern California

Pat Getz-Preziosi

At various points during the recent past, and since Georgiou's initial publication of four works,[1] a number of fragments of Early Cycladic figurative sculpture have been donated to the antiquities collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum. These eight pieces, as well as another in a Southern California private collection, share a common background, having belonged to the huge group of objects, now largely dispersed, known as the Keros hoard.[2]

Elsewhere I have discussed in some detail the likelihood of this group's integrity and the probability that it was indeed unearthed on Keros, a small rocky, currently uninhabited island lying between Naxos and Amorgos.[3] A brief description of the hoard and a review of the reasons for believing its provenance to be Keros should be sufficient for our present purpose, which is to introduce the California fragments (only one of which has been previously published) along with some related material from the hoard.

The original assemblage, which came to light over twenty-five years ago, consisted of more than 350 pieces of sculpture. The great majority of these sculptures were fragmentary figures of the folded-arm type, ranging from the early Spedos through the Chalandriani varieties. There were also several complete schematic figurines of the Apeiranthos type contemporaneous with the folded-arm figures. The other objects included a few complete, and several fragmentary, marble and clay vases, as well as obsidian blades, an incised bone tube, and several stone and shell polishers. Like the figures, these belonged to the second (Keros-Syros) phase of the Early Cycladic culture, and in fact the material from the hoard seems nearly to span this period. In chronological terms this would cover roughly four hundred years, from about 2600 to about 2200 B.C. Among the folded-arm varieties, only the very earliest—the Kapsala—is perhaps missing, represented at most by an example or two.[4]

Several facts strongly suggest that the hoard was the fruit of unauthorized activity at the site on the southwest coast of Keros—opposite the islet of Daskaleio—where Doumas began systematic exploration in 1963. First, the type of the finds from the hoard, as well as their state of preservation, is virtually identical to that of the fragments discovered in the investigations of the Greek authorities. Moreover, the work of at least three well-known sculptors is present in both sets of material. Two of these—the Goulandris and Schuster Masters—are represented in the California group. The authorized excavators at the site opposite Daskaleio observed that clandestine activity had occurred there well before their own investigations began, and indeed I have been told by people from nearby islands that large quantities of sculpture, mostly fragmentary, had been collected and removed from the site many years ago.

All controlled excavations of Early Cycladic sites yielding stone objects have produced a greater number of vases than

Abbreviations

AC: *The Art of the Cyclades: An Exhibition of Sculpture and Artifacts of the Early Cycladic Period, 3000–2000 B.C.*, ex. cat. (Sanfani Gallery, New York, 1983).

ACC: J. Thimme, gen. ed., *Art and Culture of the Cyclades in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Chicago, 1977).

Addenda: P. Getz-Preziosi, "Addenda to the Cycladic Exhibition in Karlsruhe," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1978, 1–11.

Antidoron: P. Getz-Preziosi, "The 'Keros Hoard': Introduction to an Early Cycladic Enigma," in *Antidoron Jürgen Thimme*, ed. D. Metzler and B. Otto (Karlsruhe, 1982), 37–44.

Cycladica: J. L. Fitton, ed., *Cycladica: Studies in Memory of N. P. Goulandris* (London, 1984).

Goulandris: C. Doumas, *Cycladic Art: Ancient Sculpture and Ceramics of the Aegean from the N. P. Goulandris Collection*, ex. cat. (National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1979).

Preziosi/Weinberg: P. G. Preziosi and S. S. Weinberg, "Evidence for Painted Details in Early Cycladic Sculpture," *Antike Kunst* 13 (1970), 4–12.

Sculptors: P. Getz-Preziosi, *Sculptors of the Cyclades: Individual and Tradition in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Ann Arbor, forthcoming).

1. H. Georgiou, "Cycladic Figurines in the J. Paul Getty Museum," *GettyMusJ* 5 (1977), 67–74.

2. See *Antidoron*. For individual pieces known to have come from the hoard published to date see n. 1 (N.B., J. L. Davis' article will appear in *Cycladica* under the title "A Cycladic Figurine in Chicago from the 'Keros Hoard' and the Non-funereal Use of Cycladic Marble Figures"). See also *AC*, nos. 6 (head and body belong to different figures), 7, 19. Additional pieces will be discussed and illustrated in *Sculptors*.

3. *Antidoron*, 37–39.

4. Whether or not one considers the Kapsala variety to be represented at all depends on the classification of *ACC*, nos. 261 and 262. I am no longer convinced that either one need be considered any earlier than the early Spedos variety. Cf. *Antidoron*, n. 11.

figures; therefore, the disparity in the ratio of vases to figures observable in the two groups of material under consideration is perhaps the single most significant factor linking them. Whereas the hoard contained pieces of figurative sculpture almost exclusively, the systematic excavations yielded a preponderance of marble vase fragments. That the hoard contained only a few vase fragments is easily understood in terms of market values. The looters were seeking salable items: complete objects and fragmentary figures. The removal of large numbers of the latter from the site would explain why *relatively* few were subsequently found in the sanctioned investigations, while hundreds, if not thousands, of vase fragments, as well as a number of heavy stone mortars and much pottery (including coarse ware), were collected.[5]

The original purpose of the hillside site opposite Daskaleio is by no means clear. The fact that with the possible exception of one vessel type all the marble objects recovered there are of the sort normally found only in graves would suggest that it was the site of a large cemetery.[6] From the ravaged appearance of the terrain, it would appear that such a graveyard may have been destroyed at a later date by a landslide. This would have had the effect of breaking up most, but not all, of the grave goods and scattering them. Those scattered on the surface would have attracted attention and prompted looting and perhaps even iconoclastic acts. Skeletal remains would have disintegrated for the most part, while the slabs conventionally used for the construction of individual tombs would have been salvaged as building materials or ballast by later inhabitants or visitors (pirates?) to the island.

Recently, at a colloquium on Cycladic sculpture, Renfrew put forward the attractive idea that the site may have served instead as a large open-air sanctuary. Among the scholars present at the colloquium, there was unanimous agreement on only one point: the urgent need for a complete systematic investigation of the site (both in geological and archaeological terms), as well as of the settlement site on Daskaleio Islet, before any reliable conclusions could be formulated.[7]

This is neither the time nor the place, therefore, to do more than mention the intriguing problems that are raised by the Keros finds, whether they are considered separately or in combination with the hoard. In addition to the problem of identifying the basic character of the site, there is also the difficulty of accounting for the presence of so many marble items on such a small, and for the most part, barren island, a locale apparently incapable of supporting a substantial population, let alone large numbers of craft specialists. While it is likely that some of the many marble objects found there were made by local craftsmen, possibly from imported stones, the existing evidence would tend to favor a non-Kerian origin for the majority of them; but this does not explain whether they were imported by the Kerians themselves or were acquired through trade or whether the site, whatever its purpose, served other islanders from the southeastern Cyclades in addition to the Kerians.[8]

Figure 1a. Head and part of the neck of an early Spedos variety figure (No. 1). Malibu. The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.316.1.

1. HEAD AND PART OF THE NECK OF AN EARLY SPEDOS VARIETY FIGURE
(figs. 1a–c)
White marble, preserved length: 7.1 cm. Breaks old. Face partly weathered; back of head heavily encrusted with calcium carbonate.
Accession number 83.AA.316.1

This classic lyre-shaped head with a well-placed and well-

5. Even today marble bowl and palette sherds litter the area, no doubt brought to the surface by further erosion of the hillside that has taken place since the clearing of the site by Zapheiropoulou in 1967.

6. See *Antidoron*, 39–40.

7. C. Renfrew, "Speculations on the Use of Early Cycladic Sculpture," *Cycladica*.

8. *Antidoron*, 41–43; *Sculptors*, ch. 7.

Figure 1b. Back of figure 1a.

Figure 1c. Left profile of figure 1a.

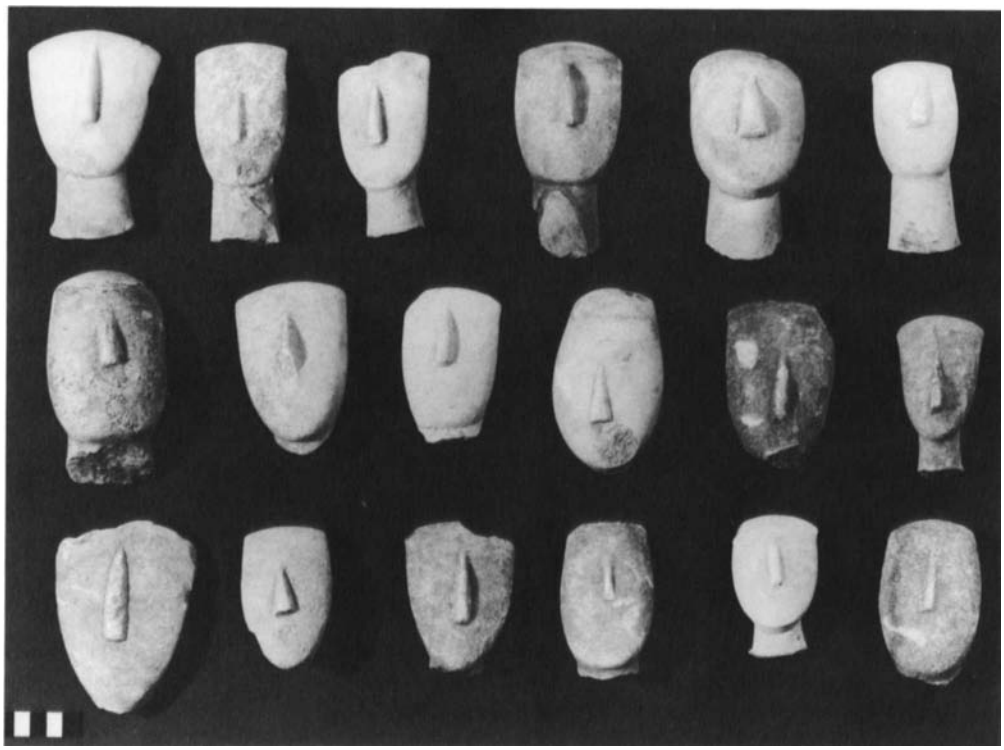


Figure 2. Eighteen heads from Spedos variety figures. Preserved lengths: 6.9–10.4 cm. Keros hoard. Private collection. Photo: Courtesy of the collector.

Figure 3a. Part of the head and neck of a late Spedos variety figure attributable to the Goulandris Master (No. 2). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.316.2.

Figure 3b. Left profile of figure 3a.

defined nose carved in relief belonged to a carefully worked and harmoniously conceived figure measuring about 36–40 cm. A lovely example of its type, the head was perhaps carved by the same sculptor who carved a figure with abundant remains of painted detail on its face and head that is in the Paul and Marianne Steiner collection (*AC*, no. 2).

Apart from very slight vestiges of what appears to be red paint on the left cheek and the right side of the back of the Getty head and its neck, evidence for painted details in the form of either actual pigment or paint ghosts is unclear.

Inasmuch as the neck was one of the most vulnerable parts of all types and varieties of Cycladic sculpture, it is not surprising that a great many heads survive separately. Among the fragments of the Keros hoard, there are a large number of heads, including, for example, the eighteen illustrated in figure 2 and that described in entry No. 2 below.

2. PART OF THE HEAD AND NECK OF A LATE SPEDOS VARIETY FIGURE
(figs. 3a–d)

White marble, preserved length: 10.4 cm (part of the top of head and most of neck missing). Breaks old. Much of surface weathered and encrusted with calcium carbonate. Some recent chipping on rear.
Accession number 83.AA.316.2

Due to its poor state of preservation, it is difficult to appreciate the fact that this head belonged to a carefully worked figure, most probably a mature work of the Goulandris Master (see No. 5). The unusually large figure would have measured 60 cm or more (cf. *Goulandris*, no. 46).

In its present condition, the head is interesting chiefly for the paint ghosts indicating hair that are clearly visible on the sides and back (figs. 3c–d).[9] These include a solid area, which commences at the slanted ridge at the back of the head, and four curly locks of hair that depend from it—two on the back that extend onto the neck and one on each side.

9. On the phenomenon of the paint ghost see Preziosi/Weinberg, esp. 8.

Figure 3c. Paint ghosts on the back of figure 3a. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.

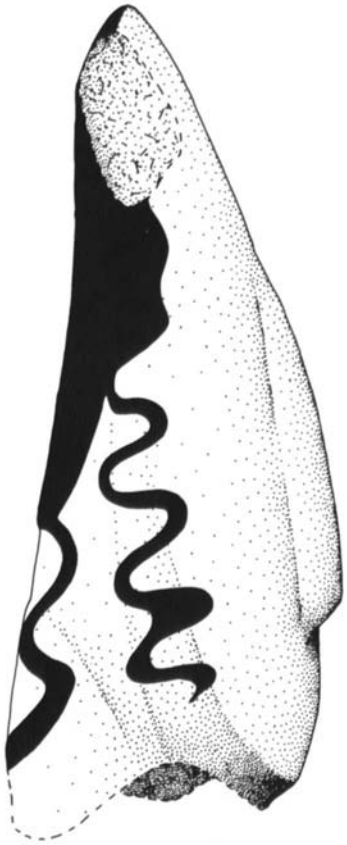


Figure 3d. Paint ghosts on the side of figure 3a. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.

The pigment (long since vanished) had the effect, at least on the back and sides, of protecting the places it covered; as a result, they are smooth, lighter in color, and raised above the surrounding areas whose epidermis has weathered away.

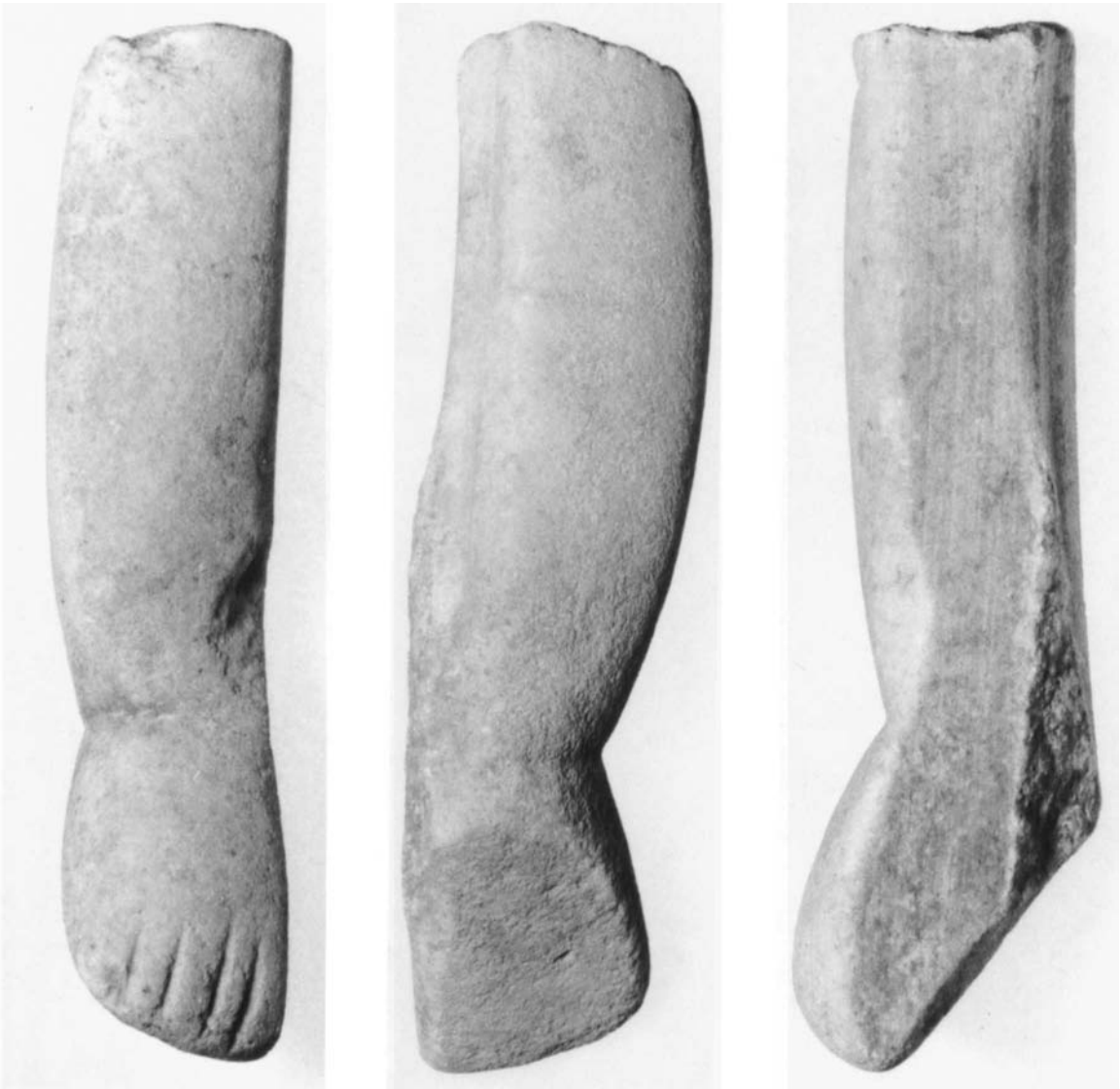
A number of heads from the Keros hoard have well-preserved paint ghosts (see for example Preziosi/Weinberg, pls. 4:5.6, 5:2.3, 6:2.3; *ACC*, nos. 204, 206, 207); a few even retain actual pigment (e.g., *ACC*, nos. 171, 177, both from the hand of the Goulandris Master, and nos. 205, 206). A number of works, including several from the hoard and several attributable to the Goulandris Master, have paint ghosts for curls (e.g., Preziosi/Weinberg, pl. 6:6 and fig. 10; *ACC*, no. 177; *Antidoron*, fig. 5b; *Goulandris*, no. 144). The use of paint by the Goulandris Master will be treated in some detail in *Sculptors*.

3. RIGHT CALF AND FOOT OF AN EARLY SPEDOS VARIETY FIGURE
(figs. 4a–c)
White marble, preserved length: 13.8 cm (preserved to just above knee groove). Breaks old. Finished surfaces somewhat worn. Some recent chipping.
Accession number 79.AA.11, anonymous donation

This leg belonged to a carefully worked, rather large figure of about 54 cm. It exhibits graceful curves and a keen attention to detail. Note the five well-spaced toe incisions.

The fragmentary state of the piece does not, of course, allow more than a hint of the quality of the whole, but the fact that it is detached from its mate does provide an opportunity for an unobstructed view of the configuration of the leg-cleft on a typical example (fig. 4c). The smooth inner surface of the upper part of the calf indicates that the cleft was perforated, while the rough triangular area below this shows the shape of the membrane which originally connected the lower calves and heels. Characteristically, the cleft was considerably deeper on the front than on the rear. Abrasive tool marks are visible along the worked inner surface.

A large number of similarly preserved early Spedos variety leg-foot fragments exist from the hoard, among them *ACC*, nos. 211a.b, and the two examples illustrated in figures 5, 6.



Figures 4a–c. Left, right calf and foot of an early Spedos variety figure (No. 3). *Center,* back view. *Right,* left profile. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AA.11.

It is of interest to note that among Spedos variety figures, single legs are normally found only for early examples, whose perforated cleft and delicate membrane made them susceptible to separation from their mates as a consequence of rough treatment. These same features may also have subjected the legs to the risk of fracture during the actual carving process.[10]

4. FRAGMENTARY LEGS AND FEET OF A LATE SPEDOS VARIETY FIGURE
(figs. 7a–c)
White marble, preserved length: 19 cm (lower thighs to end of feet). Toes chipped. Breaks old. Calcium carbonate encrustation primarily along right side. Recent chipping on back of left leg.
Accession number 83.AA.318

This beautifully preserved fragment belonged to a carefully formed, rather large figure of about 54 cm—that is, about the same size as the figure to which No. 3 belonged. The contours show the graceful, subtle curvature typical of the late Spedos variety style. The toes were grooved with care, as were the ankle incisions, which "wrap" around the figure.

10. On the perforation of the leg-cleft and attendant risks see P. Getz-Preziosi, "Risk and Repair in Early Cycladic Sculpture," *MMAJ* 16 (1981), 25.

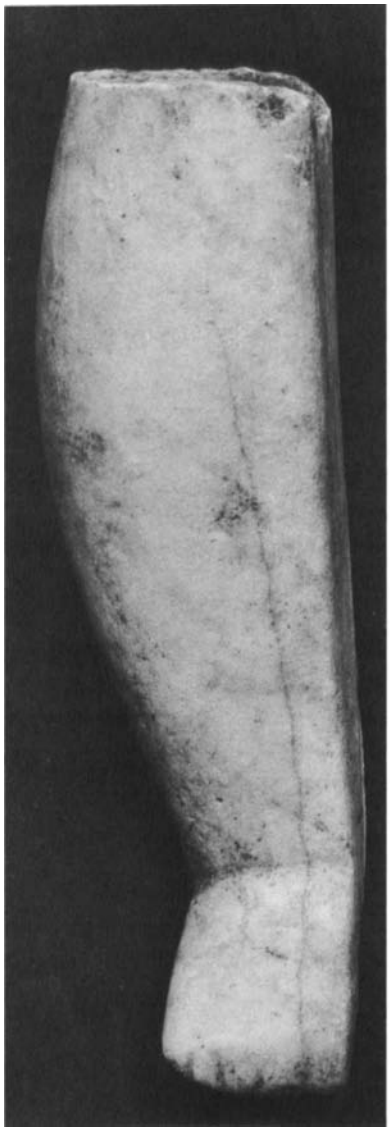


Figure 5. Right calf and foot of an early Spedos variety figure. Preserved length: 22.3 cm. Keros hoard. Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection. Photo: Courtesy Badisches Landesmuseum Bildarchiv.

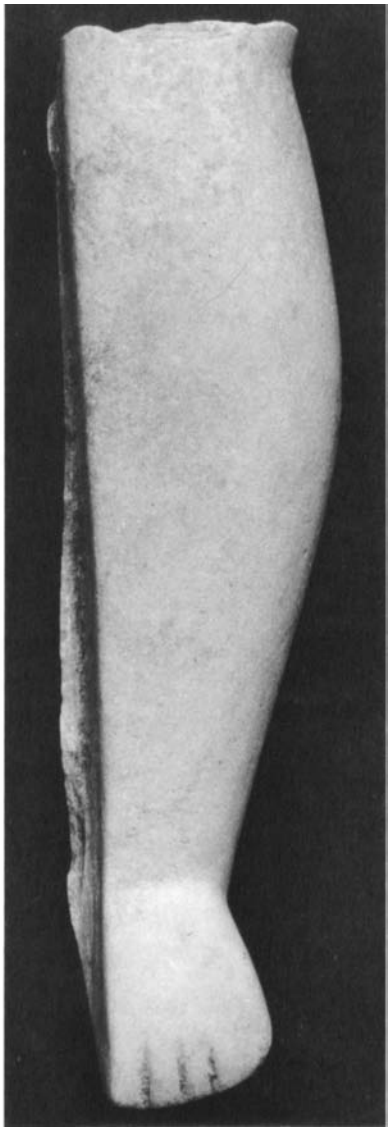


Figure 6. Left calf and foot of an early Spedos variety figure. Preserved length: 23 cm. Keros hoard. Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection. Photo: Courtesy Badisches Landesmuseum Bildarchiv.

The knee incisions, though carefully cut, were less meticulously placed, being at slightly different levels. They are also of unequal length on the front.

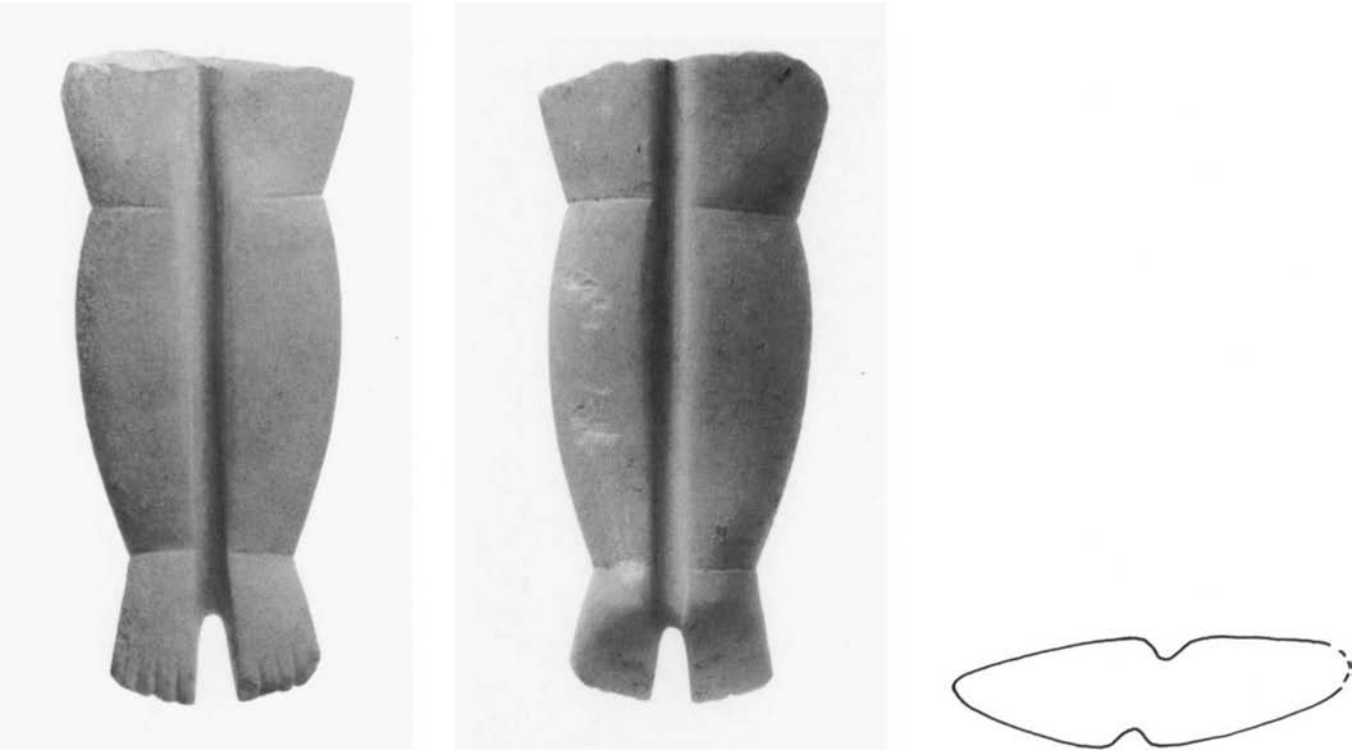
Because of the break across the thighs, it is possible to examine the leg-cleft from both front and back simultaneously by looking down at the cross-section provided by the break (fig. 7c). Thus one sees that the two furrows are not precisely aligned, with the result that the left leg is somewhat wider in front than the right, while the right leg is wider in back. Asymmetries such as the unequal knee grooves or the misalignment of the leg-cleft are actually quite common among Cycladic figures and are not infrequently found on works carved by accomplished sculptors.

Fine horizontal, abrasive tool marks are visible on the legs, while longitudinal marks can be seen inside and at the edges of the cleft.

In contrast to the legs of the early Spedos variety figures, which tend to break off individually (see No. 3), those of the late Spedos variety images, whose clefts were normally neither perforated nor as deeply furrowed, almost invariably break off in pairs, most often at the knees. A number of examples are known from the hoard, including *ACC*, no. 213, and the two illustrated in figure 8.

5. TORSO OF A LATE SPEDOS VARIETY FIGURE (figs. 9a–b)

White marble, preserved length: 18.5 cm (base of neck to upper thighs). Breaks old. Front somewhat worn with



Figures 7a–c. Left, fragmentary legs and feet of a late Spedos variety figure (No. 4). *Center,* back view. *Right,* cross section at break (drawing by Eugenia Joyce Fayen). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.318.

Figure 8. Calves and feet of late Spedos variety figures. Preserved lengths: 11.6 cm, 11.4 cm. Keros hoard. Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection. Photo: Courtesy Badisches Landesmuseum Bildarchiv.

Figures 9a–b. Left, torso of a late Spedos variety figure attributable to the Goulandris Master (No. 5). *Right,* back view. Southern California, private collection.

Figure 10. Torso of a late Spedos variety figure attributable to the Goulandris Master. Preserved length: 13.1 cm. Keros hoard. Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection. Photo: Courtesy Badisches Landesmuseum Bildarchiv.

Figure 11. Torso of a late Spedos variety figure attributable to the Goulandris Master. Preserved length: 15.6 cm. Keros hoard. Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection. Photo: Courtesy Badisches Landesmuseum Bildarchiv.

Figures 12a–b. Left, fragmentary torso of a late Spedos/Dokathismata variety figure attributable to the Schuster Master (No. 6). *Right,* back view. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.317.1.

slight dark speckling (typical of many objects from the hoard). Surface damage recent. *ACC*, no. 173.

Southern California private collection

This torso belonged to a harmoniously conceived, carefully carved, and rather large figure of about 50 cm that is attributable to the Goulandris Master.[11] Characteristic features of this sculptor's classic style observable on this fragment include markedly sloping shoulders; small widely spaced breasts; rather narrow arms; a horizontal abdominal groove to which slanting inguinal lines are connected, forming a small pubic triangle; rounded profile contours; a convex back with oblique grooves at the neck that do not meet; and the absence of any indication of the spine.

The piece may be assigned to a late middle phase of the sculptor's development. It is larger and better balanced in its proportions and more carefully worked than his earlier figures (e.g., *Goulandris*, no. 42; *ACC*, nos. 169, 180; *Antidoron*, fig. 1) yet not as refined as his most mature works, which are larger and more detailed, as well as having arms rendered in relief (e.g., *Goulandris*, no. 46; *ACC*, no. 167; *Addenda*, fig. 5).

The most prolific of all Early Cycladic sculptors by a very wide margin, and one of the most highly accomplished, the Goulandris Master is at present known by nearly a hundred pieces, most of which are fragments. Of these, approximately one-half—including the head discussed in No. 2 and at least two of the heads illustrated in figure 2 (top row: second and third from left), as well as a number of torsos (e.g., figs. 10–11, also from his middle period)—belong to the Keros hoard.[12] Several fragmentary sculptures from his hand (all unpublished) were also recovered in the sanctioned investigations on Keros. A complete early figure was found in grave twenty-three at Aplomata on the west coast of Naxos (*Praktika*, 136a). This find, in addition to the number of his works (including his two name-pieces, *Goulandris*, nos. 42, 46) alleged to have come from Naxos, strongly suggests that the Goulandris Master was a native of that island. How so many of his sculptures found their way to Keros remains a mystery.

6. FRAGMENTARY TORSO OF A LATE SPEDOS/ DOKATHISMATA VARIETY FIGURE (figs. 12a–b)

11. Because the Goulandris Master normally made the shoulder breadth of his figures one quarter of their overall length, it is possible to calculate the original dimension of fragmentary figures from his hand with a reasonable degree of accuracy if the shoulders are well preserved.

12. Since a number of joins have been found among the hoard finds—e.g., the head of *ACC*, no. 178, was recently identified—it is reasonable to suppose that not all of the many fragments attributable to the Goulandris Master actually belonged to different figures. With the pieces dispersed, it is becoming increasingly difficult to find additional joins and even more difficult, if not impossible (except perhaps through stable isotope analysis), to identify two or more nonadjacent pieces as belonging to the same figure. Published examples of the Goulandris Master's

Figures 13a–b. Left, torso and thighs of a late Spedos/Dokathismata variety figure attributable to the Schuster Master. Preserved length: 12.5 cm. Keros hoard. *Right,* left profile. Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection. Photos: Courtesy Badisches Landesmuseum Bildarchiv.

Figure 14. Torso and thigh fragment of a late Spedos/Dokathismata variety figure attributable to the Schuster Master. Preserved length: 7 cm. Keros hoard. Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection. Photo: Courtesy Badisches Landesmuseum Bildarchiv.

White marble, preserved length: 7.3 cm (lower right upper arm to mid-thighs). Upper break quite fresh; lower break older but not ancient. Surface weathered. Chip on back of legs recent.
Accession number 83.AA.317.1

This fragment belonged to a carefully executed work of average size measuring 25 cm or perhaps less. It can be attributed to the Schuster Master, a talented sculptor who combined the graceful curves of the Spedos variety with the severe angles and often exaggerated shoulder breadth of the Dokathismata variety style.[13] Characteristic features of his style observable on the piece include narrow arms; a rather large pubic triangle bisected at its apex by the beginning of the superficially incised leg-cleft; and on the back a very lightly incised spine, upper arms indicated in a lower plane, and an angular buttock profile. Unlike the other works from the Schuster Master's hand, however, the arms of this fragment are rendered solely by incision without any attempt at round modeling or relief. This is perhaps a sign that it belonged to a fairly early phase of the sculptor's development.

Some of the figures attributable to the Schuster Master show the female form in a clearly pregnant state (e.g., fig. 13b). Here the sculptor was somewhat tentative in his depiction: in profile the abdomen is only slightly rounded. Several other fragments from the hoard can be ascribed to the hand of the Schuster Master, including the two illustrated in figures 13 and 14, and at least one other was found in the sanctioned investigations on Keros.[14]

7. TORSO AND LEGS OF A LATE SPEDOS/DOKATHISMATA VARIETY FIGURE
(figs. 15a–b)
White marble, preserved length: 17.2 cm (base of neck to lower calves). Breaks old. Heavy calcium carbonate

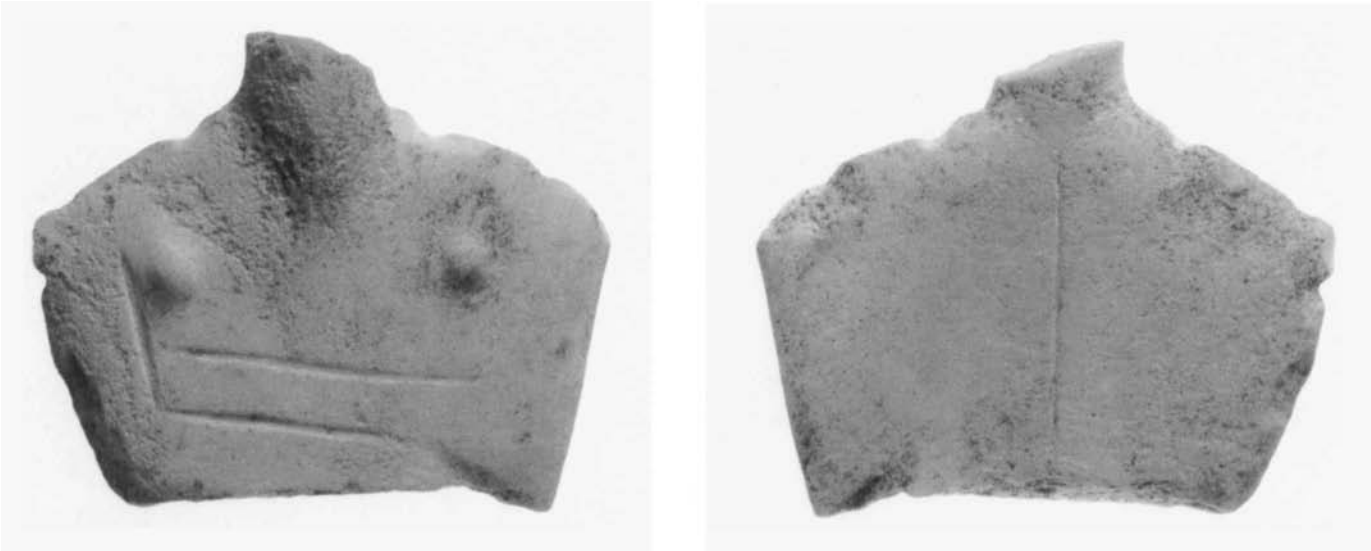
work from the hoard include: *ACC*, nos. 171, 175–178; *Antidoron*, fig. 1; Preziosi/Weinberg, pl. 6:5.6. See also the head of *AC*, no. 6; this has been incorrectly attached to a torso carved by another sculptor. On the Goulandris Master see P. Getz-Preziosi, "The Goulandris Master," in *Goulandris*, 25–27. A detailed discussion and a complete list of figures known to the writer will appear in *Sculptors*.

13. *Addenda*, 5–7 with figs. 7–9. A detailed discussion and a complete list of figures known to the writer that are from the hand of the Schuster Master will appear in *Sculptors*.

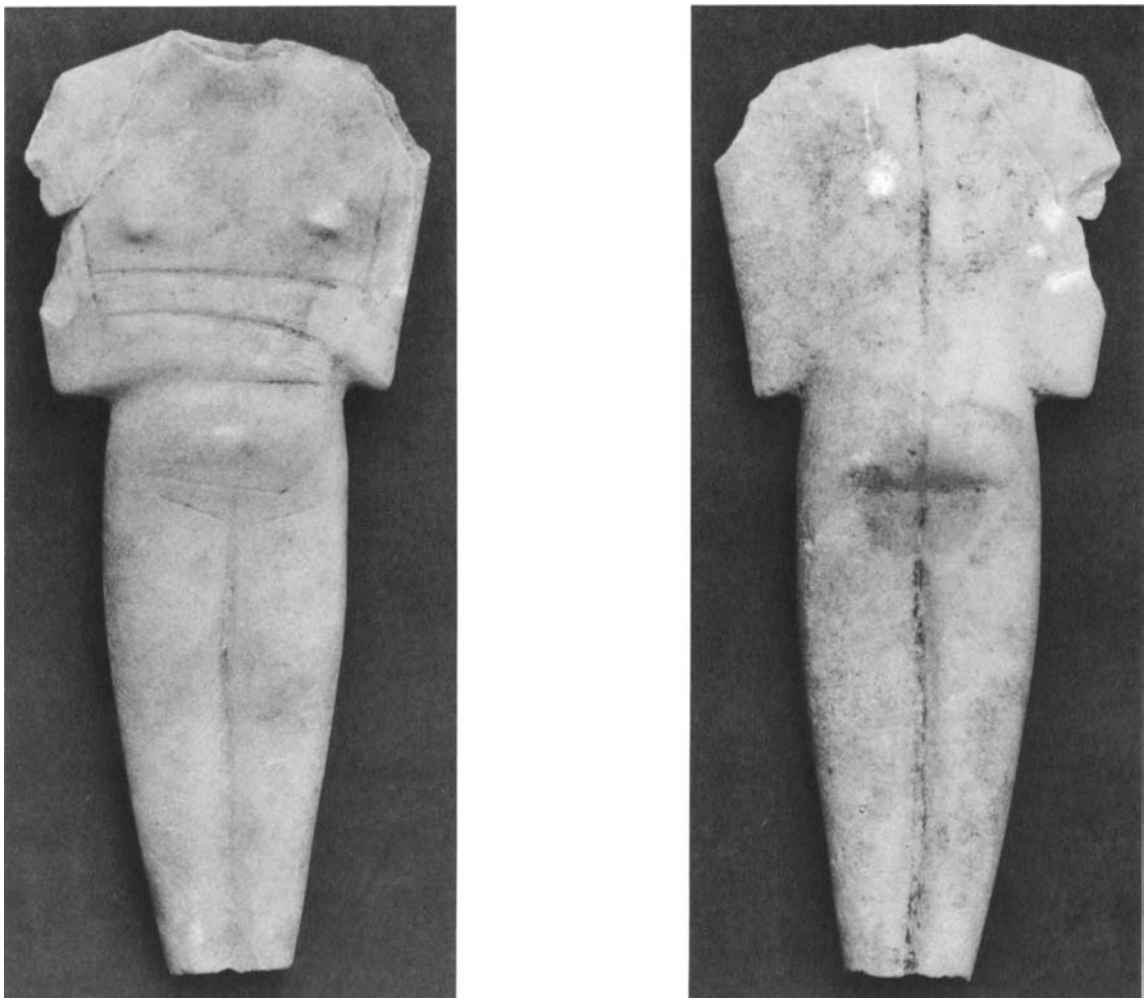
14. *Archaiologikon Deltion, Chronika* 23 (1968), 5, pl. 334b (photograph taken at a poor angle, making it difficult to recognize the piece as a work of the Schuster Master).

Figure 15a. Torso and legs of a late Spedos/Dokathismata variety figure (No. 7). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.317.2.

Figure 15b. Back of figure 15a.



Figures 16a–b. Left, upper torso of a Dokathismata variety figure (No. 8). *Right,* back view. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.201.



Figures 17a–b. Left, torso and legs of a Dokathismata variety figure. Preserved length: 21.5 cm. Keros hoard. *Right,* back view. Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection. Photos: Courtesy Badisches Landesmuseum Bildarchiv.

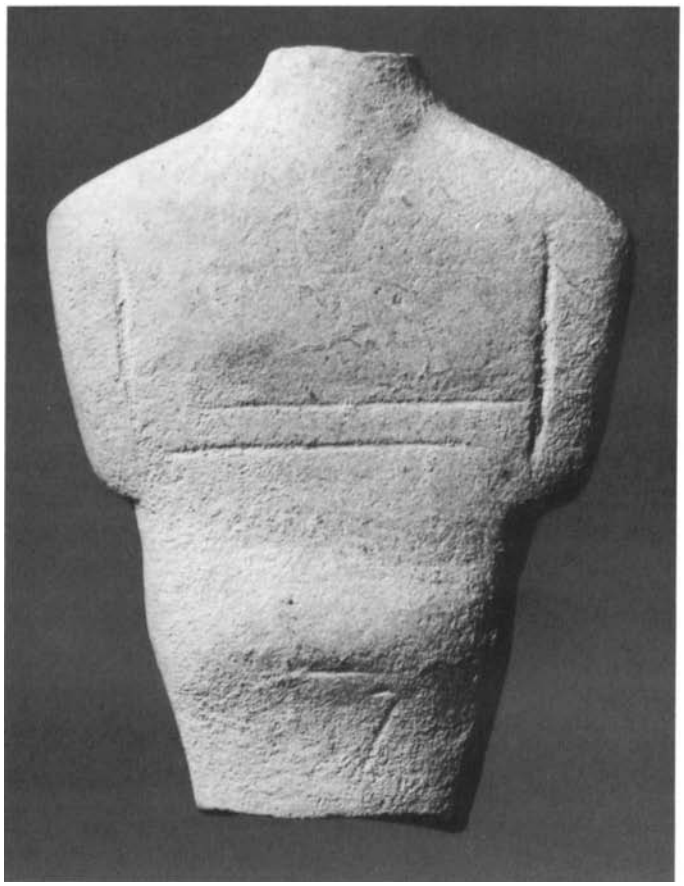


Figure 18a. Torso of a Chalandriani variety figure (No. 9). Front. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AA.407.

Figure 18b. Back of figure 18a.

encrustation on front; weathered on rear.
Accession number 83.AA.317.2, anonymous donation

Although the encrustation obscures its detail and reduces its attractiveness, this fragment belonged to a rather carefully carved work of about average size measuring circa 33 cm. Stylistically it is close to the work of the Schuster Master (see No. 6) and could conceivably also be from his hand.

Characteristic features of this sculptor's approach observable on this piece include a neckline that is curved in front; widely spaced breasts; narrow, lightly modeled arms that curve above a slightly rounded abdomen to reinforce the notion of pregnancy; a pubic triangle which is bisected at its apex by the beginning of the leg-cleft; lightly flexed knees; and on the back, broad upper arms carved in a lower plane. Unlike the works that can without hesitation be attributed to the Schuster Master, this piece has an unusually large, broad pubic triangle. Furthermore, the profile lacks crisp definition, and on the back the spine is rather deeply grooved and merges with the leg-cleft instead of terminating at the shelflike boundary of the buttocks.

8. UPPER TORSO OF A DOKATHISMATA VARIETY FIGURE
(figs. 16a–b)
White marble, preserved length: 7.9 cm (lower part of neck to bottom of right forearm). Breaks old. Front pitted; edge chipped along shoulders and right upper arm. Most of this damage old.
Accession number 83.AA.201

This fragment belonged to a work of slightly greater than average size measuring between 30 and 40 cm. The workmanship is undistinguished, an impression only reinforced by the poor state of its preservation.

Features quite typical of the Dokathismata variety observable here are the flatness of the front and rear surfaces and the distinct contrast of the more three-dimensional, almost pyramidal, neck, framed at its point of origin on the chest by a V-shaped groove. Other details worthy of mention are the small widely spaced breasts positioned at slightly different levels, the broad upper arms, and the "dropped" left elbow. The last is a convention not infrequently used to convey an

impression of symmetry. (The device is used rather more subtly on Nos. 6, 7.) On the back the spine is superficially incised, and the sculptor did not bother to define the upper arms.

The fragment is similar in a number of respects to another more completely preserved piece from the hoard (figs. 17a–b). Note, for example, the similarly uneven breasts; the weak, albeit finer, incision work; the noticeably dropped elbow; and the absence of any marking of the upper arms on the back. It is possible that the two works are from the same rather careless hand.

9. TORSO OF A CHALANDRIANI VARIETY FIGURE (figs. 18a–b)
White marble with dark mottling (visible on rear), preserved length: 9.2 cm (lower part of neck to apex of pubic triangle). Breaks old. Front covered with calcium carbonate encrustation, obscuring unusual character of stone.
Accession number 78.AA.407, anonymous donation

This fragment belonged to a work of average size measuring about 20 cm. The execution can be described as hasty and rather poor, both with respect to form and to detail. Not only does the outline lack the crisp angularity normally associated with the Chalandriani variety, but no effort was made to "raise" the breasts from the flat chest or to locate appropriately the abdominal bulge denoting pregnancy. (In profile the buttocks are higher than the belly.)

In the incision work there is a lack of definition of the neck V, as well as an absence of extension in the lines forming the pubic triangle, the forearms, and the upper arms on the back. Indeed, the canonical right-below-left folded-arm arrangement, so strictly observed by Cycladic sculptors for several centuries (and seen on all the other examples illustrated here—Nos. 5–8), seems on this piece to have either been misunderstood or ignored. One forearm is missing altogether, and because both upper arm lines extend to about the same level, it is impossible to say whether the existing forearm is the right one or, as it should be, the left. Such ambiguity and/or incompleteness in the rendering of the arms was not uncommon toward the end of the period of production of Cycladic sculpture,[15] the time to which this piece belongs. It is seen on at least two other examples from the hoard (*ACC*, nos. 224, 243) and on at least one unpublished example from the excavations on Keros.

The fragments of the Keros hoard, of which the California group is a small but quite representative selection, provide an excellent study collection for the serious student of Cycladic sculpture. Not only are all figure parts and several varieties of the canonical folded-arm figure represented, but the quality of the workmanship ranges from quite poor to extremely fine. Precisely because of their broken state, one is prompted to focus more closely on the remaining forms and details than one perhaps would if in each case the figure were preserved in its entirety. As we have seen in the case of the leg fragments (Nos. 3, 4), there are examples for which the fragmentary condition actually facilitates close scrutiny.

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15. Such figures have been called "postcanonical." See *Antidoron*, n. 11. Although they are uncanonical in the depiction of the arms, they are not necessarily later in date than Chalandriani variety figures with arms rendered in the usual fashion.

An Early Cypriote Sculpture

Pat Getz-Preziosi

With the recent acquisition of the imposing sculpture illustrated in figure 1, the Getty Museum has added to its antiquities collection an early work of major importance for the history of prehistoric art and religion. First exhibited in Karlsruhe in 1976, the piece has already been described and discussed in some detail and illustrated, albeit only in front view.[1] It remains for me here merely to reintroduce the work, illustrate it fully, and bring to the reader's attention two previously unpublished works of a related nature (figs. 2, 3).

The Getty figure is at once the largest and aesthetically most impressive prehistoric stone sculpture unearthed to date in Cyprus. It is carved in the appealing, warm, tan-colored limestone preferred by Cypriote sculptors of the archaic period, because it was at once easily available, easy to work, and capable of sharp definition. The Getty piece is beautifully preserved, a fact which allows for an undiluted appreciation of both its highly stylized, carefully conceived design and its superb workmanship. The sculpture, which unfortunately lacks a precise provenance or certified find-context, belongs to the cruciform type localized in the Paphos district of southwestern Cyprus and produced during the Chalcolithic I period (circa 3000–2500 B.C.).

More than a hundred examples of the basic type are known. With one exception that is clearly intended to be a male,[2] these figures seem to represent a semi-squatting (birth-giving?) female with broad hips and arms outstretched (in a welcoming gesture?). We sense the femaleness of these figures even though their breasts are only sometimes indicated, their genitalia almost never. On the Getty sculpture, however, where the viewer's gaze is directed by the ornamentation of the arms to focus on the breasts, it is quite possible that here, in a striking double entendre, the breasts are meant to serve not merely as breasts but also as genitalia. For while the single angular form raised in low relief and bisected by a deep groove (closely resembling that dividing the legs) is clearly supposed to represent pendent breasts, in shape it is actually more appropriate to the pubis with vulva. Even the placement of the bisected V—low for breasts, high for pubis—seems a deliberate and effective compromise. The only other major limestone figure of the period known at present, the slightly smaller and rather dumpy "Lemba Lady," shows a remarkably similar depiction of the breasts, but just below them is a nearly identical—one might say redundant—bisected V representing the pubic area (fig. 4).[3] It is precisely the economy and boldness of design, combined with an ampleness and clarity of individual forms, that set the Getty sculpture apart, imbuing it with a monumental presence unsurpassed in early Aegean sculpture.

The detailed rendering of the face is also of considerable interest. The penetrating, open-eyed expression, found also on certain clay figures of the period, which are otherwise apparently dissimilar,[4] has a riveting effect on the viewer. The Getty piece also shares with the contemporaneous clay figures,[5] but only a few stone ones (e.g., fig. 3),[6] the presence of a mouth. It is possible that the presence or absence of the mouth had to do, to some extent at least, with a difference in the function and use of the figures, for the noncruciform clay figures with mouths are found in domestic contexts, whereas the smaller stone figurines have been unearthed in tombs. The symbolic sealing of the lips, translated into sculpture as

I would like to thank Jiří Frel for asking me to write this article and Joan Mertens for offering several excellent suggestions for improving it.

Abbreviations

Crouwel: J. Crouwel, "Cypriote Chalcolithic Figurines in Amsterdam," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 1978, 31–38.

J. Karageorghis: J. Karageorghis, *La grande déesse de Chypre et son culte* (Lyon and Paris, 1977).

V. Karageorghis: V. Karageorghis, *Ancient Cyprus: 7000 Years of Art and Archaeology* (Baton Rouge, 1981).

Mertens: J. R. Mertens, "Three Chalcolithic Figures from Cyprus," *MMAJ* 10 (1975), 5–8.

Peltenburg, 1977: E. J. Peltenburg, "Chalcolithic Figurine from Lemba, Cyprus," *Antiquity* 51 (1977), 40–43.

Peltenburg, 1980: E. J. Peltenburg, "The Lemba Lady of Western Cyprus," *Illustrated London News*, Archaeology no. 2956 (Feb. 1980), 57–58.

Vagnetti: L. Vagnetti, "Preliminary Remarks on Cypriote Chalcolithic Figurines," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 1974, 24–33.

1. J. Thimme, gen. ed., *Art and Culture of the Cyclades in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Chicago, 1977), no. 573; Crouwel, 38; J. Karageorghis, 32; Peltenburg, 1977, 141.

2. V. Karageorghis, fig. 13; Peltenburg, 1980, 58 (top illustration, far right).

3. Peltenburg, 1980, 57; Peltenburg, 1977, 140–141 with frontispiece and backpiece; J. Karageorghis, pl. 10c.

4. Vagnetti, pl. 4:2.

5. Vagnetti, pl. 4:1.2.4.

6. For another exception, see J. Karageorghis, pl. 8b.

Figure 1a. Cypriote cruciform figure of limestone. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.38.

Figure 1b. Right profile of figure 1a.

Figure 1c. Left profile of figure 1a.

Figure 1d. Back of figure 1a.

Figure 2a. Cypriote cruciform figure of marble. Private collection. Photo: Gad Borel-Boissonnas, courtesy of the collector.

Figure 2b. Back of figure 2a. Photo: Gad Borel-Boissonnas, courtesy of the collector.

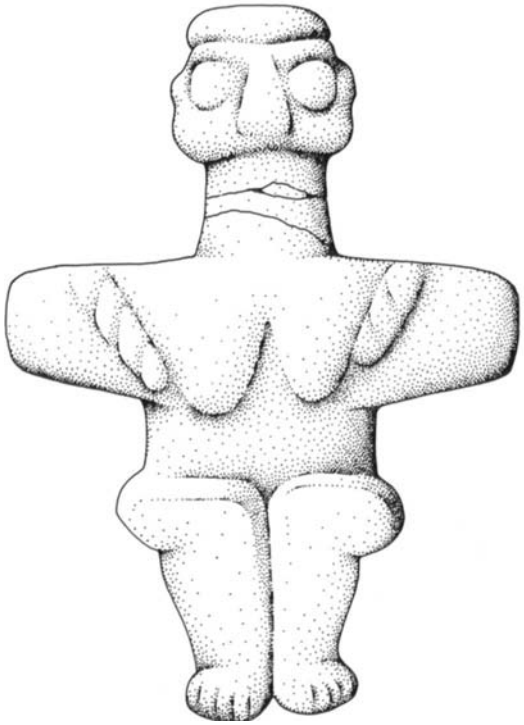

Figure 2c. Drawing after figure 2a. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.

an absence of the mouth, is a widespread iconographic feature among figures destined for sepulchral use.[7]

The figure from Lemba, on whose compressed bulbous face there seems to be little space for a mouth, was, on the other hand, also found inside a settlement, in an unusual circular building that, according to its excavator, "may...best be interpreted as a sacred place."[8] The implication is that the

7. P. G. Preziosi and S. S. Weinberg, "Evidence for Painted Details in Early Cycladic Sculpture," *AntK* 13 (1970), 10 with n. 35.

8. Peltenburg, 1977, 141. See also V. Karageorghis, 15.

9. It is not entirely clear whether the arm was simply reattached or whether it was actually recarved from another piece of limestone. The present left arm is a slightly different color and rather differently preserved than the rest of the figure, which may mean merely that it was subjected to slightly different conditions of dampness, having become separated from the body when the organic bonds which secured it broke or disintegrated. The break surface appears not to have been smoothed, as one would expect if a new piece had been fitted to the body. It is the opinion of the Getty Museum's conservator of antiquities, Zdravko Barov, who did not, however, actually remove the arm (now attached with adhesive) or conduct elaborate tests, that the present arm is the original one. It is worth noting, though, that the relief ornamentation of this arm differs slightly from that of the right one.

10. In the case of similar repairs made on stone sculptures from other areas of the Aegean—the Cyclades and Sardinia in particular—I would normally not rule out the possibility that the figures tended to break and were repaired during their actual manufacture, since the fractures invariably occurred at the most vulnerable points and marble is a friable

Figure 3a. Cypriote cruciform figure of steatite. Private collection. Photo: Bob Kieffer, courtesy of the collector.

Figure 3b. Back of figure 3a. Photo: Bob Kieffer, courtesy of the collector.

sculpture served as a cult figure; by analogy, the Getty piece must have done so as well. The fact that the Getty figure's left arm broke off at some point and was meticulously restored[9] suggests that the image (which is not self-supporting) had been propped up in a shrine—as an object of veneration of prime importance to a community—and had suffered damage there as a result of a mishap (perhaps an earthquake).[10]

material to work. See P. Getz-Preziosi, "Risk and Repair in Early Cycladic Sculpture," *MMAJ* 16 (1981), 5ff., esp. 23. In the case of the Getty figure, however, this seems unlikely due to the substantial thickness of the stone at the break site (figs. 1b–c). Indeed, that thickness required a highly unusual, if not unique, form of repair. For the mending holes are not, as one normally finds, two complete perforations through the individual parts but are rather four separate holes, each of which tunnels from the main surfaces—front and back—through the break surfaces. They are so aligned that one cord or thong would have been threaded through the two front holes and secured; another, through the two holes in the rear. This method of fastening a broken part must have been far more effective than the traditional one. Had the holes been made through the entire thickness of the piece, they would have been very large indeed, for the tapered hand-rotated boring tool with its "wobble effect" would have kept increasing the diameter of the holes at the points of entry as it penetrated deeper into the stone. See P. Getz-Preziosi, 1981, 8–9. For a typical example of mending by this technique in the Getty Museum, see the roughly contemporaneous sculpture illustrated in figures 5a–b. For a Cypriote example, compare the Neolithic basin of andesite from Khirokitia in the Cyprus Museum (V. Karageorghis, fig. 2).

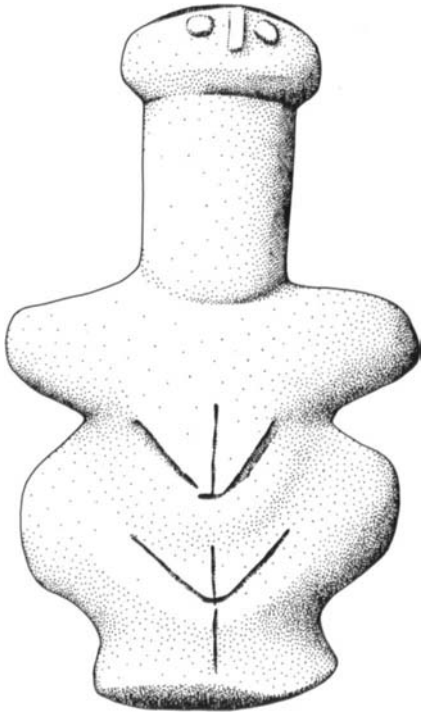

Figure 4. Cypriote cruciform figure of limestone from Lemba. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum 1976/54. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer after J. Karageorghis, pl. 10c.

Figure 5a. Cycladic Plastiras-type figure of marble. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AA.128.

Figure 5b. Back of figure 5a.

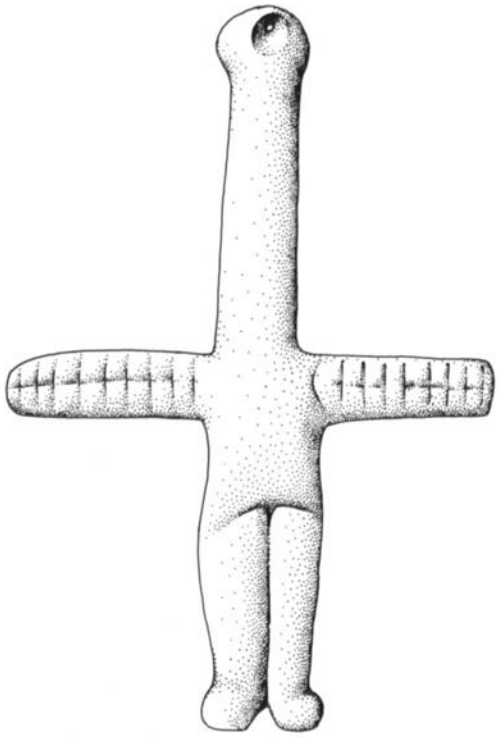

Figure 6. Cypriote cruciform pendant-figure of steatite from Souskiou. Famagusta, Hadjiprodromiou collection. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer after Christie's, London, April 27, 1976, lot 84, pl. 5.

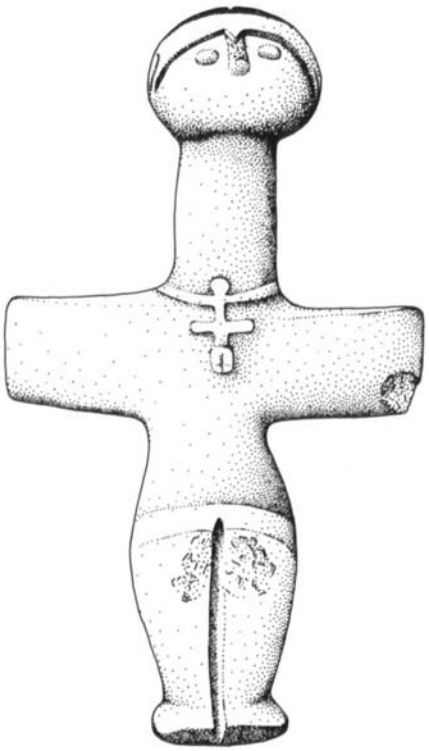

Figure 7. Cypriote cruciform figure of steatite from Yalia. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum 1934/III-2/2. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer after V. Karageorghis, 1981, fig. 12.

That the Lemba and Getty figures were part of the apparatus of a special cult place devoted to the worship of a deity of life and of life-in-death, rather than being simple dedications or the "icons" of private house shrines, is suggested by what appears to be a strict and very tidy hierarchical structure among the Cypriote cruciform figures, a phenomenon not paralleled elsewhere in the Aegean. At the top of this structure, as we have seen, are the cult figures themselves. These extremely rare sculptures are fashioned in limestone on an unusually large scale for prehistoric Cyprus—the Lemba Lady has a height of 36 cm, the Getty figure 39.5 cm. They have a strong visual impact but do not invite handling. Moreover, the Lemba sculpture is known to have been found inside a special building within a settlement.

Into a second group fall a large number of figurines that, with only one exception known at present (fig. 2), are carved in striking blue, green, gray, or brown Paphian soapstone, or steatite (e.g., fig. 3). Often polished to a high sheen, these works, which vary in the amount of detail depicted, range in size from 4 or 5 cm to 15 cm. The combination of surface polish, smooth raised ornament, and a size appropriate for holding in the hand gives these figures considerable tactile appeal, which in itself suggests a personal rather than a ceremonial function. These figures are found in tombs, where

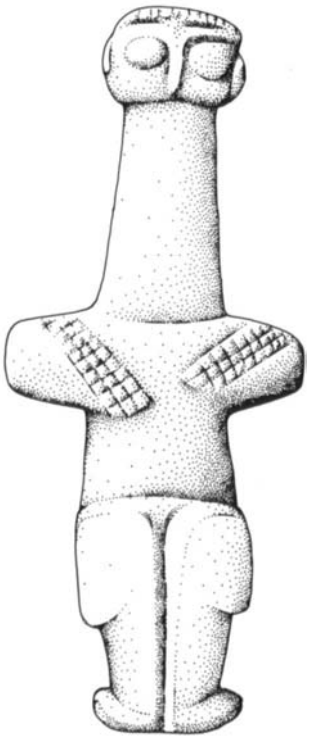

Figure 8. Cypriote cruciform figure of steatite. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum W290. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer after Vagnetti, pl. 5:2.

they were apparently viewed as protecting the dead and ensuring the renewal of life in the world beyond. They occur in a number of variations, including double and triple combinations.[11]

Most numerous of all, however, are the often tiny (1–2 cm), and still more schematic, steatite and shell amuletic replicas of the cult image that were pierced for use as pendants—the larger ones (e.g., fig. 6) were used singly, the smallest ones were strung in multiples, along with beads, on necklaces.[12] These, too, are found in tombs.

Just how similar in concept the smaller iconic figures are to the "mother" image, as represented by the Getty sculpture, may be seen in the two examples illustrated here in figures 2 and 3. The statuette carved in a curious marble with blue mottling resembling Roquefort cheese has a height of only 6.6 cm (fig. 2). Although somewhat worn and to some extent obscured by the dark inclusions in the stone, a similar, albeit simplified, diagonal pattern can be seen in relief on the arms. The breasts, though indicated separately, have the same pendant V shape. A number of the steatite statuettes and even a few of the pendants show similar patterns incised or raised in relief on the arms, but these are, with the exception of the larger (13.5 cm) figurine illustrated in figure 8,[13] horizontally oriented, filling the entire height of the narrow arms.[14] An excellent example is the small (7.6 cm) figurine illustrated in figure 3 (see also fig. 6, height 7 cm). Carved in typical light apple-green steatite and highly polished, this piece closely imitates the angular form and proportions of the Getty figure, as well as reproducing such details as the hair parted in the middle and the toes, here boldly incised on clownlike splayed feet.[15]

The symbolic significance of the arm decoration and, most importantly, of the basic cross form itself is lost to us, but these peculiarly Cypriote motifs appear to go back as early as the Neolithic I period (sixth millennium B.C.) where, for example, the two are found in combination on the walls of an andesite basin from Khirokitia.[16] It was not until the Chalcolithic period, however, that in the hands of skilled sculptors attuned to the needs of a developing religious consciousness, these abstract magical signs[17] were transformed into explicit and powerful images of the life force.

There is of course much still to be learned about the religious art of Chalcolithic Cyprus. Among other things, one might hope that further excavation would reveal whether small settlements tended to have their own cult images and, if so, whether it was the particular image of a given place that served for the most part as the model for the figurines and pendants disposed in its associated cemetery. One would not expect in any case to find that one of these mother images would have differed in any extreme fashion from another, given the highly conventional, formulaic nature of the sculptural tradition. On the other hand, minor differences, such as the treatment of facial features and other details, would have been likely, as a comparison of the Getty and Lemba figures clearly shows and as we see reflected in the small figures illustrated here. In the absence of many examples, we can only suppose at this juncture that the Getty sculpture was a cult figure of cardinal importance both as an object of communal worship in southwestern Cyprus and as a prototype for smaller, more personal images. Despite its apparent uniqueness, however, it is also in its material, form, and details particularly Cypriote in character and spirit.

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11. For example, J. Karageorghis, pls. 8–9a. c. d. and 10a; Crouwel, pls. 4:11, 5a; Vagnetti, pls. 5:1.3.6, 6:2.3.

12. J. Karageorghis, pls. 9b, 10b. Crouwel, pl. 4:1–8.10. In some cases (e.g., Vagnetti, pl. 5:4.5) steatite figurines not originally intended for use as pendants were perhaps perforated for suspension; other unperforated figurines may have been worn by the living and/or the dead in the manner depicted on the well-known figure—the largest of these images at 15.3 cm—that has a tiny replica of herself carved in such a way that it seems to be held against her neck by a ribbon rather than suspended from it (fig. 7). See Mertens, 8; J. Karageorghis, 26–28.

13. The two works illustrated in figures 2 and 8 are also closely similar to each other in the treatment of the face with its large bulging eyes and with the end of the nose forming its abrupt lower boundary.

14. See also, for example, J. Karageorghis, pl. 8c.d; Mertens, fig. 4; Christie's, London, April 27, 1976, lot 86, pl. 5a.c. with J. Karageorghis, 22, n. 43.

15. Compare figure 3 and Vagnetti, pl. 5.5 in this regard. See also Sotheby's, London, July 9–10, 1984, lots 135 and 136.

16. See note 10 above. Vagnetti, 30–31 and 29–30.

17. The cross and diagonal motifs are also found, sometimes in combination, on Chalcolithic painted pottery. See, for example, V. Karageorghis, *The Civilization of Prehistoric Cyprus* (Athens, 1976), fig. 17.

The Fashion of the Elgin Kore

Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway

The study of ancient costume is beset with difficulty. Cloth does not easily survive the ages, and what few remnants of textiles have come down to us from Greece or related territories are useful at best to reveal weaves and materials, certainly not fashions.[1] We are therefore left almost solely with representations of dress on artifacts and in sculpture in the round, which are obviously conditioned by a variety of external factors, including difficulties and limitations of the medium, artistic license, iconographic conservatism, and regional preferences. Under the last category we need to consider not only possible variations in actual costume, whether determined by climate or by foreign influences, but also favored means of artistic expression. Most of our information on seventh-century costume, for instance, comes from Crete for the simple reason that other areas have not provided as many representations in relief or in the round, while Attic vase painting is overwhelmingly used to illustrate our accounts of sixth- and fifth-century costumes, because other contemporary Greek wares did not favor the type of figured scenes useful for studying fashions.

One further difficulty concerns nomenclature. Although literary sources and temple inventories have preserved the names of many garments, few can be identified with certainty in extant representations. For the most part the ancient names have been applied to those costumes that best seemed to suit them and that were most often depicted in ancient art; such equations have by now been codified by over a century of scholarly usage. Yet no assurance exists that our assumptions are correct, and the possible dichotomy between the ancient names and our visualizations should always be kept in mind in dealing with this difficult subject.

Ancient costume is too important a topic to be neglected. Dress and fashion are always indicative of certain aspects of contemporary society, but in the case of ancient Greece, since we are forced to focus on artistic representations, additional considerations come into play. Differences in the rendering of the same costume are indicative of changes in style that often correspond to changes in chronology, thus allowing us to date specific monuments almost to the decade. Disappearance and reappearance of certain forms of dress in art could have historical reasons or symbolic meanings that need not reflect actual daily practices. An item of clothing that could be considered old-fashioned by the contemporary artistic standards might carry ritual and iconographic connotations. For all these reasons, proper understanding of ancient costume could considerably enrich our knowledge of the past, as many scholars have recognized. Nonetheless, specialized studies on Greek dress have been few and far apart; they have also enjoyed little popularity among students and scarce agreement among scholars and in general have failed to generate

On December 2, 1976, I spoke at the J. Paul Getty Museum on the fashion of the Elgin Kore (accession number 70.AA.114) and was invited to present my comments in writing for publication by the Museum. It has taken me a long time to fulfill my obligation, but the intervening years have been spent in researching the topic and have also given me the advantage of consulting important works on related subjects that have been published since my Getty lecture.

In citing bibliographical references, I have followed the guidelines and abbreviations set forth in *AJA* 82 (1978) 3–10 and *AJA* 84 (1980) 3. I have also used the following:

Congdon: L. O. K. Congdon, *Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece* (Mainz, 1981).

FKP I: R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Frühklassische Peplosfiguren—Originale* (Mainz, 1980).

Harrison, "Daedalic Dress": E. B. Harrison, "Notes on Daedalic Dress," *JWalt* 36 (1977, *Essays in Honor of Dorothy Kent Hill*) 37–48.

Ridgway, "Peplos Kore": B. S. Ridgway, "The Peplos Kore, Akropolis 679," *JWalt* 36 (1977) 49–61.

For ease in reference and to avoid lengthy bibliographical citation, I have often used my own books as a source of illustrations and brief commentary:

Archaic Style: B. S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1977).

Fifth Century: B. S. Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1981).

Severe Style: B. S. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1970).

My previous publication of the Elgin Kore, "Two Peplophoroi in the United States," appeared in *Hesperia* 38.2 (April–June 1969, in Honor of Rhys Carpenter) 213–222, esp. 219–222, henceforth cited as Ridgway, "Two Peplophoroi." The most thorough treatment of Greek costume is Margarete Bieber's *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tract von der vorgriechischen Zeit bis zum Ausgang der Antike* (2nd ed. revised by F. Eckstein, Berlin, 1967). See also M. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung* (Berlin/Leipzig, 1928).

I am greatly indebted to Professor J. Frel for his invitation to speak and write about the Getty material, for his scholarly helpfulness to me through the years, and for his friendship.

1. See, e.g., the comments by L. Clark *AJA* 87 (1983) 91–96, esp. n. 2 with bibliography. For textiles from Phrygian Gordion, see R. Ellis, "Appendix V, Textiles," in R. S. Young, *Three Great Early Tumuli* (University Museum Monographs 43, Philadelphia, 1981) 294–310.

Figure 1. Athena Parthenos, copy after the fifth-century original. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Classical Department Exchange Fund 1980.196.

sufficient interest in the subject. As a result, Greek sculpture today can be taught (and learned) with full appreciation of the stylistic subtleties in the rendering of textures and modeling of drapery but, paradoxically, with little or no attention to the reality of the costume itself.

If my interest in Greek costume has been sustained, my research through the years has alerted me to the complexity of the subject and the uncertainties in interpretation of the evidence. I have therefore attempted to obtain a better understanding of the Elgin Kore by following the development of the peplos from its earliest artistic appearance; and I shall present here a tentative outline of this development, as I see it, by stylistic and chronological phases.

THE PEPLOS

In her first publication on early classical peplophoroi, Renate Tölle-Kastenbein has promised a future study on the ancient uses of the term and its philological cognates while admitting that what we call a peplos may not correspond to the classical costume by that name.[2] It would therefore seem useless to anticipate what will be a much more thorough treatment of the subject, but a few preliminary comments are necessary to establish my premises.

It has been suggested that *peplos* (in reduplicate form) may belong to the proto-Indo-European root accounting for the Latin *palla,* the root in turn possibly being related to *plat-* (flat; flat layer) and to the Greek πλατύς.[3] Etymologically, therefore, the term would imply the simplest of garments, draped around the body and belted or pinned in position. In ancient usage the term can be found to refer to covering for furniture and carts or even for corpses, like a blanket, and seems to have Persian connections, since it is mentioned by Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia,* usually with reference to men.[4] Its earliest occurrences are in Homer, although the passage in the *Iliad* (6.303), in which Hekabe places a peplos on the knees of the statue of Athena, is suspect as a possible later Athenian interpolation. The verses could still be used to argue a link between the garment and the goddess, at least by the archaic period, but stronger evidence that the peplos is appropriate for Athena is provided by the use of the term to indicate the garment woven and offered on the Akropolis at the Great Panathenaia.

Iconographically, the most famous representations of the goddess—the Parthenos by Pheidias (fig. 1) and the Athena

2. *FKP* I, 1 and 239.

3. This information is derived from E. W. Barber, "The PIE Notion of Cloth and Clothing," *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 3.4 (1975, published 1977) 294–320, especially 314. The entire article is important for its analysis of the forms of clothing and their uses through the centuries.

4. See *LSJ* s.v. "peplos"; cf. also Bieber, *Entwicklungsgeschichte,* 24–25 with additional references.

5. On the Parthenos by Pheidias, see N. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos, A*

Figure 2. Athena on the Nike Balustrade. Photo: Courtesy DAI, Athens.

on Panathenaic amphorae[5]—wear the costume we have come to know as the peplos: a rectangular piece of heavy cloth folded over at the top and pinned over the shoulders, often gathered around the waist with a belt worn either above or below the overfold (apoptygma). Our equation would therefore seem supported by independent evidence, yet our iconographic basis may be faulty. The Parthenos is not the ancient idol that received the woven garment at the Panathenaia, and even the depictions of the prize amphorae, for all their conservatism, change according to the conventions of vase painting. The Pheidian Athena, moreover, is described by Pausanias (1.24.7) as wearing a *chiton poderes.* In addition, by the second half of the fifth century B.C., the time when the ritual of the festival is safely attested, some statues of Athena wear a different costume. Although the belted peplos is never abandoned, the goddess is occasionally depicted wearing chiton and himation, as for instance on the Nike Balustrade (fig. 2) and in original statuettes that repeat, at smaller scale, types otherwise known to us only through monumental Roman copies.[6] This new iconography may

Reconstruction (ROM, Toronto, 1971). A concise account of the development of Panathenaic amphorae is given by J. Frel, *Panathenaic Prize Amphoras* (Kerameikos Booklet no. 2, DAI, Athens, 1973).

6. Nike Balustrade: R. Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929) 47 and pl. 19. Athena statuettes: see, e.g., Athens NM 4486, and discussion of the Athena Velletri type in E. B. Harrison, *AJA* 81 (1977) 137–178, esp. 150, n. 64, and 153, fig. 12. See also E. Mathiopoulos, *Zur Typologie der Göttin Athena im fünften Jahrhundert v.Chr.* (Ph.D. diss., Bonn, 1968), Types II and III.

As for Pausanias' description, to be sure, the periegetes may be speaking as a Greek of Roman times who did not know classical Greek costume, or the statue may have been altered after Lachares removed its gold in 297/96 B.C. Yet the Varvakeion replica is Antonine, so Pausanias saw *that* costume.

suggest a change in the conception of the goddess from a woman of action needing tightly belted, unencumbering clothing to a more feminine figure no longer actively engaged in warlike pursuits. Therefore, although the iconographic change need have no bearing on the identification of the peplos, it should be kept in mind if such an identification is made largely on iconographic grounds.

An additional consideration is the fact that the Panathenaic peplos, in order to be "worn" by a statue, and one that was perhaps seated,[7] had to be as untailored as possible. It is in fact recorded that the peplos was strung up as a sail on the Panathenaic ship carried in procession from the Pompeion to the foot of the Akropolis. We also know that the Gigantomachy was woven into the garment by the *ergastinai,* yet the folding over of the apoptygma in a decorated fabric implies that figures, which appear upright on the main face of the cloth, will be upside down and seen from the interior in the bent-over section. This consideration will also apply to the discussion of archaic dress, but I anticipate it here because of its relevance to the issue of terminology; it is unlikely, in fact, that the Panathenaic peplos was cut and sewn from separate pieces, or woven in two directions, to remedy the effect of the folding-over, especially given its mode of transport before being placed on the statue.

Not all peploi need have been so elaborately decorated; in fact Aelian (*Var.Hist.* 7.9) mentions that Phokion and his wife owned only one garment between them, the man wearing it as a himation, the woman as a peplos.[8] Obviously no shaping of any sort was necessary to allow for the different sizes of the wearers. That male and female garments could occasionally be interchangeable is also shown by a reference—admittedly as late as the second century B.C.—in the Delian archives, noting that since the Athenians had donated a dress to Artemis, the gift was put on the goddess, and the garment she wore before was put on Dionysos.[9] The record does not state, however, what type of costume was involved, and a chiton is the most likely assumption.

In this connection, it may be of some significance that the inventories of Artemis Brauronia from the Athenian Akropolis list a variety of garment types dedicated to the goddess at Brauron, yet not once is the term peplos employed. The types listed are himation, chiton, chitoniskos, chitonion, chlamys, chlaniskion, tarantinon, halourgis, enkyklon, batrachis, krokotos, ledion, tryphema, trichapton, kandys, epiblema, ampechonon, and kekryphalos.[10] Some items are occasionally defined further as being specifically for men. Since not all clothes given to Artemis Brauronia were made ad hoc to be put on one of the three statues of the sanctuary, and some had been previously worn by child-bearing women, it is logical to wonder whether the peplos was no longer a garment in common use by the second half of the fourth century B.C., when the inventories were compiled. Yet what we call a peplos still appears in fourth-century sculpture. The Brauronian accounts allow one final observation: several garments are qualified as "unfinished" or even "half-woven," yet their type is mentioned. If the difference between a chiton and a chitoniskos, for instance, consisted solely in the length of the finished dress, how could a half-woven cloth be securely identified by the inventory takers? Linders concludes that the different fabrics used for each type of costume would have allowed distinctions.[11] In artistic representations, indication of texture is relative and varies with time and style; we therefore lack one of the most important criteria for our assessment.

In view of all these difficulties, we should establish what shall be called a peplos *in the present article,* although I make no claim to absolute, objective validity in my terminology or even to general agreement. To be sure, the history of Greek costume in its artistic representations is not monolithic but subject to change from time to time and from style to style. Indeed, I shall argue that "peplos" has been used by modern scholars to define not one type of dress but many, which therefore need to be given separate identities and perhaps names. I am forced, however, to review all previous identifications of peploi and peplophoroi to reach an understanding of the costume involved.

Standard handbook definitions distinguish between an archaic and a classical form of the peplos as a one-piece garment with optional overfold, the main differences being the relative width of the dress and perhaps the position of the openings for neck and arms.[12] In her book on karyatid mirrors, Congdon defines the archaic form as "a snug wool gar-

7. The appearance of the ancient idol is highly debated. For a standing image, see, most recently, J. H. Kroll, in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture, and Topography presented to Homer A. Thompson* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 20, 1982) 65–76. For a seated image, see E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (Madison, Wis., 1983) 66. Some scholars have also suggested that the peplos of the Panathenaia was given to the Pheidian Parthenos; see, most recently, D. M. Lewis, "Athena's Robe," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 5 (1979/80) 28–29.

8. Ref. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung,* 13. For other ancient references clearly indicating that the peplos was a well-established form of male attire, see E. L. Brown, *HSCP* 85 (1981) 91, n. 154 and his ref. to H. Lloyd-Jones, *CR* 66 (1952) 134.

9. *Inscr.Delos* 1442 B54; ref. *apud* T. Linders, *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia Found in Athens* (Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae 19, Athens, 1972) 11–12, n. 38.

10. These names are derived not only from Linders' index but also from a reading of her basic text; for male garments, see her comment on p. 17.

That a peplos could be given to statues other than Athena's is suggested by Pausanias 5.16.2 (Hera at Olympia, peplos woven every four years).

11. Linders (*supra,* note 9) 18–19.

12. See, e.g., G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (4th rev. ed., New Haven/London, 1970) 57–61, figs. D and E, although

ment *with a little jacket*" (my emphasis), for which she reserves the term peplos. The classical version, which she calls the "Doric chiton," would consist of "a loose wool robe clasped shut on either side of the neck, sometimes fastened at the sides and girt."[13] E. B. Harrison has, however, advanced the hypothesis that even seventh- and sixth-century representations of tight-fitting costumes should be understood to show garments as ample as the classical versions and that the apparent snugness is a form of artistic stylization.[14]

I visualize the peplos as made of one rectangular piece of wool, which can be sewn along the vertical edges to form a tube or may be left open and which is folded over and held in place by fastenings over both shoulders. It may be worn with or without a belt, and such girding may occur either above or below the overfold or even in more than one place. When the garment is pulled over the belt in order to allow greater freedom of arm movement to the wearer, the slack may form pouches of cloth on either side of the center that curve over the stomach and dip down over the hips, thus creating a *kolpos*. The curvature of the kolpos, at first minimal, and the richness of the draping increase with the passing of time. The apoptygma may be of varying length (indeed, it may have been adjusted to suit the height of the wearer, as implied by Aelian); it may totally cover the kolpos, run parallel to it, or be completely independent.

The peplos, emphatically, does not have *tailored* sleeves; if tight-fitting sleeves are depicted, I believe that the garment shown should not be called a peplos. The ample folds created by the shoulder pinning, however, which may extend as low as the elbows, can be pulled forward over the arms, thus affording some protection to the bare-armed wearer. Alternatively, the peplos can be worn over a sleeved chiton or under a mantle.

DAEDALIC DRESS (seventh century B.C.)

Daedalic dress would seem to fall outside our consideration, since female garments depicted on seventh-century statuary and other artifacts do not fit the above definition of a peplos and are perhaps more correctly called tunics, to use a generic term. In particular, Cretan dress has been traditionally understood as a two-piece costume: the "tunic" and a short cape around the shoulders that is fastened at the front. Harrison has, however, argued that artistic conventions of the period are misleading and that a single tubular garment is depicted, the rear part of it pulled forward and pinned over the chest, as described in Homer. Since this definition corresponds closely to the later peplos, the issue is relevant in this context.

Harrison's reconstruction of Daedalic dress has not met with universal approval. In publishing a wooden statuette from Samos, H. Kyrieleis describes it as wearing a two-piece costume, on the basis of which he argues a Cretan provenience for this and for other Samian finds; he therefore outlines the development of the fashion from Minoan times, citing numerous parallels.[15] I agree with Harrison's explanation of the costume worn by the women on the Thermon metope and the ivory group in New York,[16] which to my mind carries complete conviction. Yet I also believe in the Cretan cape. Since the issue of an additional covering also arises in connection with archaic renderings, it can be usefully reviewed here with reference to the Daedalic forms.

Many of the monuments cited by Harrison could be open to either interpretation: her one-piece pin-up garment or Kyrieleis' cape. The statue from Astritsi, the Dreros sphyrelata, and the Prinias seated figures, as well as the standing lady carved in relief on the underside of the lintel, present enough ambiguities of rendering to allow for either explanation.[17] Even the wooden statuette from Samos—to judge from published photographs—has no clear indication of the lower edge of a cape across her back, although a definite line can be seen on the back of her arms. Advocates of the cape could maintain that the edge across the back coincides with the belt line or even that the cape is tucked into it; advocates of the one-piece costume could counter with the statement that such an arrangement has "inherent improbability" and that the apparent sleeves over the arms are the edges of the material of the back part of the tubular dress brought forward and forming pouches hanging outside the fastenings.[18] The latter explanation relies therefore on the true sleevelessness of the single garment (despite all admissible artistic conventions) and, if a belt is used, on the fact that the presumed pouches should extend to waist level or even below. No tips

her text refers specifically to men's chitons. See, however, her p. 59 where female dress is discussed. See also the "Table of Pre-Greek and Greek Dress," adapted from M. Bieber, *Encyclopedia of World Art* 4 (1961) 19–26, in L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* (Baltimore, 1975) 9–10.

13. Congdon, p. 7, n. 3. Usually the "jacket" is taken to be the apoptygma; cf. R. M. Cook, "The Peplos Kore and Its Dress," *JWalt* 37 (1978) 84–87.

14. Harrison, "Daedalic Dress," especially p. 48, for a historical summary according to Herodotean terminology. Harrison does not state that the Daedalic dress is a peplos but that it shared with the classical peplos both the type of fabric (wool) and the possibility of minor adjustments through pinning and belting (p. 47). See, however, her description of the Dame d'Auxerre's dress as a "closed peplos or woolen chiton" (p. 39).

15. H. Kyrieleis, *AthMitt* 95 (1980) 94–103, especially pp. 97–98, n. 45. The costume is called a sleeveless belted chiton with shoulder-mantle.

16. Harrison, "Daedalic Dress," figs. 6 and 5 respectively, on pp. 44–45; in both cases probably the daughters of Proitos are depicted.

17. All these monuments, with full bibliographical references, are cited in Harrison, "Daedalic Dress."

18. For these comments, see Harrison, "Daedalic Dress," 38–39 and n. 7. Her explanation of the sleeves is given in connection with the Dame d'Auxerre.

Figure 3. Terracotta plaque from Gortyn. Photo from Doro Livi, *ASAtene* 33–34 (1955–1956) 268.

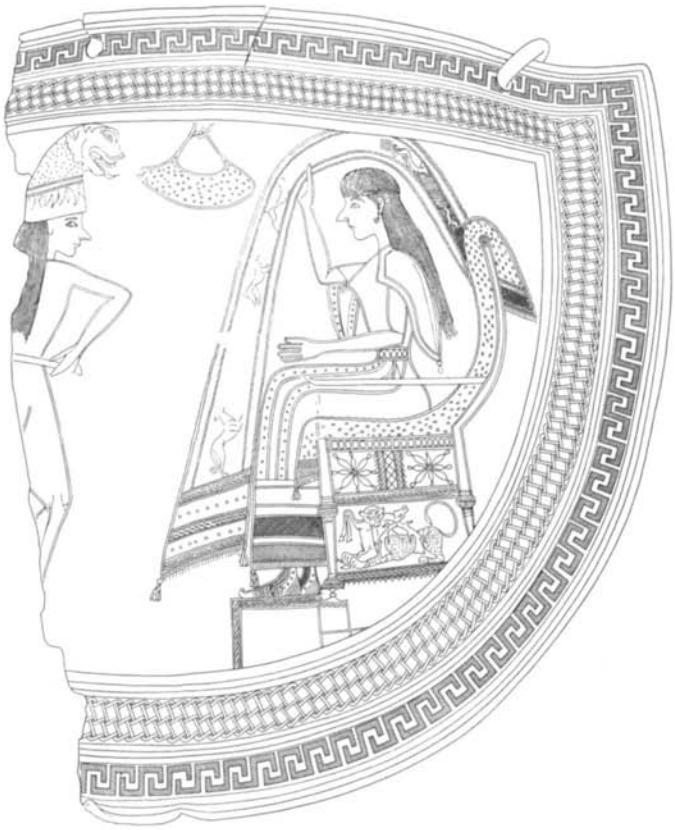

Figure 4. Mitra from Olympia. Drawing from Herbert Hoffmann, *Early Cretan Armorers* (Mainz, 1972) pl. 46.2.

of rectangular panels or corner tassels can exist, since the garment is tubular.[19]

That this is not always the case can be shown by some terracotta plaques from Gortyn (fig. 3).[20] The female figure depicted in these reliefs raises both arms to her head, a movement that should produce the falling back of the "pouches" were the garment tubular. On the contrary, a raised edge along the biceps, almost down to the elbow, marks the upper border of a cape on each arm; the lower border is rendered flat against the plaque, clearly above the level of the belt, so that the stretched-out cape forms a backdrop for the tightly clad torso.[21]

Other relief renderings—in forms therefore that need not take into account the possibilities for breakage inherent in

19. Harrison, "Daedalic Dress," 45. On p. 39, Harrison explains the cutting between the arms and the upper torso of the Dame d'Auxerre as reluctance on the part of the early sculptor "to break or falsify outlines of the solid body by more or less accidental projections of insubstantial clothing." Since the upper torso could have been shown *against* the background of a screen of cloth (as in other instances), I am not sure that this intent applies here. I would, however, accept Harrison's theory that the uneven length of the "sleeves" behind the arms of the Dame is conditioned by their different positions, one straight and one bent at the elbow; the sculptor probably feared having a thin strip of stone hanging from the bent arm. Conversely, the originally lengthy right "sleeve" might have broken off during manufacture, thus forcing the carver to shorten his rendering.

20. D. Levi, *ASAtene* 33–34, n.s. 17–18 (1955–1956) 207–288, fig. 65 and pl. Ic. Another type of Cretan plaque, known both from Axos and from Symi, shows an Aphrodite revealing her sex organs by opening her skirt, which hangs behind her legs as a backdrop, from the belt at the waist. The upper torso shows the typical flaps of the "cape," which is therefore to be considered separate from the lower garment. For the plaque, also cited by Kyrieleis, n. 44, see A. Lembessi, *Praktika* 1972, pl. 190γ; see also *AthMitt* 77 (1962) pl. 22.4, and the drawing in J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture. The Archaic Period* (London, 1978) fig. 27.

21. Levi (*supra*, note 20), who usually considers the costume as being provided with a cape (e.g., his p. 249 and n. 1), interprets the Gortyn plaque as showing a woman raising a *veil* to her head (p. 253). I do not see, however, how the portion over the head can be reconciled with the straight edge over the upper arm. More plausibly, G. Rizza opts for a dish or small basket being placed over the head: G. Rizza and V. Santa Maria Scrinari, *Il santuario sull'acropoli di Gortina* (Rome, 1968) no. 167a–e, p. 176 and pl. 26; for a general description of the Cretan costume (peplos and "pèlerine"), see p. 247.

Although the color plate in Levi's article clearly differentiates between the material over and behind the arms and the material of the lower garment, I do not argue that they are separate entities on grounds of color, because Harrison has convincingly explained that anomaly on the Thermon metope: "Daedalic Dress," p. 45.

22. J. Marcadé, *BCH* 73 (1949) 421–436; for a description of the costume as including a "pèlerine," see p. 430. Cf. also E. Hoffmann, *Early*

stone sculpture in the round—indicate similar corners, even accentuated by tassels. A bronze helmet, found in Delphi but probably Cretan, has on either side a female figure riding a bull, who may or may not be Europa.[22] The woman wears a garment with a tight-fitting bodice, but behind her arms two triangular pieces of cloth ending in tassels can be seen. A fragmentary mitra from Olympia, depicting an enigmatic myth, shows a woman seated on a throne (fig. 4); her costume includes long tips that begin at the front and hang behind her back, ending in decorative tassels that differ from other weights indicated, for instance, in the skirt. In this case the item can be less safely identified as a cape; it is, however, distinct from a possible tubular costume.[23]

This enthroned lady may provide a parallel for the "sleeves" of the Dame d'Auxerre (fig. 5), thus invalidating possible interpretations of a one-piece dress; but another detail of internal evidence could also be relevant. As described by Harrison, the statuette in the Louvre wears a sleeveless costume, yet on both its wrists faint traces of an engraved maeander pattern match the border at the neckline and the hem. It would seem logical to assume that on the arms the motif is also used to indicate a terminal point of the same costume and that therefore the Dame d'Auxerre is wearing wrist-length sleeves.[24]

Conceivably, the maeander design around the wrists could indicate bracelets, but it would then be difficult to explain why they were not rendered in relief, since the metal (?) belt is given a clear projecting outline against the body. It is more likely that through such engraving, obviously enhanced by paint, the sculptor wished to differentiate an underlying layer of cloth from the raised edges of an overgarment that should then truly represent a separate cape. Color would originally have made each rendering clearer.

In summary, seventh-century costume seems to include both a tubular and a more tailored garment, with or without sleeves and often accompanied by a cape. That other

Figure 5. Dame d'Auxerre. Paris, Louvre Ma 3098.

Cretan Armorers (Mainz, 1972) 22 and pl. 18, especially drawing fig. 4.

23. Hoffmann (*supra,* note 22) 31, pls. 46.2, 47.2. Tips and tassels may also be shown on some of the Prinias stelai: A. K. Lembessi, *Oi Stelai tou Prinia* (*Deltion* Suppl. 22, 1976) pls. 2–5; cf. p. 21, where the women are described as wearing a long chiton with an epiblema. These stelai also date from the late seventh century B.C. I am particulary indebted to Dr. Harriet B. Watrous who checked the Cretan monuments for me and made very helpful sketches.

24. The wrist patterns on the Dame d'Auxerre can be seen in good photographs, including the one published in Harrison, "Daedalic Dress." See also the drawings of the costume in *RA* 1908, pp. 154–155, figs. 1–2 and in *MonPiot* 20 (1912) 13, figs. 6–7. The painted cast in Cambridge, illustrated in Boardman, *Archaic Period* (*supra,* note 20) fig. 128, is, however, misleading because it omits the maeander pattern between the rings while increasing their number.

That tight-fitting sleeves could exist together with a tailored, tight-fitting bodice as part of a female costume is shown by an incised cuirass from Olympia, the so-called Crowe Corselet: Hoffmann (*supra,* note 22) pl. 25c, Leto and Themis behind Apollo. See his Appendix II, p. 50,

variations were possible, such as apronlike skirts worn backward and wraparound tops, is suggested by vase painting, pithoi, terracottas, and reliefs.[25] Whether any of these disparate garments should be called a peplos must remain uncertain, especially in the light of our own definition.

ARCHAIC DRESS (sixth century B.C.)

Primary evidence for this period is provided by Attic black-figure vases and by sculpture—in relief and in the round—from various proveniences and in different media. The overfolded peplos as we have defined it can seldom be isolated with certainty, but most examples of costume from the early sixth century have been called peploi and must therefore be examined.

In vase painting, the most extensive display of female fashions occurs on the Francois vase, where Kleitias rendered even the long pins fastening some dresses at the shoulders (fig. 6). Yet what is shown may be a two-piece costume: a belted "tunic" accompanied by a short top of the same material. The tunic was probably sewn together at the shoulders, and the pins may have served only to tighten the tubular top around the neck or to secure two flaps comparable to those of a linen corselet.[26] That the apparent apoptygma is in fact a separate garment may be defended on two grounds: (1) the band around the neck, which must reflect a true border and often breaks across a pattern in the cloth, indicates a cut, not a folded fabric; (2) the decoration of the lower part of the costume cannot match the upper part if the latter has been simply folded over, since the inside of the cloth would then become the outside and any figured motif would appear reversed and upside down—yet Kleitias repeatedly paints elaborate garments with matching tops and bottoms.[27] Since all such dresses seem to be worn without an underlying chiton, the mantle often added to the outfit is not *de trop* as is also evident from some Akropolis statues clad in chiton, "peplos," and himation (e.g., Akr. 593, the Pomegranate Kore).[28]

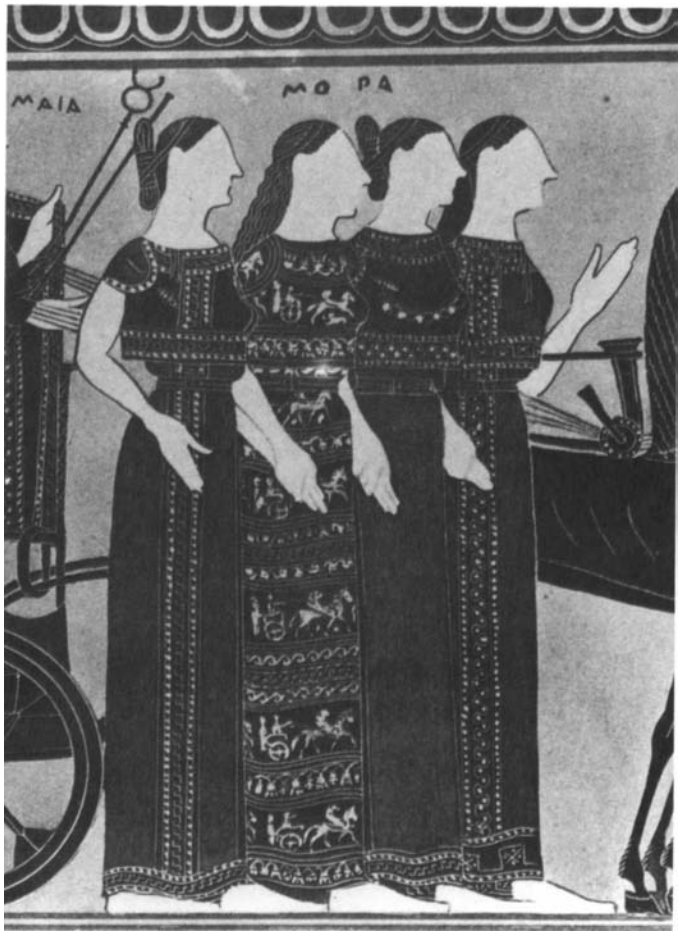

Figure 6. Goddesses in procession, detail from the François vase. Florence, Museo Nazionale 4209.

The François vase also depicts tops that do not encircle the body but seem to be formed by two separate panels with corresponding corners, a rendering which also occurs on later vases by other painters.[29] In sculpture in the round, this open top is exemplified by a bronze mirror support in Thasos. The

where the cuirass is considered Peloponnesian, approximately contemporary with the Cretan armor around 630–610 B.C.

For an archaic bronze wearing a cape with pendent tips, see the statuette of Artemis from Lousoi in Frankfort, W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (London, 1929) pl. 30b.

25. Note, e.g., a stele from Prinias, Lembessi (*supra,* note 23) pls. 32–33; Levi (*supra,* note 20) 249, speaks of aprons. See also the important article by Barber (*supra,* note 3).

The Mykonos pithos displays an impressive variety of sleeves, aprons, and decorated costumes, including the elaborate garment worn by Helen (shawl, himation, and peplos, which resembles that on the mitra in Olympia cited *supra,* note 23): M. Ervin, *Deltion* 18 (1963) 37–75, pls. 17–30, esp. 21–28 for female costumes, pl. 22 and p. 48 for Helen. For a rare instance of East Greek figured scenes, see the women on a hydria from Samos dated to the second half of the seventh century: *AthMitt* 95 (1980) pl. 54 and color pl. I. M. C. Sturgeon has found important traces of color on the female figures of the Isthmia perirrhanterion, which suggest more complex garments than presently known; *AJA* 88 (1984) 262. A detailed drawing and description will appear in her forthcoming volume on the Isthmia sculptures.

Although the periods involved are generally later and the garment studied is likely to be different, note the pendent-sleeve jacket on a ninth-century B.C. bronze relief from Hasanlu, fig. 8 in E. R. Knauer, "Toward a History of the Sleeved Coat," *Expedition* 21 (1978) 18–36; the entire article contains many important comments on Greek costume.

26. Details of the François Vase can be found in many publications, but for particular reference to costumes, see G. M. A. Richter, *Korai. Archaic Greek Maidens* (London, 1968) pl. XIIa–b, opposite p. 45. The elaborate pins may, of course, have also been an item of jewelry and adornment.

It may be significant that these archaic renderings show the rear overlapping the front, while the classical peplos quite often has the front part of the dress overlapping the back; cf., e.g., the Nike from Paros, Ridgway, "Peplos Kore," 52, fig. 3.

27. For opening my eyes on these points, I am greatly indebted to Laura B. Robinson of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

28. Akr. 593: Richter, *Korai* (*supra,* note 26) figs. 147–150.

29. François Vase, Atalante: see, e.g., M. A. Tiverios, *Ho Lydos kai to*

Figure 7. Leda, detail from a neck amphora signed by Exekias. Vatican 344.

Figure 8. Peplos Kore. Athens, Akropolis Museum 679.

karyatid raises both arms to the disc, thus stretching out both the front and back panels of her "apoptygma." From the sides, the tight-fitting undergarment is plainly visible around her torso; the upper garment has four distinct corners and is bordered all around by an incised zigzag line that continues across front and back and clearly defines the extent of this separate item.[30]

Conversely, a tubular top may have existed without pins and with tailored armholes, as suggested by the Leda on the famous Vatican amphora by Exekias (fig. 7). Since a separate border of a different color surrounds the opening for the arm, it is clear that the garment has been cut and trimmed to fit, not simply folded over and pinned. Yet the Leda is the standard parallel for the Peplos Kore, Akr. 679.[31]

As I have argued elsewhere, I do not believe that the Leda and the Peplos Kore (fig. 8) wear the same type of costume, but neither do I accept that the Akropolis statue is depicted with the standard, overfolded peplos. I see the latter as clad in a chiton, a tunic, and *not* an apoptygma but a cape in one piece, open only over the left arm. A detailed rebuttal of my theory has convinced me neither that a second opening for the presumed overfold lies unmarked amidst the folds over the right arm nor that the lack of interruption of the pattern at the bottom edge should be attributed to "artistic convenience."[32] What has been brought forth as a decisive argument in favor of the overfolded peplos—the pair of holes drilled on the shoulders in a position appropriate for the pinning of that garment—is invalidated by the lack of any hint of overlapping flaps, which apparently were not even rendered in paint. Even on the Siphnian frieze—therefore in a many-figured relief of relatively small scale intended to be seen only at a distance from ground level—the sculptor of the Gigantomachy indicated not only the slight salience of the flap but also two aligned holes corresponding to the points of entry and exit of a single fastening device comparable to the long pins of the François vase.[33] To be sure, the cape of the Peplos Kore does not resemble the Cretan garment fastened in the center of the chest, but over a century separated the master of Akr. 679 from the Daedalic renderings, which he may have known only by tradition. In this connection, it may be relevant to repeat that the Europa on the back of the Zeus/Bull on a metope from Selinous wears a similar cape. Both the Europa of the Selinous metope and the Peplos Kore may have been given a cape to suggest earlier fashions.[34]

Does the peplos exist in the sixth century B.C.? If by the term we mean a heavy costume different from the light chiton, the answer is relatively easy and in the affirmative, since in a few instances the two garments appear in combination, as on the already cited Akr. 593. A group of korai with tight-fitting costumes belted at the waist and occasionally ornamented in the center with a maeander stripe could be separated from similar statues on which the garment is rendered as buttoned (rather than sewn) along the upper arm and therefore as thinner in appearance. But other

ergo tou (*Deltion* Suppl. 23, 1976) pl. 86; P. Arias and M. Hirmer, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* (London, 1962) pl. 42. See also a plate in Florence by Lydos, Tiverios, pl. 71γ, where different texture or different patterns are indicated for tops and bottoms. Cf. also Akr. 594, Tiverios, pls. 82β, 87, 88β, and 95. For some of these references, I am indebted to Mary B. Moore and to her important article on the Gigantomachy vase by Lydos, Akr. 607: *AJA* 83 (1979) 79–99; on the folding plate opposite p. 99 note especially Aphrodite and Hera. See also Mary B. Moore on the Siphnian Treasury frieze, *Etudes Delphique* (*BCH* Suppl. 4, 1977) 305–335, and figs. 14–15.

30. Thasos mirror: Congdon, no. 7A, p. 131, pl. 5; the costume is defined as a belted peplos (according to her understanding of the term, cf. *supra*, note 13) with a short shawl or "poncho."

31. I would still stand by my interpretation of the garment of the statue, although when I wrote "Peplos Kore," I obviously had not sufficiently studied the garments on the François Vase and the Vatican amphora, which I accepted as proper peploi with overfolds, albeit different from the costume of the Peplos Kore; cf. my comments there, pp. 52–54 and nn. 9–11.

R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *FKP* I, 251, seems to accept the costume of the Peplos Kore as a variant of the peplos in which the apoptygma has been closed over the right arm down to the elbow. As a parallel she cites an unpublished mirror support in the Louvre, Br. 4395, where the raised arms of the karyatid make the seams more visible; this piece remains unknown to me. That the overfold could be manipulated in classical times seems certain, as we shall see below, but not in the fashion suggested.

That a basically untailored garment could still be provided with a cut and bordered opening in its center is shown by the cloth being carried by several women on a Lokroi pinax, which has been interpreted as the nuptial gown being taken to a bride-to-be. See P. Zancani Montuoro, "Il corredo della sposa," *ArchCl* 12 (1960) 37–50, especially p. 43 and pl. 2.

32. The rebuttal is by R. M. Cook, *JWalt* (*supra*, note 13); the quotation is from his p. 85. In reply, it could be pointed out that at least *the painter* made an effort to suggest the continuous course of the border pattern through the ins and outs of a pleated but uninterrupted hem; cf. W. Lermann, *Altgriechische Plastik* (Munich, 1907) pl. 18, detail of the right side of the torso.

33. This point was already mentioned in my "Peplos Kore," 54, n. 11; cf. my fig. 4 on p. 53. On the Siphnian Treasury frieze, see also Mary B. Moore (*supra*, note 29).

34. On the Europa of the Selinous metope, see Ridgway, "Peplos Kore," 56, n. 24. To the examples there cited, add also a bronze kore in the British Museum, most recently illustrated by E. Langlotz, *Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst* (Mainz, 1975) 165 and pl. 59.3. The Selinous metope is mentioned as a comparison in connection with a funerary relief in Delphi: M.-A. Zagdoun, *FdD* 4.6 (Paris, 1977) 104, cat. no. 27, inv. 4451. The author suggests that the figure is female because it is wearing a "very rare form of peplos" like that of the Sicilian Europa. More convincingly, to my mind, W.-H. Schuchhardt has interpreted the Delphi figure as male, a groom holding a horse's bridle: *AntP* 17 (1978) 81, n. 14, fig. 22, where the relief is considered Hellenistic or even Roman rather than fourth century B.C. The Europa of the metope is again cited in connection with an Etruscan relief from Chiusi of the mid-sixth century B.C. L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* (*supra*, note 12) 47, fig. 98, sees it as an example of Greek influence, perhaps mediated by Magna Graecia, on Etruscan art, since the "Cretan capelet" was not worn in Etruria. The dancing women of the Chiusi relief wear their capes like ponchos.

For a Demeter wearing a "mantilla" over a chiton, see the volute krater by the Berlin Painter in Karlsruhe, E. Simon and M. and A. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen* (Munich, 1976) fig. 142.

Figure 9. Phrasikleia. Athens, National Museum. Photo from E. Mastrokostas, *AAA* 5.2 (1972) pl. III.

Figure 10. Athena from the west pediment of the Temple of Aphaia on Aigina. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen.

groupings have been advocated on grounds of style, which cross over these textural lines, and may therefore invalidate the distinction in costume.[35] Be that as it may, we can still acknowledge that the Phrasikleia (fig. 9) differs from both the Peplos Kore and the standard Akropolis dedications in chiton and diagonal himation and that our terminology should be expanded to include other attires.

If, however, we ask whether the peplos as previously defined exists during the sixth century, the answer must be more cautiously phrased. The evidence consists primarily of small bronzes, which in general reflect a much greater—and more bizarre—variety of clothing than contemporary monumental sculpture. A form of the smooth peplos with very short overfold, leaving both arms clearly free, is shown on a bronze statuette of Artemis from Mazi in the Peloponnesos; another bronze Artemis, in a running pose, from Dodona, wears a similar outfit.[36] An architectural terracotta in the shape of a female bust, presumably from the Basilica in Paestum, has a scalloped top that may represent an overfold but could also be a separately sewn ruffle independent from the main costume with its apparently tailored sleeves.[37] A bronze mirror karyatid in London has been described as wearing a peplos with a short overfold pulled over the arms and revealing the pleated kolpos above the belt, but the rendering could also be interpreted as peplos and overfold (the scalloped "kolpos") with overlying cape (the presumed apoptygma). Since this statuette is also from South Italy, local fashions or misunderstandings are possible.[38] Chronology is an added difficulty, since secure dates are lacking, and the mirror support could be early classical rather than archaic.

There is also the indirect evidence of late archaic figures wearing chiton and diagonal himation as if these were peplos and overfold. The typical example is the Athena from the west pediment of the Temple of Aphaia on Aigina, whose himation has been given a straight hem rather than a swallow-tailed one (fig. 10); over this almost rectangular expanse of cloth, gathers of folds correspond to the salience of the breasts, anticipating the modeling possibilities of a true apoptygma.[39] Euthydikos' Kore suggests somewhat the same enveloping costume in the severe verticality of her himation and the smoothness of her chiton over the left shoulder.[40] We might also consider the ambivalent renderings of some small bronzes. A mirror karyatid from Corinth, dated to the end of the sixth century, has been described in one publication as wearing an Ionic chiton with buttoned sleeves under a thin shawl in two semicircular panels clasped over each shoulder[41] and in another as wearing a peplos with elaborate apoptygma.[42] Other examples could be mentioned.

The question as to whether these artistic renderings can be considered true reflections of contemporary fashions should finally be addressed. I am no longer sure that I know the answer. Chiton and himation are too often mentioned in the sources as being worn by humans not to have formed part of the daily wardrobe of sixth-century Greeks, both men and women, but we cannot be sure *how* they were worn or what they looked like. In art the figures represented are usually divine or heroic, even when the context, without labels, may seem to us to suggest daily life or contemporary battles.[43] Costume offers such endless possibilities for ornamentation and variety that both sculptor and painter probably exploited its potential. Yet neither is likely to have "fabricated garments out of whole cloth," if I may be allowed the pun, nor to have portrayed purely imaginary costumes that would have provided no frame of reference for the viewer. I am convinced that most depictions of garments on statues and on vases are either ritualistic or "old-fashioned" and most certainly symbolic, although the allusions may escape us today. Perhaps the archaic "peplos," in its tuniclike, short-sleeved form without overfold, comes closest to a contemporary dress, but I am no longer certain that the peplos *of our definition,* with overfold and possibly kolpos, is shown in art and worn in the life of the sixth century.

SEVERE DRESS (circa 480–450 B.C.)

This is the period par excellence of the canonical peplos, a garment which seems virtually devised to hide the body rather than to reveal it. Many Greek originals, both in the round and in relief and almost exclusively in marble, repre-

35. In *Archaic Style,* 91, I attempted a division between peplos and chiton based not only on the fastening method but also on the heavier or lighter appearance of the cloth and the presence or absence of the kolpos. I also formed (p. 99 and n. 16) a not entirely homogeneous group including Phrasikleia, the kore from Lindos, and a kore from Aghios Ioannis Rendis. I would now also add the bronze figurine from Rome presently in Munich, *AA* 1913, cols. 15–18, fig. 1, which has been considered made in Italy but which could be from Asia Minor. J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 86 (1982) 183–191, has altered the composition of my group by eliminating the three above-mentioned marble statues and by adding several others. The discussion must remain open.

36. Artemis from Mazi in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Ridgway, "Peplos Kore," 54, fig. 5; *FKP* I, 251, n. 509; the statuette was dedicated by Chimaridas.

Artemis from Dodona in Berlin: K. A. Neugebauer, *Katalog der statuarischen Bronzen im Antiquarium* I (Berlin, 1931) 107–108, no. 214, pl. 39.

37. Paestum terracotta bust: *Archaic Style,* 92, n. 9; *BdA* 48 (1963) 212–220; M. Gjødesen in *Art and Technology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970) 159–160, figs. 28–29.

38. London, Br.Mus. 238: *FKP* I, 190–191, no. 33b, pl. 137, from Naples.

39. Aigina Athena: *Severe Style,* 15 and n. 4, fig. 1.

40. Euthydikos' Kore, Akr. 686 + 609: Boardman, *Archaic Period* (*supra,* note 20) 86, figs. 160a–c.

41. Congdon, 141–142, no. 21, pl. 19. The statuette is Louvre Br. 1689.

42. *FKP* I, 238–239, no. 42f, pl. 167. Note that Tölle-Kastenbein's entire group 42 is formed by transitional and noncanonical renderings. Equally ambivalent is a mirror karyatid in Cleveland, Museum of Art

sent the dress in monumental sculpture. In the realm of original statuettes, both small bronzes and terracottas provide abundant evidence of the fashion. In the sphere of Roman copies, several types are popular and can be safely traced back to Greek prototypes. This is now dangerous ground, however, since we have come to realize that this stylistic phase was particularly appealing to the sculptors of the Roman period, who created figures in severe style to symbolize concepts of their own, as we shall explore later.

It is traditionally believed that the *artistic rendering* of the peplos originated in the Peloponnesos, perhaps because the basic simplicity of the garment recalls Doric frugality, while chiton and himation are firmly associated with Ionia. Our assessment is also partly influenced by the overwhelming evidence of the spectacular sculptures from Olympia, both metopes and pediments of the Temple of Zeus, firmly dated between 470 and 456 B.C. Yet some early examples of the peplos come from Athens, and it has even been suggested that the Olympia sculptures might have been carved by masters coming from the Attic city.[44] Certainly Boiotia presents a distinctive series of peplophoroi, even if in terracotta, and the fact that marble statues in peploi have been found in the Cyclades, Rhodes, and Thrace—areas traditionally under Ionic influence—as well as in non-Greek areas such as Lycia, attests to the wide diffusion of the garment.[45] To pinpoint a single place of origin for the fashion seems impossible, especially at the present stage of our knowledge and considering the approximate contemporaneity of renderings, even in Magna Graecia, which is traditionally accused of being "retardataire."

That Athens may have played a major role in establishing the artistic predominance of the peplos is a possibility but not the only one and not even, to my mind, the best one, despite some convincing arguments advanced by R. Tölle-Kastenbein.[46] She bases her theory on the specific forms of the peplos that she considers Attic: not only the version worn by Athena, belted over the apoptygma,[47] but also the more common form with loose overfold and kolpos. In fact, the appearance of a kolpos under the apoptygma, albeit minimal at first, is held to be a distinctive Athenian trait.[48] Yet the statistical table presented to support the theory could be read differently by noting the large role played in it by the Olympia sculptures—whose Attic connection is only hypothetical, *pace* Pausanias—and by several peplophoroi of uncertain provenience or with exotic findspots, such as the bronze statuette from Guelta now in Algiers. Some of the attributed pieces, moreover, may no longer belong within the severe period.[49] This is not the place for an in-depth critique of a valuable book, but the point is of some importance because the Elgin/Getty Peplophoros is there considered Attic and made to add to the statistical weight.[50]

This beautiful Greek original collected by Lord Elgin has received but little attention despite its high quality and its relative rarity as a freestanding marble type (figs. 11a–c). Since Lord Elgin's name is most closely associated with the Parthenon sculptures, it would be plausible to assume that the peplophoros also comes from Athens; but the English diplomat traveled to other countries, resided for a time in Turkey, and collected antiquities from a variety of places. Since the marble of the Getty Kore is grayish and large grained, it is definitely not Pentelic and probably not even Parian, as might be expected in an Attic work of the severe period. The wide expanse of the overfold with little modeling, the reminiscence of earlier fashions in the way in which the skirt is held aside as if in a chiton, the simplicity of the kolpos itself, and the layered rendering of the sharp-edged folds are not, to my eyes, comparable to such definitely Attic pieces as Angelitos' dedication or the relief of the "Mourning Athena." That the difference in the pleating cannot be attributed solely to the manner of belting the peplos is evident in a comparison of the Elgin Kore with a marble statuette from Brauron,[51] which, because of the old-fashioned hairstyle, loose and long down the back, may be as early as the Getty Peplophoros. Here the folds are rounded, the apoptygma is articulated, and the distinction between free and weight leg is clearly marked, despite the relatively opaque treatment of the cloth.

Among the "Attic" peplophoroi grouped by

50.7 (circa 480 B.C.), which Congdon (p. 151, no. 33, pl. 29) describes as wearing an Ionic chiton over which a "false apoptygma" has been fastened by two large shoulder fibulae. I would, however, agree with *FKP* I, 136–137, no. 19c, pls. 89–90, that the figure wears a peplos with overfold open on the right side, as well as a chiton underneath; her peplos is, however, described as "chitonähnlicher."

43. On this point, see, e.g., J. Neils, *AntK* 23 (1980) 13–23, and *AJA* 85 (1981) 177–179; G. F. Pinney in W. Moon, ed., *Greek Art and Iconography* (Madison, Wis., 1983) 127–146.

44. *FKP* I, 271–282, especially p. 280.

45. On the distribution of the peplophoros type, see, e.g., *Severe Style*, *passim* and p. 37, n. 5. For a peplophoros from Rhodes, see J. A. Papapostolou, *AA* 1971, 19–29.

46. *FKP* I, 60–75, esp. p. 75.

47. Yet she dates Akr. 140 (Angelitos' Athena, in *FKP* I called Euenor's Athena, after the sculptor rather than after the dedicant) "not before the middle of the Severe style," as contrasted with the more traditional dating shortly after 480 B.C.: *FKP* I, 54–56, no. 9e, pls. 42–44; see also p. 65.

48. *FKP* I, 244 and table "Kolpos" on same page.

49. Statuette from Guelta, now in Algiers: *FKP* I, pl. 31, no. 7a; Stuttgart statuette, pl. 32, no. 7b; and, to my mind, also the wooden statuette from Brauron, 7d, which has the opulence of truly classical, late fifth-century pieces: cf. *BCH* 87 (1963) 706 and fig. 13 on p. 708.

50. Elgin Peplophoros (height: 0.71m), The J. Paul Getty Museum accession number 70.AA.114; *FKP* I, 52–53, no. 9a, pls. 37–38; on p. 284 it is acknowledged that an Athenian provenience can be suggested on the basis of Lord Elgin's ownership. For a brief history of the statue, see Ridgway, "Two Peplophoroi."

51. *FKP* I, 53, no. 9b, pl. 39.

Figure 11a. Elgin Kore. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 70.AA.114.

Figure 11b. Back of figure 11a.

Figure 11c. Right profile of figure 11a.

Tölle-Kastenbein, the Getty Kore strikes a different note that seems to me due to its different geographical affiliation. I had previously commented on its similarity to the severe statues from the akropolis of Xanthos, and now J. A. Papapostolou has also recognized it as "Ionic." He nonetheless acknowledges an Attic component in its style but attributes it to the strong artistic links between East and West during the severe period.[52] I subscribe to this assessment.

In terms of costume, the Elgin Kore wears what can be finally considered a traditional peplos. Worn open on the proper right side, the cloth is folded over; fastened at the shoulders, the material from the back being pulled forward over that of the front; and girt at the waist with some slack left above the belt to form a straight kolpos. The right hand held the skirt aside, "korelike," and it is therefore impossible to tell, in the present broken state, whether the peplos was shown entirely open along the right flank or sewn in the lower part.[53] The total effect is one of cubic simplicity, of heavy drapery concealing the body while at the same time articulating its projecting points. The figure as intuited under the peplos is full, muscular, and massive. Note especially the powerful thigh of the advanced right leg and the outline of the glutei, which results plausibly from the pulling forward of the skirt.[54]

If this is an immediately identifiable peplos, other forms of the costume exist, which can be briefly reviewed here, without too much emphasis being placed on regional trends. The severe peplos can be entirely open along one side, and the edges can zigzag in parallel or in opposing course;[55] occasionally the edges separate, revealing a leg or, in younger wearers and children, a greater portion of the body. This open peplos can be worn either with or without a belt; when the overfold comes down low over the torso, the belt may no longer be visible and can only be surmised. Occasionally the peplos is closed—some renderings clearly indicate a tubular

52. Papapostolou (*supra*, note 45) 25.

53. *FKP* I, 53, describes it as a "closed peplos," but I am not sure the distinction can now be made.

54. This interest in revealing the rear of the body under the skirt seems to be an early trait: cf., e.g., the back view of Angelitos' Athena, *FKP* I, pl. 43a. Later peplophoroi are treated so that only the front of the skirt reveals the difference between free and weight leg. The Xanthos peplophoroi, which remain a plausible parallel for the Elgin Kore, do not match it in the treatment of bodily forms, since they appear virtually undifferentiated under the not-too-doughy peplos; for new illustrations, see *FKP* I, pls. 59–63, nos. 13a–c.

55. See the table in *FKP* I, 240–241.

56. See, e.g., *FKP* I, 242, nos. 30a, 31c, 34b, etc.

57. Athens NM 6456, *FKP* I, 242, no. 8a, pl. 34.

58. See, e.g., *FKP* I, pls. 20 (4f), 26 (5e), and *passim*.

59. Arkadian figures: see, e.g., the seated peplophoros from Tegea, *FKP* I, 150, no. 22a, pl. 98.

Thessalian figures: *FKP* I, 118; cf. no. 15i, pl. 71, and no. 16d, pl. 74, where the loose material has been pinned together to form virtual sleeves. I cannot accept, however, that the same version is indicated on a

skirt—but the overfold remains open on one side.[56] More rarely, the lower part of the garment is open but the overfold is closed. This rendering has been noted on a bronze Athena statuette from the Akropolis, where the seam stitching the edges of the overfold on the proper right side is clearly rendered,[57] but the form seems unusual.

The entirely tubular peplos also exists and actually may be the dominant fashion in small bronzes, but it is worn with the apoptygma running under the arms, in canonical form, thus leaving them uncovered.[58] Yet the voluminous pouches formed on either side can be pulled forward and provide some cover. This rendering has been considered especially typical of Arkadian and Thessalian peplophoroi, regional climate being a possible contributing factor to the fashion.[59] Note, however, that even a Cycladic work, as the Giustiniani Stele is generally classified, exhibits a comparable form: the farther arm of the girl on the gravestone is bent at the elbow and wrapped in the voluminous folds almost down to the wrist, although her type of peplos is the one open on the right side.[60]

It is obvious that the overfolded peplos, especially the tubular version, cannot be too ornate or serve too many purposes; the relative plainness of the material is reflected in some red-figure vase representations, which indicate only borders or repetitive, non-figural patterns at the edges.[61] The length of the costume can be regulated through the length of the overfold, which is seen to vary from piece to piece: the overbelted variety usually reaches to the beginning of the thighs or slightly above; the most common unbelted form falls at mid-torso. The peplos can also be shortened by means of belts and kolpoi.

Early in the severe period the kolpos is seldom rendered in art and seems to run parallel to the waist belt in a horizontal line; it changes gradually, dipping down over the hips, but this form is more typical of the later fifth century. Yet in the severe period a deep kolpos also exists, perhaps in imitation of the low kolpos of a chiton in archaic sculpture. Deep kolpoi and overfolds may indicate a young person who has yet to "grow into" her full-length peplos;[62] they are also found, however, on divinities, perhaps to suggest extra richness or youthful age. A double kolpos (or double-belted peplos) has been postulated, primarily on the basis of vase painting and one replacement figure on the west pediment at Olympia. The form is attested for the end of the fifth century and could therefore have appeared as early as the severe period; but the few bronze statuettes that have been cited as examples of the fashion do not seem true peplophoroi, and in vase painting a chiton may possibly be depicted.[63] The conflation between the two garments, which is unmistakable in classical times, could have its roots in the severe period, but I feel less confident on this point.

In the overfolded peplos, necklines vary from a simple boat- to a V-shape, probably depending on the amount of slack allowed the cloth and on the desire of the artist to model the breasts; but no chronological or regional distinction seems to attach to either form. Perhaps some regional distinction could be implied by the presence of a chiton under the peplos, which is rare but definitely attested, possibly more frequently in northern Greece than elsewhere. In Attica, Angelitos' Athena wears a smooth garment under the peplos, which looks different from the standard crinkly chiton and is certainly shorter, but perhaps its smooth surface corresponds to the treatment on Euthydikos' Kore and should not be taken as a conventional indication of texture.[64] On the west pediment at Olympia, the Bride (Figure O) may be wearing chiton and himation as a ritual costume primarily intended to differentiate her from the other women (fig. 12), but an element of modesty and decorum may also have intruded, since her garment holds up under the attack of the centaur.[65] Her companions wear loose peploi without undergarments,

candelabrum figurine, Athens NM 16406, *FKP* I, no. 16c, pl. 73, since the sleeves there appear tailored, surrounding the arm and separate from the bodice; they therefore cannot belong to a continuous apoptygma of a peplos.

For comments on the climate, see, e.g., *FKP* I, 118, n. 229, and H. Biesantz, *Die thessalischen Grabreliefs* (Mainz, 1965) 70.

60. Giustiniani Stele: *FKP* I, no. 11b, pl. 53; but on p. 87 the author notes that the rendering is unusual and found only on Thessalian stelai.

61. For examples of red-figure vases showing various forms of the peplos, see *FKP* I, 246–248, figs. 21–32. I am not convinced, however, that fig. 25—a detail of a bell-krater by the Altamura Painter, Ferrara, Mus.Arch. T 311—depicts a regular peplos with overfold. The upper garment could be a separate poncho, especially given the presence of a neck border. Were this neckline to be understood as part of the undergarment, the peplos-apoptygma combination would be equally impossible. Note that the shawl held on the woman's left arm has the same border decoration as both garment and overgarment, whatever they may be, showing that one-piece costumes cannot be defended on the basis of decoration alone.

62. Cf. *Severe Style*, 116, n. 5; also cf. E. B. Harrison, *AJA* 81 (1977) 269 and *Hesperia*, Suppl. 20 (1982) 41 and n. 4, although in both these instances she is referring to a chiton with a low kolpos. If the wearer is not young, the amount of material may suggest a particularly rich dress.

63. Double-belted peplos at Olympia: B. Ashmole and N. Yalouris, *Olympia. The Sculptures of the Temple of Zeus* (London, 1967), west pediment, Figure B, figs. 64 and 69. Note also Figure O on the east pediment, Ashmole and Yalouris, figs. 22–24. In both these examples the peplos is belted both above and below the overfold. For the bronze examples, see *FKP* I, 222–225, group no. 39, pl. 152. On vases, see *FKP* I, 246, fig. 24, cup from the Circle of the Penthesileia Painter, showing an overbelted apoptygma and a deep kolpos; I suspect that fig. 23 shows a chiton.

64. The table in *FKP* I, 245, does not indicate all figures with undergarments mentioned in the catalogue: 25d, 38a, 42f; a bronze peplophoros from the Pindos region, Athens NM Car. 450, is not included in the book. See my review of *FKP* I in *BonnJbb* 182 (1982) 626–631.

65. Olympia Bride: Ashmole and Yalouris (*supra*, note 63) figs. 92 and 98. Figure O has usually been considered a bridesmaid, but the position of the central groups on the west pediment has recently been clarified by P. Grunauer, *JdI* 89 (1974) 1–49, especially pp. 45–48.

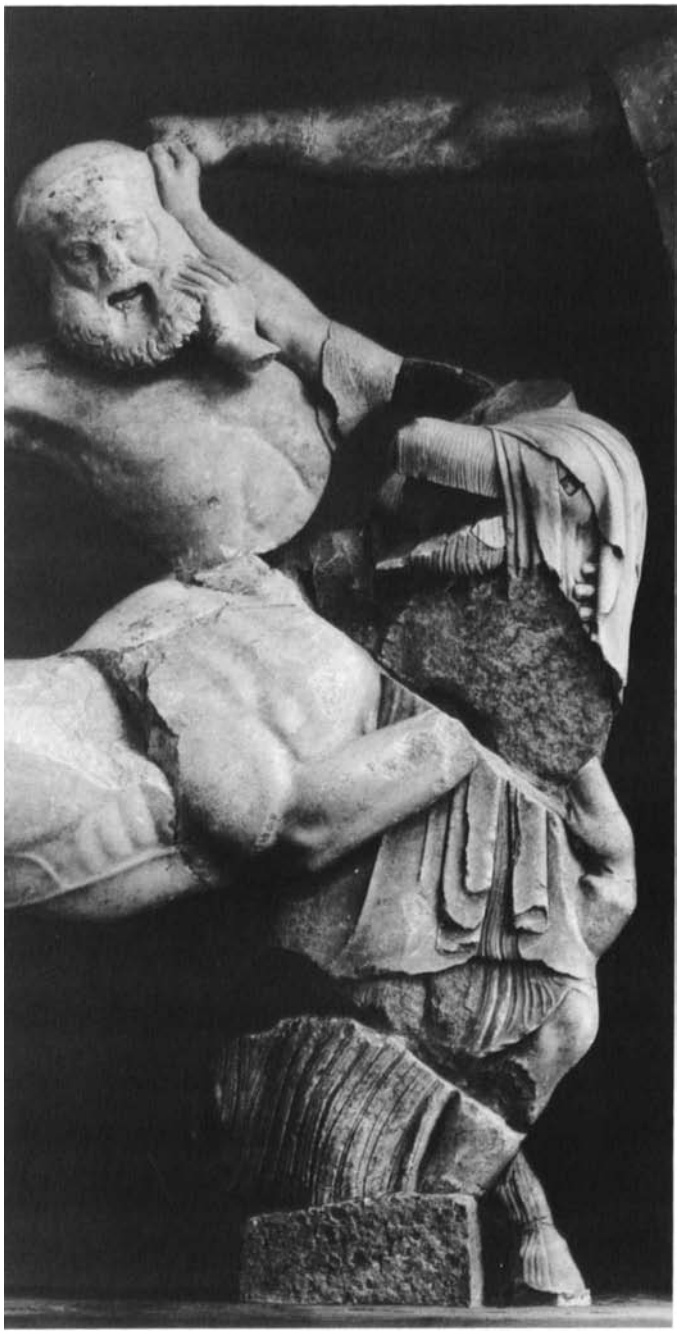

Figure 12. Bride (Figure O) from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Olympia Museum.

and the shoulder fastenings give way in the struggle, thus exposing their bodies and providing one of the earliest examples of sculptural female nudity under plausible circumstances.

Some form of overgarment may also be used together with the peplos, especially a back mantle, which becomes more popular in the next stylistic phase.[66] Given the basic simplicity and practicality of these items, it is legitimate to ask whether regional distinctions correspond to real-life usages, which would be influenced by a more or less rigorous climate. But any answer must involve the determination of the identity of the various peplophoros types.

Tölle-Kastenbein has considered this problem of identity in some depth,[67] in particular with regards to the many mirror karyatids dressed in peploi, but has left the issue open, for understandable reasons. Although some peplophoroi can undoubtedly be recognized as divinities, either through attributes or, in the case of vase painting and inscribed statues, through labels and dedicatory formulas, the great majority of extant examples remains uncharacterized and unidentifiable. Only the deliberate imitation of the severe form of the peplos in later times may suggest that the costume (or the style) carried a meaning that could be considered symbolic at least by the time of the revival. It is therefore impossible to know whether the peplos was actually worn by the Greeks of the early fifth century B.C., since even representations on gravestones may carry heroizing connotations. Only one male figure, to my knowledge, is shown wearing the peplos during the severe period: a bronze statuette from Euboia of the river god Acheloos, who appears fully human, clad in a chiton and a peplos with kolpos and overfold.[68]

CLASSICAL DRESS (circa 450–400 B.C.)

The previous stylistic phase saw the use of the peplos in art to the virtual elimination of other forms of costume.[69] The later fifth-century sculptors preferred to clothe female figures in chiton and long himation but still produced some of the most famous peplophoroi in Greek art: the Athena Parthenos, the Promachos, and the Karyatids of the Erechtheion. The number of mirror karyatids dwindles considerably, however, and isolated bronze statuettes are also much rarer, so that our evidence changes in nature.

66. Cf., e.g., *FKP* I, 225–228, for a discussion of the type; see also her pls. 40–41 (no. 9d, from Rhamnous), and pls. 153–155.

67. *FKP* I, 296–303; see also Biesantz (*supra*, note 59) 91–98 and pp. 69–74 for specific discussion on female costume. See finally Congdon, 16–18, although she is concerned primarily with mirror supports in any form of garment.

68. R. A. Gais, *AJA* 82 (1978) 359, fig. 8, after *Praktika* 1912, 133, fig. 15. The river god is dated to circa 460 and is shown as fully human, bearded, standing with a cornucopia; he wears a chiton and a peplos with overfold and kolpos.

Figure 13. Women in procession from the east frieze of the Parthenon. Paris, Louvre.

The peplos of this classical phase continues to hide the body to some extent, but its system of skirt folds is consistently used to differentiate between the weight and the free leg, a practice that had begun in severe monumental sculpture and is clearly exemplified at Olympia. In addition, the central panel of the apoptygma may twist toward the side of the weight leg, as in the Erechtheion Karyatids, thus providing further indication of movement and balance.[70] The classical peplos is also unabashedly opulent, much more voluminous than the severe rendering of the costume, falling in ample skirts and bouffant kolpoi around female bodies that seem correspondingly more feminine or even simply more robust. In keeping with the stylistic discoveries of the time, the curves of kolpos and apoptygma are increasingly utilized to convey the roundness of the abdomen, while the many folds between the breasts model the upper torso in much greater detail than previously. Yet some of the inner coherence of the costume is lost in the rendering: the apoptygma occasionally appears almost transparent, or at least thinner than the underlying layers; it also clings to the body in a manner that belies the presence of such layers.[71]

Chitons and peploi are difficult to distinguish—a difficulty increased by the fact that chitons are also given overfolds, although usually shorter than in the peplos. The basic difference remains the presence of sleeves (usually buttoned) in the chiton, but even this distinction is missing in the chitoniskos, as depicted for instance on Amazons—sleeveless and with more than one belt. Texture, which used to be the main criterion, can now be confusing, because of the transparency mentioned above.[72]

Peplophoroi are occasionally shown together with figures wearing chiton/himation combinations in order to create some kind of iconographic distinction, the peplos probably symbolizing a more matronly person and therefore being worn by Demeter when paired with Kore.[73] Yet this explanation does not always apply, and a desire for contrast and

69. Vase painters, however, continued to depict the archaic chiton/himation combination and seem in general to have preferred the transparent texture of the chiton because of its potential for pictorial effects. But beyond the standard chiton worn with a long mantle, which seems almost the primary classical attire, many other costumes that do not fall into the familiar categories are also shown on vases.

70. For an analysis of the drapery of the Erechtheion Karyatids see, e.g., *Fifth Century*, 105–108, with bibliography, and figs. 82–83.

71. See, e.g., *Fifth Century*, figs. 37 (Agora akroterion), 68 (Nike Balustrade), 84 (Nike of Paionios).

72. Amazons' costume: see, e.g., M. Bieber, "Der Chiton der ephesischen Amazonen," *JdI* 33 (1918) 49–75. See also the Amazons on the Bassai frieze, e.g., *Fifth Century*, fig. 65. For a sculptor's confusion on the Parthenon east pediment, see Figures E and F and comments in *Fifth Century*, 49–50 and n. 17, fig. 22.

73. On the iconography of Demeter and Kore, see, e.g., A. Peschlow-Bindokat, *JdI* 87 (1972) 60–157; note in particular the juxtaposition of costumes on the Great Eleusinian Relief: L. Schneider, *AntP* 12 (1973) 103–124; *Fifth Century*, 138–141.

artistic variety may also be the underlying reason for the choice. Record reliefs juxtapose overbelted and underbelted peplophoroi, perhaps to make Athena more easily identifiable next to another goddess, but apparently also to allude to specific, and recognizable, statues.[74] On the other hand, as already noted, Athena's costume becomes more varied and less of a distinguishing criterion, while the overbelted apoptygma may be shown on different individuals, even on gravestones.[75]

The chiton worn under the peplos occurs less frequently, but some of the women in the procession on the east frieze of the Parthenon still wear it.[76] Conversely, the back mantle is seen more often: on the Erechtheion Karyatids, for instance; on the very similar Prokne with Itys[77] that may derive from the same workshop; and especially on the already mentioned peplophoroi of the Parthenon east frieze, which almost epitomize the fifth-century version of the costume (fig. 13). There the neckline, whenever visible, is V-shaped, the overfold unbelted, the kolpos occasionally quite low, the pouches around the arms wide and full. Another form of mantle, worn over the head like a veil and then flung across the chest, is exemplified by one of the Grimani statuettes in Venice, which is still datable within the fifth century and may reproduce a cult image of larger scale. This particular fashion of the shawl recurs in the early Hellenistic period, perhaps again as an iconographic allusion.[78] In rare occasions, instead of a separate veil or mantle, the overfold of the peplos in the back can be brought up over the head for added protection in a manner that suggests ritual or—in certain contexts—sudden threat and fear.[79]

Rapid movement and violent action continue to be motivations for disarray, and the open peplos lends itself well to the new effects of female nudity sought by classical sculptors. An early example is Figure G on the Parthenon east pediment who, unusually, wears her peplos open on her left side rather than the more traditional right, perhaps better to provide a glimpse of her body, given the direction of her running and her fixed position on the gable.[80] Exposure of the female body is greater in more dramatic contexts: the Wounded

Figure 14. Nike of Paionios. Olympia Museum.

74. Record reliefs with peplophoroi have been analyzed by H. Jung, *JdI* 91 (1976) 97–134; for identifiable statues on reliefs, see G. Neumann, *Probleme des griechischen Weihreliefs* (Studien zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte 3, Tübingen, 1979) ch. 4, *passim.*

75. See, e.g., the Stele of Krito and Timarista in Rhodes, *Fifth Century*, fig. 109, and some Thessalian stelai, e.g., Biesantz (*supra*, note 59) pl. 7, see also his comments on pp. 69–74 on the difficulty of distinguishing types of costume according to Bieber's classification.

76. Of the Parthenon east frieze, slabs II and III are damaged; therefore the costume worn by the women is unclear, and at least in some cases the chiton is worn under a heavy mantle rather than the peplos. Yet at least three women are undoubtedly wearing the latter: F. Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries—Katalog und Untersuchung* (Mainz, 1977) pls. 166–168, and detail on pl. 170. It may be significant that the women moving from (viewer's) left to right wear the chiton/peplos combination, while those moving from right to left wear only the peplos, as shown by their bare arms, in combination with the back mantle (Brommer, pls. 186–189). Whatever distinction may be implied, however, both right- and left-hand groups include women wearing chiton and himation without the peplos.

77. Prokne and Itys, Athens, Akr. Mus.: H. Knell, *AntP* 17 (1978) 9–19; *Fifth Century*, 175–176, with additional bibliography.

78. Grimani statuette: R. Kabus-Jahn, *AntP* 11 (1972) 51–59, pls. 28–35; on the Grimani group in general see *Fifth Century*, 194–198. The Hellenistic revivals of the type are discussed *infra*.

79. Ritual: Stele of Polyxena, from Boiotia, *Fifth Century*, 148–149, fig. 108; see also a bronze statuette in the Louvre, *FKP* I, no. 40c, pl. 154, pp. 225–226, and discussion of the form on p. 227 (e). For a South Italian bronze statuette in the same pose, see also *FKP* I, pls. 134–135, no. 31f, but there the garment is less clear. I would still consider classicizing the prototype of the marble Gardner Peplophoros in Boston and of the bronze replica among the Herculaneum Dancers: *Severe Style*, 144–145, no. 9, fig. 170; see also *infra*, note 109. By the same criteria, I would hesitate to see a Greek original of circa 450 or soon after as the model for the Roman marble peplophoros in Berlin, which lifts the rear of the overfold and bunches it mantle-fashion over the proper right shoulder front: K. Vierneisel, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 15 (1973) 5–37; see especially p. 25 and n. 26 where the gesture is discussed with possible

Niobid in the Terme has so far lost control of her garment in her death struggle that it is difficult to tell whether she wore a peplos or a mantle; since a himation without undergarment would be an unusual fashion for a fifth-century sculpture, a peplos is the more likely theory, and the rendering reminds us how truly amorphous the costume can be once pins and belts are removed. The same comments apply to the Leda/Nemesis with the Swan in Boston, possibly an akroterial figure, whose entire right side is revealed to enhance the erotic allusions of the myth. No satisfactory explanation is, however, at hand for the wide open peplos of the seated figure from the Sounion pediment, whose crumpled peplos has lost all traces of the cubic cast of its severe predecessors.[81]

Nikai may wear the peplos out of tradition or perhaps because the open garment allows greater freedom of motion. Yet the Nike of Paionios (fig. 14) increases her mobility by lifting her skirt on the side opposite the opening and tucking it under her belt.[82] Her peplos is belted over the apoptygma, but the cloth under the belt is pushed aside by the wind, while one of her shoulder pins is missing, thus letting the material drop to uncover her left breast. Actual nudity and transparency of cloth are so clearly exploited that the use of the peplos can only be attributed to conservatism. That Paionios took advantage of the form to contrast the heaviness of the material when off the body with its thinness when over it is a sign of his virtuoso ability as a marble carver and of his imagination as a sculptor, not of his coherence as an imitator of natural forms. At the peak of the "Rich style," at the turn into the fourth century, another Nike, perhaps an akroterion from the Stoa of Zeus in the Athenian Agora,[83] wears such an elaborate and transparent garment that only the rendering of the selvedge ensures identification as a peplos. It is double-belted over a long apoptygma, with one fastening point slipping down the shoulder and the material clinging closely to the full breasts; a full-length opening runs along on the right side.

By the end of the fifth century two basic variants of the peplos in art seem to coexist, not in terms of fashions but in terms of rendering for iconographic purposes: (1) the heavy, often tubular type, whether belted above or below the overfold, which continues the tradition of the severe peplos simply with added richness, and (2) the flamboyant, open, transparent type appropriate for Nikai, a subform of which can be considered the "collapsing" peplos used as a foil for the naked female body. But two more uses of the garment should be mentioned: the archaistic version and the male costume.[84]

The phenomenon of archaistic sculpture is too complex to be discussed in this context; suffice it here to note that during the period under review a special form of the peplos begins a long artistic life well down into Roman times. It first appears on Hekataia and on figures of Athena connected with the Panathenaic festival or with record reliefs. Its most famous display is on Panathenaic amphorae of the fourth century or later. In this version, the belted overfold does not end in a more or less straight line but is treated as if it were the hem of a diagonal, archaic himation forming a swallow-tail with zigzag edges. The inherent simplicity of the peplos is therefore transformed by this decorative addition, the tips of the apoptygma eventually flaring out as if made of a rigid material or as if in motion. We could speculate that the peplos was used because of its traditional connection with Athena, yet the earliest examples of the archaistic form may occur on the triple-bodied Hekate. We might again assume that a primitive idol was clothed with a true garment, which therefore could plausibly be a peplos because of its adaptability. On the other hand, it is also conceivable that the unlikely appearance of a triplicate creature demanded a rendering as removed as possible from contemporary fashions and clearly recalling statues of an earlier period.[85] That the peplos was chosen, rather than the truly archaic costume, may have some significance for the use of the peplos in "real life." Given the still disputed meaning of the Parthenon frieze, as well as the

parallels. Particularly difficult for the proposed chronology of the prototype are the elongated proportions of the figure, which recur in the "Running Heroine" in Basel and would therefore make it equally questionable: Vierneisel, 35, figs. 25–27; cf. A. Gulaki, *Klassische und klassizistische Nikedarstellungen* (Bonn, 1981) 104–106, figs. 53 and 55, where the Basel statue is dated around the middle of the first century B.C.

On the same gesture in the Peiraieus Athena see *infra*. For the gesture expressing fear, there is less evidence. The Niobid in Copenhagen may also be classicizing, or at least heavily restored, as indicated by the hardness of her face and the stiffness of her apoptygma: *Fifth Century*, 58, figs. 31–32. That the overfold produces an uninterrupted circle around the figure could be explained by assuming a tubular, fully closed peplos, but it is not the specific fashion as much as the rendering that raises doubts on chronology.

80. Parthenon east pediment, Figure G: *Fifth Century*, 50–51 and n. 17, fig. 23. Note that all the female figures preserved from the left corner of the pediment wear the peplos and all those on the right corner wear chiton and himation, perhaps another form of iconographic differentiation whose meaning eludes us at present.

81. Wounded Niobid: *Fifth Century*, 56–57, fig. 25. Leda/Nemesis: *Fifth Century*, 67–68, no. 7, figs. 41–42. Sounion Temple, pedimental seated figure: *Fifth Century*, 40 and n. 3, figs. 16–17.

82. On Nikai in general, many useful comments occur in the dissertation by Gulaki (*supra*, note 79). On the Nike of Paionios and its costume, see *Fifth Century*, 108–111, fig. 84, with additional bibliography.

83. Nike akroterion from the Athenian Agora: *Fifth Century*, 62–63, fig. 37.

84. An account of the rendering of the peplos in the fifth century has been given by Jung (*supra*, note 74) as part of his analysis of the Eirene and Ploutos by Kephisodotos, esp. pp. 118–121, but he does not consider our type 2 and less traditional renderings.

85. Archaistic costume is discussed by E. B. Harrison in *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 11, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, ASCSA (Princeton, 1965). See also *Archaic Style*, ch. 11, and, most recently, M. D. Fullerton, *Archaistic Draped Statuary in the Round of the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1982), where the issue of the Hekataia is specifically discussed.

undoubted mythological or heroizing context of all other examples, the issue must remain open.

The peplos worn by men is again quite rare, and some examples may be debatable.[86] Yet at least one charioteer on the north frieze of the Parthenon wears a long costume, apparently open along the right (farther) side, with the overfold held in place by both a belt and straps across the chest. The material seems clearly pinned over the shoulders and therefore corresponds to our definition of the peplos.[87] Charioteers, musicians, and actors by tradition wear a long costume reaching to the feet that is often sleeved, but it cannot be considered a peplos. Whether the length of such a costume lent itself to conflation with the peplos or whether a special meaning was implied in the Parthenon iconography, is at present impossible to determine.[88]

HIGH CLASSICAL DRESS (circa 400–331 B.C.)

The beginning of this period seems strangely devoid of peplophoroi—especially the type with the unbelted overfold—either from our lack of understanding what might by then have been rendered as a fully transparent and light garment or for iconographic and stylistic reasons.[89] Grave monuments of the first half of the fourth century display women in chiton and himation more often than peplophoroi, and the few extant examples[90] may have been made under the influence of a famous work erected in 374–370 B.C.: the Eirene with the child Ploutos, by Kephisodotos.[91]

This allegorical group of Peace nurturing Wealth has come down to us only in Roman copies (fig. 15), yet its appearance and approximate chronology are attested through representations on Panathenaic amphorae firmly dated to 360/59 B.C. by the archon's name painted on them. Eirene's peplos is of the heavy type appropriate for a matron, belted only under the overfold, with a rich curving kolpos and an apoptygma that follows its contour, and worn with a back mantle. Not only the opulence of its appearance but also the loose curls of the goddess falling over her chest carry an old-fashioned flavor, and there is perhaps a conscious allusion to the Erechtheion Karyatids, themselves slightly archaizing. Since this form of the peplos is rare for its time, the use of the costume must be considered a deliberate revival and remains somewhat isolated within the century. Some "modernization" is, however, introduced in keeping with the stylistic conquests of the period: the heavy vertical folds falling along the weight leg are diverted by the protruding foot and create a pattern which is both a realistic observation and a decorative detail. Note also that kolpos and apoptygma serve less to emphasize the curve of the abdomen than to provide a horizontal accent to the composition while leading the eye to the weight leg and the upthrust hip on which the child rests.[92]

Iconographic conservatism may also be at work in a number of statues of divinities where the peplos either recalls the schema of the Athena Parthenos or is so changed as to

86. An apparent Orpheus peplophoros on one of the metopes from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai has now been shown to have had a nonpertinent head on which the male identification was based: C. A. Picón, *BSA* 76 (1981) 323–328. Some musicians on the north frieze of the Parthenon have been drawn by Carrey as if wearing the peplos, but the actual carvings have not survived to allow verification: Brommer, *Fries* (*supra*, note 76), pls. 48–49 slab VIII.

87. Parthenon, north frieze, slab XII, Brommer, *Fries* (*supra*, note 76), pl. 67. I am indebted to E. B. Harrison for calling my attention to this example. Note that the female charioteer from the east pediment of the Parthenon, Figure N (Selene?) wears a possible peplos fastened by cross-straps around the breasts; the figure is rendered almost as a bust, because of the intended effect of a sinking chariot, and therefore the lower edge of the overfold is not preserved to verify the identification of the costume: F. Brommer, *Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel* (Mainz, 1963) pls. 52–55.

88. For the dress of the kitharoidos, see Stephani, *CRAI* 1875, 95–160 (ref. Thompson, *ArchEph* [*infra*, note 97] p. 40, n. 3).

A peculiar form of short peplos for men, worn over a thin chitoniskos, appears on an Attic red-figure volute krater in the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, inv. no. 10.600, not attributed to a specific painter but dated circa 450–440 B.C. The main scene shows the Dioskouroi kidnapping the daughters of Leukippos. The youths are dressed as travelers with petasoi and short mantles hanging from their arms; over the chitons they wear heavier belted costumes forming short kolpoi at the waist and with "yokes" in contrasting patterns over the shoulders, as if the areas on either side of the neck had been given extra protection for the wearing of straps or baldrics: J. M. Hemelrijk, *Mededelingenblad* 27 (April 1983) 6, fig. 13, technical data and bibliography on p. 7, detail of the Dioskouroi on p. 16, fig. 39.

89. For a similar comment, see Jung (*supra*, note 74) 123. The nereids from the funerary monument in Xanthos, now in the British Museum, have been redated to after the turn into the fourth century B.C. and provide good examples of transparent chitons and peploi; that the latter costume is used may be due to the conservative art of the area: *Fifth Century*, 225, figs. 142–144, with bibliography.

90. See, e.g., a headless peplophoros of the first half of the century, from a burial terrace and family plot at 61 Marathon Street, Athens, which can be dated to the second and third quarter of the fourth century: *AAA* 2 (1969) 257–264, with English summary on pp. 265–266, and fig. 4. Note the peplophoros' left arm, wrapped in the "sleeve." Other stelai of this period show women wearing the peplos over a chiton and under a mantle, so that the heavier dress is often difficult to distinguish, being between the inner and outer garment; see, e.g., a stele in the Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence, R.I., Ridgway, *Classical Sculpture* (Catalogue of the RISD Collection, Providence, 1972) 49–51, no. 17.

91. For the latest discussion, see B. Vierneisel-Schlörb, *Klassische Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Glyptothek München, Katalog der Skulpturen vol. 2, Munich, 1979) 255–266, no. 25; to her references on the Panathenaic amphorae under the archonship of Kallimedes, add *Praktika* 1979 (publ. 1981) pls. 35–39, especially pl. 36, where the statue atop the column seems slightly different from the version seen, e.g., on another amphora, J. Frel, *AAA* 2 (1969) 414–415, figs. 4–5. The type is discussed extensively in terms of its costume by H. Jung (*supra*, note 74).

92. Note also that the Eirene seems wider in proportions (or in artistic conception, as a group) than even the stout Prokne or the massive Erechtheion Karyatids, and this effect might have been stronger in the original, when the back mantle was in full play.

Figure 15. Eirene and Ploutos, Roman copy after the early fourth-century B.C. original by Kephisodotos. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen.

Figure 16. Apollo Patroos. Athens, Agora Museum.

look quite different from the typical garment. An example of the latter is the Peiraieus Athena, a bronze statue of heroic size, which has been, if not universally, at least generally accepted as a Greek original of the fourth century.[93] Her peplos is belted under the overfold but so high above the waist that the primary emphasis is on the long vertical folds of the skirt, which seem almost to originate from her right shoulder. The loose apoptygma has been pulled up in the back so that one of the tips of the open garment has shifted toward the left leg, but the arrangement is not immediately understandable, at least not until the figure has been viewed from all sides.[94] In addition, the diagonal aegis functions almost as a belt, since the material is caught in it below the left breast, as if for a kolpos. No apparent reason exists for the pulling up of the apoptygma, which could not have been meant as a head covering, since Athena wears her customary helmet. The sculptor may have been primarily interested in creating a compositional effect or in revealing the high belt of his figure, perhaps in order to enrich her exposed back view.[95]

The more traditional group of peplophoroi after the schema of the Athena Parthenos can be exemplified by a three-quarter life-size marble statuette from Paros, which has been dated around 360 B.C.[96] It depicts the Delian Artemis (as attested by the dedicatory inscription) with a high polos and a long back mantle hanging from it; the himation was probably held by the goddess with both hands so that when entirely preserved, it would have almost formed a niche around the figure. The peplos is tightly belted at the waist, and the lengthy overfold has a slightly V-shaped edge, more obvious from the side views and hinting at archaistic renderings. That the hint is intentional is shown further by the heavy folds of the skirt, which entirely cover the expanse and allow no distinction between weight and free leg as traditional in peplophoroi since the severe period. The Parian statuette has been correctly described as a fourth-century work with archaistic overtones.

The schema of the Athena Parthenos has been retained also in a statue that, far from archaizing, shows instead the most advanced technique in textural rendering and in chiaroscuro effects through deep carving of folds: the Apollo Patroos from the Athenian Agora (fig. 16).[97] Since this peplophoros is male, it is more important to discuss the specific use of the costume than its stylistic appearance. The kitharoidos, generally attributed to Euphranor, has been described as wearing a chiton, a peplos belted over the overfold, and a back mantle, although the chiton is no longer visible because the arms of the statue are missing. Several renderings of the type exist, however, both on reliefs and in statuette format, to allow the integration. H. A. Thompson has pointed out that the standard iconography of the musician involves a cloak and a chiton, usually long sleeved, and that the sudden appearance of the peplos in the fourth century is unclear, unless taken as an assimilation of Apollo to his sister Artemis.[98] A more recent study has instead implied that even the Patroos wears a sleeved chiton with long overfold, obviously interpreting the "peplos" as the more traditional costume.[99] The study centers on a fragmentary torso of a kitharoidos from the pediment of the fourth-century Temple of Apollo at Delphi and explores the conflation between Dionysos and Apollo that takes place at the time, giving each god traits and attributes of the other. The torso in Delphi is identified as Dionysos despite the kithara, which is more traditionally associated with Apollo, because of the tainia worn around the forehead; costume and demeanor are otherwise considered standard for a kitharoidos.[100]

Literary sources mention both Apollo and Dionysos as wearing a *chiton poderes*, yet Pausanias uses the same term to describe the Athena Parthenos, so that the similarity may be

93. Peiraieus Athena: the statue is not yet fully published; for a discussion, see O. Palagia, *Euphranor* (Monumenta Graeca et Romana III, Leiden, 1980) 21–23, where the issue of Greek original versus Roman copy is left open; doubts have been expressed, e.g., by P. Bol, *Grossplastik aus Bronze in Olympia* (*OlForsch* 9, 1978) 45–46 and especially n. 4 on p. 45. For a new reconstruction of the historical events possibly explaining the Peiraieus cache, see G. Dontas, *AntK* 25 (1982) 15–34.

94. Palagia (*supra*, note 93) 21–22, is puzzled by Athena's "pointed overfall" and stresses its similarity to the triangular apron common in men's mantles at this time. I would question the peculiar rendering at the right armpit which, at least in the marble replica of the type in the Louvre (the Athena Mattei, Palagia, figs. 36–40, especially fig. 38) looks almost pinned up to the "bodice" or tucked under the high belt and does not make sense in a standard peplos. The elongated proportions of the Athena and the torsional pose suggest to Palagia that the bronze cannot be earlier than 350–340 B.C., but the suggestion has also been made that she is a Hellenistic version of a truly fourth-century statue: Palagia, p. 23, n. 117, reporting a comment by S. Karouzou.

95. For a ritual covering of the head with the apoptygma, see *supra*, note 79; see also an extensively recut relief in the British Museum, Palagia, fig. 44; E. Voutiras, *AJA* 86 (1982) 229–233, pl. 31.5.

96. I. Kleemann, *AthMitt* 77 (1962) 207–228; cf. the drawing of the composition on p. 215.

97. A major discussion of the Apollo Patroos is in Palagia, *Euphranor* (*supra*, note 93) 13–20 and 21–32 for related or derivative works. The official publication is by H. A. Thompson, *ArchEph* 3 (1953–1954 [publ. 1961] in Memory of G. P. Oikonomos, 3) 30–44.

98. Thompson (*supra*, note 97) 40.

99. A. Stewart, "Dionysos at Delphi: The Pediments of the Sixth Temple of Apollo and Religious Reform in the Age of Alexander," in E. N. Borza and B. Barr-Sharrar, eds., *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times* (Washington, D.C., 1982) 204–227; on p. 209, Stewart does not openly state that the Apollo Patroos wears a chiton, but shortly after mention of that statue he adds: "and, to choose a piece where the chiton is also worn without the overfold,..." It would therefore appear that the overfold of the Patroos is taken as part of a chiton. The same assumption is made by J. Marcadé in *Etudes Delphiques* (*BCH* Suppl. 4, 1977) 389–408 and especially 397–398, although he identifies the Delphi torso as Apollo and comments on the lack of overfold of its chiton.

100. As mentioned *supra*, note 99, the identification of the torso in Delphi is still debated. The piece is broken at mid-thighs so that theo-

justified iconographically while showing that we are using the term peplos incorrectly. If, however, for the purposes of this article, we follow the definition established initially, then Apollo and Dionysos as well should be classed as peplophoroi. In addition, I fail to see how a chiton could simultaneously have long, tight-fitting sleeves *and* an overfold limited to the torso. When the latter feature is present, therefore, three garments rather than two must be intended: a long-sleeved chiton, a peplos with belted overfold, and a cloak, representing the costume not only of the Patroos but of other similar images.[101] Yet a word of caution is necessary here. It has been convincingly pointed out that the Barberini Apollo in Munich, although iconographically similar to the Apollo Patroos, differs in several important details that mark it as a classicizing rather than a truly classical creation.[102] Since the Apollo Patroos itself follows fifth-century schemata in its costume, chronological assessments become increasingly difficult, especially since the Romans patterned most of their divine images after classical formulas, even when such images could be considered bona fide creations independent from specific prototypes.

We are therefore brought back to the initial question: why is the Apollo Patroos wearing a peplos if the adoption of this costume requires an iconographic shift from tradition? I can only surmise that an antiquarian tone was deliberately sought after, as in the case of the Delian Artemis. Since archaistic renderings of Apollo usually show him virtually nude (or simply with a "shawl"), in keeping with his youthfulness and with the standard kouros type,[103] only the addition of an unfamiliar garment in a traditional form could have achieved the intent, especially since the peplos as we defined it had been occasionally used for men in earlier artistic periods.

Not many other examples of the peplos can be cited for

Figure 17. Bronze "dancer" from the Villa dei Papiri, Herculaneum. Photo from Amédée Maiuri, *Herculaneum* (Rome, 1932) 87.

retically the edge of an apoptygma could have appeared below the break; comparison with similar types suggests, however, that the overfold does not reach such excessive length. The date of the Delphic pediments is circa 330 B.C.

Stewart, 224, n. 41, mentions a Ph.D. dissertation by D. Haubner, *Die Tracht des Gottes Dionysos in der griechischen Kunst* (Vienna, 1972), but neither he nor I have been able to consult it.

101. Both Stewart and Marcadé (*supra,* note 99) as well as Palagia, *Euphranor* (*supra,* note 93), illustrate several kitharoidoi, some wearing only the chiton (e.g., Palagia, fig. 54), others wearing the peplos with overfold over the chiton. The long sleeves of the latter are sewn, not buttoned, as in more standard versions of the chiton, and may be an oriental borrowing combined with the practical purpose of protecting the wearer against the cold.

102. For the suggestion, see L. J. Roccos, summary of a paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in December 1982: *AJA* 87 (1983) 254. For an illustration of the Apollo, see BrBr 465.

103. This statement applies to the archaistic renderings of Apollo possible during the fourth century B.C., the date of the Patroos; in fact, some draped Apollo statues in archaistic costumes were made during the

Figure 18a. Peplophoros in black marble, Roman creation in the severe style. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 73.AA.4.

Figure 18b. Back of figure 18a.

Figure 18c. Right profile of figure 18a.

Figure 18d. Left profile of figure 18a.

the fourth century, at least for major monuments in the round. In votive and record reliefs, both the rich peplos tied under kolpos and overfold and the more sober type belted over the apoptygma are used to characterize divinities; the former version is usually worn over a chiton and with a back mantle, which appears increasingly light and lively. In funerary monuments, whether truly in the round or in very high relief within the frame of a separately added naiskos, both children and young women can be shown with the over-belted peplos to which diagonal straps have been added. They may suggest the need for mobility, as in the Parthenon charioteer, and therefore be a useful form of the costume for young persons or servants. The fluttering mantle behind the figures, recalling depictions of Artemis, may add a touch of heroization.[104]

HELLENISTIC AND GRAECO-ROMAN DRESS
(circa 331 B.C.–Roman imperial period)

Our last stylistic phase may seem to require too sweeping an overview, but the history of the peplos can be brought to a close within a period that sees both the demise and the revival of all previous forms of the costume, thus adding to our chronological difficulties. On the one hand, the peplos appears to have ceased totally as a fashion in Hellenistic times, and indeed Bieber considers it supplanted by the *peronatris*, a sleeved costume pinned over the shoulders without overfold and worn over a chiton.[105] On the other hand, a deliberate use of the peplos on certain sculptural figures must have emphasized their venerability and created iconographic allusions. Among these works, two versions of the costume can be distinguished. One type reflects the stylistic achievements of its time, including the exploitation of textural effects, the play of light and shadow in the rendering of folds, and the dramatic contrast of diagonals and verticals. The second type recalls earlier styles and imitates definite works but with some variations that betray a later date and Hellenistic conception.

Among examples of the first type, we can mention the Hera from Samos that finds a counterpart in a statue from a choragic monument in Thasos. The small mantle flung diagonally across the chest had already been used in the late fifth-century Grimani statuette and will be found again in a Dionysiac context within the Bema of Phaidros in the Theater of Dionysos in Athens.[106] Although iconographically the type may have been established earlier, the silky richness of the costume, the proportions of the figures, and the emphatic slashing of the cloak across the body make these peplophoroi truly daughters of their stylistic time. Other renderings of Hellenistic peploi occur on the Gigantomachy of the Pergamon Altar, where the underlying schemata, of course, go back to fifth-century prototypes; but the actual renderings are pure baroque. Note, however, that peploi are worn there by traditional, matronly goddesses or by the conservative Athena.[107]

Somewhat astride the two categories stands the colossal Athena from the Pergamon Library. Insofar as the statue is meant as a deliberate imitation of the Pheidian Parthenos, it should be considered a "copy" of a fifth-century monument; yet its appearance has been subtly altered according to the stylistic tenets of the Hellenistic period and in keeping with a new conception of the goddess as patroness of wisdom and learning. The Pergamon Athena has been sensitively analyzed by M. Gernand together with several other peplophoroi dating from the second century B.C. at the earliest but imitating modes of the severe and classical styles: an Athena with a crossed aegis from Samos, so convincing in its retardataire traits that it was once attributed to Myron; a peplophoros from Pergamon that recalls the Athenian Prokne but from which Itys has been "removed" to turn her into a Hera; and an "Eirene" from Delos, without Ploutos and with a different identity.[108]

All these works have a validity of their own as representatives of their own times and can be recognized as such with relatively little hesitation. Only now, however, are we begin-

Roman period: cf. Fullerton (*supra*, note 85).

The Romans also created some statues of Apollo kitharoidos in classicizing style, which can, however, be recognized because of stylistic features: for an Apollo wearing a double-belted peplos in the Vatican, see Gulaki (*supra*, note 79) 182 and fig. 138. Another Apollo, in Copenhagen, seems to wear a thin chiton and a knee-length overgarment of different material, which may be attributed to a classicizing conception, as convincingly argued by Gulaki, 183, figs. 139, 140, 142.

104. For the currency of the peplos in the fourth century, see the comments by R. Horn, *Samos* 12, *Hellenistische Bildwerke auf Samos* (Bonn, 1972) 78.

For funerary monuments, see two peplophoroi with crossed straps over the belted overfold, found on the same family plot from which another peplophoros was also recovered: *supra*, note 90, *AAA*, figs. 2–3. They are compared to two peplophoroi, virtually in the round and presumably from a funerary naiskos, in New York: G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of the Greek Sculptures, The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954) 62–64, no. 94, pls. 76–77.

For a discussion of the costume as a possible attire of Artemis, see Ridgway, *RISD Catalogue* (*supra*, note 90) 43–44, no. 15.

105. Bieber, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 35.

106. Hera from Samos: Horn (*supra*, note 104) 77–79, no. 1, pls. 1–4. Choragic Monument in Thasos: F. Salviat, *Thasiaka* (*BCH* Suppl. 5, 1979) 155–167. Grimani statuette: *supra*, note 78. For the figure on the Bema of Phaidros, see M. C. Sturgeon, *AJA* 81 (1977) 31–53; Palagia, *Euphranor*, 27–29, fig. 46. The date of the Bema as such (*not* of the reliefs) is discussed by A. Frantz, *Hesperia*, Suppl. 20 (1982) 34–39.

107. For the goddesses of the Pergamon Altar, I follow the identifications suggested by E. Simon, *Pergamon und Hesiod* (Mainz, 1975) pls. 2 (Doris), 6 (one of the Moirai), 7 (Night), 14 (Athena), 16 (Hera), 27 (Klymene), 28 (Semele). Some identifications of the garment are dubious, and I have therefore not mentioned them. Note the different ways of wearing the mantle over the peplos and the use of long kolpoi and overfolds, e.g., on Night; some peploi are worn with and some without the chiton as undergarment; belts are high, over the apoptygma. By traditional goddesses, I mean those who seem to belong to the earliest

ning to recognize a third group of works, probably to be attributed entirely to masters active under Roman patronage, that imitate so closely the peplos of the severe period as to have escaped proper definition and attribution. Some statues, like the bronze "Dancers" from Herculaneum (fig. 17), so beautifully recreated for the Getty Museum, where they are restored to their original inner-courtyard setting, have finally been accepted as Graeco-Roman creations in severizing style.[109] Others, like the fleeing Leto with her two children, are still traditionally dated to the classical period, albeit variously, and will require special pleading for reclassification.[110] For our purposes it is not essential to isolate all examples of Roman peplophoroi created in imitation of classical styles; it is rather more important to ask the reasons for this revival, especially as concerns the severe style.

I suspect that the same motivations which stood behind the creation of archaistic works may be responsible for those in severizing style: not only iconographic meanings of venerability and antiquity but perhaps also the appeal of the quaintness of the attire, which by Roman times was certainly not part of the daily wardrobe.[111] In fact some Roman creations can be detected as such because of misunderstandings in the rendering. A case in point is the lovely peplophoros in black marble, also at the Getty Museum (fig. 18a-d).[112]

The front part of the figure recalls definite severe examples of relatively early date, since no true differentiation is made between weight and free leg in terms of balance, and the regular zigzags of the overfold betray their archaic ancestry. Yet the apoptygma rises too high over the rigid kolpos, the figure is too elongated for the severe period, and the rear view shows no clear edge to the overfold. It could be surmised that the arms, deeply wrapped in the lateral pouches, have pulled the apoptygma forward like a shawl; but this interpretation, if supported by the side views, is not reflected in frontal tension. The nestling of the arms into the folds of the garment is well attested for the classical period but not in this particular form. Yet what an attractive piece the statue must have

Figure 19. U.S. ten-cent postage stamp, designed by Walter Brooks after a detail of the statue of the *Contemplation of Justice* by James Earl Fraser.

been when the fleshy parts of the figure—head, arms, and feet separately added in white stone—would have contrasted with the black color of the costume! The limited range of painted Greek patterns has been replaced by the more thorough darkening of the entire dress, and the combination of materials is typically Roman in both preference and possibility, given the many quarries of colored stone under imperial control.

Yet the Roman patron seems to have understood the entire range of allusions inherent in a Greek peplophoros. If the severe style was used for decorative works or for youthful figures, the richer classical form was employed for images of Athena, Artemis, or Demeter, while a compromise form, partly severe and partly Hellenistic, could serve for personifications of cities and provinces on the Great Antonine Altar at Ephesos as late as circa 168 after Christ.[113]

strata of Greek religious beliefs.

108. M. Gernand, *AthMitt* 90 (1975) 1-47.

109. On the Herculaneum Dancers as classicizing works, see L. Forti, *Le Danzatrici di Ercolano* (Naples, 1959); D. Pandermalis, *AthMitt* 86 (1971) 175-209; I. Sgobbo, *RendAccArch. Lett. e Belle Arti, Naples*, 66 (1971) 51-74; 67 (1972) 241-305. For a proper interpretation of the statues in their original Roman context, see P. Zanker, "Der Apollontempel auf dem Palatin," in *Città e architettura nella Roma Imperiale* (*Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, Suppl. 10, 1983) 21-40.

110. For the accepted, classical dating, see Palagia, *Euphranor*, 36-39, figs. 58-60. The classicizing identification was made by Gulaki (*supra*, note 79) 100-102 and nn. 386-387; see her figs. 49-50 showing two large-scale replicas of the type from Asia Minor. A more complete discussion of the type appears in my *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture, The Problem of the Originals* (Ann Arbor, 1984) 87 and nn. 40-43, and an article on the topic is forthcoming.

111. At a symposium organized by the University of Cincinnati, E. B. Harrison delivered a paper on April 2, 1982, in which she suggested that severizing works carried a connotation of purity and innocence, as typical of young age, for the Romans. Her paper will be published in *Greek Art: Archaic into Classical* by F. J. Brill, Leiden, forthcoming.

112. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, accession number 73.AA.4; Roman work probably of the first century after Christ; preserved height 0.935 m, unpublished. I owe to the kindness of Prof. J. Frel permission to mention the statue in this context.

113. On classicizing or "classical" divinities created during the Roman period, see Gulaki (*supra*, note 79) *passim*; Ridgway, *Fifth Century*, ch. 9; Roccos (*supra*, note 102) mentions an Athena in the Capitoline, the Artemis from Ariccia in the Terme, and the Demeter in the Vatican Rotunda. These stylistic analyses, because of their subjective nature, are always subject to controversy.

On the Great Antonine Altar in Ephesos, see C. C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968) 95-123, although his reconstruction, identifications, and dating have been disputed. For peplophoroi, see p. 112 and fig. 44, p. 115 and fig. 45, p. 117 and fig. 47.

Should we still doubt that these allusions could indeed be caught by the contemporary Roman, a more recent example can be cited. On November 17, 1977, a ten-cent postage stamp was issued by the United States to commemorate the right of the people to petition the government for redress of grievances. The designer, Walter Brooks of Norwalk, Connecticut, took his inspiration from a statue of the *Contemplation of Justice* by James Earl Fraser, which stands by the great staircase to the Supreme Court Building in Washington, D.C. On the stamp Brooks showed only the upper part of the statue: a veiled head of a solemn woman who with her right hand holds aloft a statuette of blind-folded Justice (fig. 19). It is the latter that unmistakably reproduces a classical peplophoros type. Users of the stamp, as well as the viewers of the original monument in Washington, must have caught the allusion to antiquity in the symbol, although few of them might have been aware of the complex history behind this intriguing costume.

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Zum Grabrelief der Helena

Guntram Koch

Das Grabrelief der Helena im Getty Museum (Abb. 1)[1] ist zwar nur ein bescheidenes Werk, wenn man die Größe und die handwerkliche Ausführung betrachtet, unter den kaiserzeitlichen Stelen konnte aber keine Parallele nachgewiesen werden. So stellt sich eine Reihe von Fragen: wo gibt es für die Form, vor allem für die *tabula* mit den geschweiften *ansae*, Entsprechungen? Wo ist das Stück gefertigt worden? Wann ist es entstanden? Schließlich: für wen ist es bestimmt gewesen, für ein Mädchen mit Namen Helena oder für einen Hund mit diesem Namen?

Für die Form sind folgende Züge charakteristisch: es gibt ein vertieftes Bildfeld, das an den Seiten durch Pilaster gerahmt wird, die einen Giebel tragen. Unter der Nische findet sich eine Zone, die von einer Tafel mit Inschrift eingenommen wird. Grabreliefs sind in Rom zwar relativ selten, wenn man von der großen und geschlossenen Gruppe der Kastengrabsteine absieht,[2] es finden sich aber in Rom für die Form einige Parallelen.[3] Bei manchen Stücken ist der Aufbau ähnlich, der obere Abschluß ist jedoch gebogen.[4] Auch das Grabrelief der Agrippina im Getty Museum läßt sich heranziehen, bei dem allerdings die *tabula* zwischen den Pilastern angebracht ist und nicht in der Zone unterhalb von ihnen.[5] Aber auch in der Provinz, beispielsweise in Oberitalien[6] oder Kleinasien,[7] sind Grabreliefs zu finden, deren Aufbau dem des Reliefs der Helena ähnelt. Die Form des Stückes gibt also keinen sicheren Anhaltspunkt für eine Lokalisierung.

Die geschweiften *ansae* der *tabula* sind eine Besonderheit, die sich auf vergleichbaren Reliefs nicht findet, und zwar weder in Rom noch in einer der Provinzen. Derartige *ansae* sind in Rom überhaupt recht selten,[8] weisen aber auch nicht eindeutig in eine der Provinzen. Denn sie begegnen nur in Kleinasien häufig, aber auch dort nicht auf derartigen Reliefs.[9]

Da sich das Stück früher in Rom befunden hat[10] und weder die handwerkliche Ausführung noch der Marmor auf den Osten weisen, darf man wohl davon ausgehen, daß es dort auch hergestellt worden ist, und zwar in einer Werkstatt, die gewisse provinzielle Eigenarten hatte.

Für die zeitliche Einordnung des Reliefs gibt es keine äußeren Anhaltspunkte. Die Buchstaben der Inschrift sind leicht geschweift; das könnte auf die zweite Hälfte des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. hinweisen.[11]

Besonderer Dank gilt J. Frel, der die Erlaubnis gab, sich ausführlicher mit dem Grabrelief zu beschäftigen, das Stück mit dem Verf. diskutierte sowie das Manuskript durchsah. Für die Überlassung von Photographien, Photoerlaubnis, Publikationsgenehmigung sowie Auskünfte, Rat und Hilfe ist vor allem zu danken: F. Baratte, E. Berger, H.-U. Cain, H.-G. Kolbe, W. Kovacsovics, H. Oehler, F. Sinn-Henninger, G. Zimmer.

Abkürzungen

Außer den in *AJA*, *AA* 1983 und *Archäologische Bibliographie* 1982 vorgeschlagenen werden folgende Abkürzungen verwendet:

Altmann (1905): W. Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit* (Berlin, 1905).

Boucher (1982): J.-P. Boucher, "L'épitaphe d'Hélène," *GettyMusJ* 10 (1982) 121f.

Herrlinger (1930): G. Herrlinger, "Totenklage um Tiere in der antiken Dichtung," *Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* 8 (Stuttgart, 1930).

Koch (1985): G. Koch, *The J. Paul Getty Museum. Catalogue of the Collections. Antiquities. Sculpture 2. Roman Funerary Sculpture* (Malibu, 1985).

Perfahl (1983): J. Perfahl, *Wiedersehen mit Argos* (Mainz, 1983).

Pfuhl-Möbius (1977-1979): E. Pfuhl und H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs* I-II (Mainz, 1977; 1979).

Scrinari (1972): V. S. M. Scrinari, *Museo Archeologico di Aquileia. Catalogo delle sculture romane* (Rom, 1972).

Woysch-Méautis (1982): D. Woysch-Méautis, *La représentation des animeaux et des êtres fabuleux sur les monuments funéraires grecs* (Lausanne, 1982).

Zimmer (1982): G. Zimmer, "Römische Berufsdarstellungen," *Archäologische Forschungen* 12 (Berlin, 1982).

1. Inv. 71.AA.271, Hohe: 0,61 m, Länge: 0,315 m, Dicke: 0,14 m: zuletzt Boucher (1982) 121f., fig. 1; Koch (1985) no. 31 mit der älteren Literatur.

2. Zuletzt Koch (1985) no. 24-26 mit der älteren Literatur.

3. z.B. Altmann (1905) 214, no. 276, fig. 173; Helbig[4] I 1071; V. Väänänen, "Le iscrizioni della necropoli dell'autoparco Vaticano," *Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae* 6 (Rom, 1973) 43ff., no. 32, pl. 20.

4. z.B. B. Ashmole, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall* (Oxford, 1929) 113, no. 340, pl. 37; A. Giuliano, *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Sculture I* 2 (Rom, 1981) 356ff., no. 55.

5. Koch (1985) no. 30 mit älterer Literatur.

6. z.B. F. Ghedini, *Sculture greche e romane del Museo Civico di Padova* (Rom, 1980) 95ff., no. 38-40, 43, 45.

7. z.B. Pfuhl-Möbius (1977-1979) no. 2111, 2125, 2129, 2134, 2135, 2136, pl. 304ff.

8. s. H. Gabelmann, *BJb* 177 (1977) 238ff. und z.B. B. Andreae, *ASR* I 2 (Berlin, 1980) 157, pl. 31, 1-2.

9. Sie findet sich dort z.B. auf Sarkophagen; zu diesen Monumenten: N. Asgari in N. Asgari und N. Firatlí, in: *Studien zur Religion und Kunst Kleinasiens. Festschrift F. K. Dörner* (Leiden, 1978) 37ff.

10. Es befand sich in Rom, Villa Sinibalda: *CIL* VI 19190.

11. Vgl. z.B. A. E. Gordon, *Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions* II (Berkeley, 1964) pl. 96 b, 100, 103b, 113a.

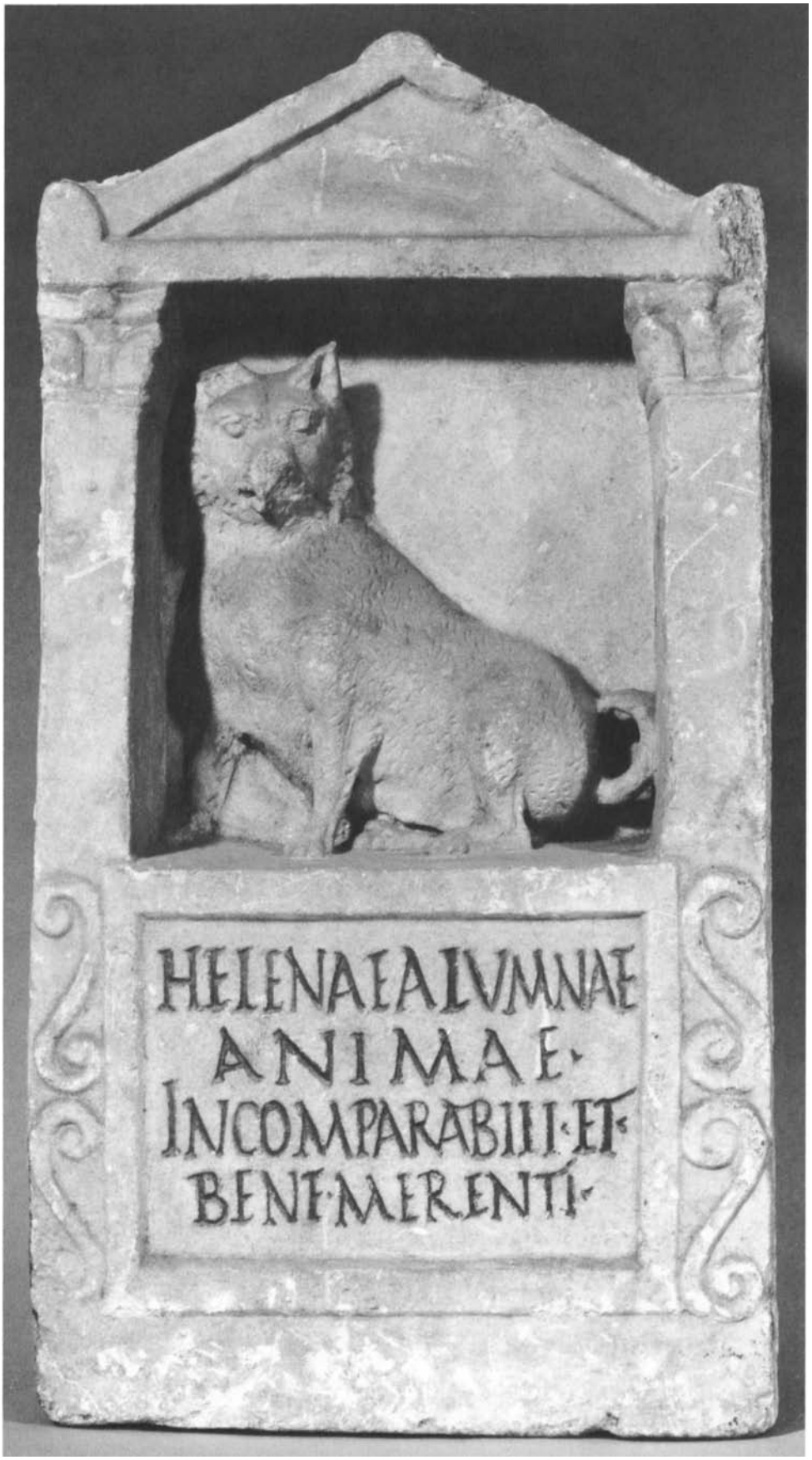

Abb. 1. Grabrelief der Helena. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AA.271.

Auf dem Relief sind nun aber in der Nische nicht eine oder mehrere menschliche Figuren, ganzfigurig,[12] als Brustbilder[13] oder als Büsten,[14] wiedergegeben, sondern es sitzt dort eine dicke Hündin, ein *canis Melitaeus*, ein Malteser.[15] Die Inschrift ist verhältnismäßig kurz. Sie lautet:

HELENAE ALVMNAE
ANIMAE
INCOMPARABILI ET
BENE MERENTI

Die Inschrift gibt keinen eindeutigen Hinweis, ob mit "Helena alumna" und den weiteren lobenden Worten die Hündin gemeint ist, andererseits ist sie aber auch nicht so gefaßt, daß man unbedingt auf ein Mädchen mit dem Namen Helena schließen muß. Der allein stehende Name "Helena," ohne die Angabe der Mutter, des Vaters, der Eltern oder einen weiteren Zusatz, ferner ohne Angabe des Alters, könnte für ein Mädchen oder eine Hündin in Anspruch genommen werden. Wenn man die für Tiere bestimmten Grabinschriften durchsieht,[16] läßt sich nun aber feststellen, daß sich die Bezeichnung "alumna" und die weiteren lobenden Zusätze bei ihnen nicht finden. Bei Menschen sind sie hingegen geläufig.[17] Bei allen Inschriften für Tiere wird an den Formulierungen deutlich, daß es sich um ein Tier handelt; niemals wird ein solches in die menschliche Sphäre erhoben.[18] Neues Material, das diese Schlüsse berichtigt oder in Frage stellt, ist nicht bekannt geworden. Für das Grabrelief der Helena ergibt sich schon allein aus der Inschrift, daß einige Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür spricht, in "Helena" ein Mädchen zu sehen.

Um größere Sicherheit zu gewinnen, sollen andere Grabmonumente, und zwar griechischer und römischer Zeit, herangezogen werden, auf denen Tiere wiedergegeben sind.[19] Dabei haben diejenigen besonderes Gewicht, auf denen die Tiere in hervorgehobener und betonter Weise dargestellt sind, also nicht nur als untergeordnetes Beiwerk dienen. In den meisten Fällen sind Tiere als Spielgefährten von Kindern oder Erwachsenen wiedergegeben, nur auf wenigen Beispielen bilden sie den einzigen oder hervorgehobenen Schmuck des Grabmonumentes. Es handelt sich dabei um Grabreliefs, Grabaltäre, Aschenurnen und den Urnen ähnliche Monumente.

Die erhaltenen Grabdenkmäler mit Tierdarstellungen lassen sich in drei Gruppen einteilen: in der ersten kann man Exemplare zusammenfassen, die für verstorbene Tiere bestimmt sind; als zweite sind Beispiele zu nennen, auf denen die Tiere auf die Namen der Beigesetzten oder den von ihnen ausgeübten Beruf hinweisen; als dritte sind schließlich Stücke anzuführen, auf denen die Tiere als Grabeswächter dienen, die hervorgehobenen Lieblinge waren oder auch auf eine bestimmte Tugend der oder des Toten anspielen sollen.

Die Grabdenkmäler für Tiere bilden eine kleine Gruppe. Auf einem bescheidenen Relief aus Lesbos in Istanbul (Abb. 2)[20] liegt die Schoßhündin "Parthenope," eine Melitäerin, auf einer Kline. Auf einem anderen aus Pergamon in Oslo (Abb. 3)[21] steht der viel zu dick geratene Jagdhund "Philokynegos" in dem Relieffeld. Ob es sich bei ihm um einen Melitäer oder eine andere Rasse handelt, ist nicht zu entscheiden. Die Inschriften weisen bei beiden Stücken eindeutig darauf hin, daß die Reliefs für Tiere bestimmt sind. Auch ein kleiner Grabpfeiler mit einem Melitäer in Rhodos (Abb. 4),[22] der keine Inschrift trägt, dürfte für einen Hund gesetzt worden sein. Das ist wohl auch der Fall bei einem kleinen marmornen Kasten in Athen, Nationalmuseum,[23] bei dem ein Hund auf dem Deckel liegt; er ist eine Sonderanfertigung innerhalb der attischen Produktion und dürfte als Sarkophag für ein Hündchen gedient haben. Von zwei weiteren Reliefs sind keine Abbildungen nachzuweisen; das eine zeigt unter dem Bild eines Hundes die Beischrift "Aminnaracus";[24] bei dem anderen findet sich unter einem Epigramm die Abbildung eines Pferdes.[25] Beide sind für Tiere gearbeitet worden; beim zweiten wird in dem Epigramm ausdrücklich darauf hingewiesen. Diese kleine Gruppe von Monumenten kann durch den hübschen Grabaltar erweitert werden, der für eine Hündin bestimmt war und sich in Gallicano bei Rom befindet (Abb. 5).[26] In der Inschrift wird ausdrücklich die

12. z.B. H. Wrede, *RM* 85 (1978) 411ff., pl. 133, 136.1.

13. z.B. Altmann (1905) 214, no. 276, fig. 173; Väänänen a.O. (s. oben Anm. 3) pl. 20.

14. z.B. Altmann (1905) 215, no. 277, fig. 174; R. Calza, *Scavi di Ostia* V. *I ritratti* I (Rom, 1964) 53, no. 76, 77, pl. 45.; Helbig⁴ I 1071.

15. Pfuhl-Möbius (1977-1979) 524; Boucher (1982) 121 mit weiterer Literatur; vgl. z.B. Koch (1985) no. 3, ein Klinenmonument mit einem Mädchen, das einen kleinen Malteser bei sich hat.

16. F. Plessis, *Poésie latine. Epitaphes* (Paris, 1905) 274ff.; Herrlinger (1930) 34ff.; Perfahl (1983) 88ff.

17. Alle Beispiele, die Boucher (1982) 121f. anführt, sind für Menschen bestimmt.

18. Herrlinger (1930) 112ff.

19. Die Grabdenkmäler der archaischen und klassischen Zeit sind von Woysch-Méautis (1982) zusammengestellt worden; die der hellenistischen und der römischen Zeit sind noch nicht gesammelt worden.

20. Pfuhl-Möbius (1977-1979) 529, no. 2196, pl. 313 (2. Jh. n. Chr.?).

21. Pfuhl-Möbius (1977-1979) 529, no. 2197, pl. 313 (3. Jh. n. Chr.?).

22. Pfuhl-Möbius (1977-1979) 529, no. 2198, pl. 313 (angeblich noch 3. Jh. v. Chr.).

23. H. Wiegartz wies auf ihn hin, A. Staurides gestattete 1979, ihn kurz anzusehen.

24. Herrlinger (1930) 39ff., no. 46 (*CIL* VI 4, 29895); früher in Rookwood, near Llandaff, the property of Colonel Hill; vgl. H. M. Scarth, *JBrAAss* 36 (1880) 332, no. 5: "small monumental tablet to a dog called Aminnaracus, bearing a sculptured representation of a little sharp-eared pet of the family, who have thus recorded his worth."

25. Herrlinger (1930) 39ff., no. 52 (*CIL* V 4512); in Brixen (Aufbewahrungsort ließ sich bisher nicht feststellen).

26. Gallicano (bei Rom), bei S. Rocco; Höhe 0,43 m, Breite 0,385

Abb. 2. Grabrelief einer Hündin. Istanbul, Archäologisches Museum. Photo: Pfuhl-Möbius pl. 313.

Abb. 3. Grabrelief eines Hundes. Oslo, Nationalgalerie. Photo: Pfuhl-Möbius pl. 313.

Abb. 4. Grabrelief eines Hundes. Rhodos, Museum. Photo: Autor.

Abb. 5. Grabrelief einer Hündin. Gallicano, S. Rocco. Photo: DAI Rom, Neg. Nr. 68.4135.

Abb. 6. Grabrelief der Söhne des Lakon. Basel, Antikenmuseum Kä 208.

Abb. 7. Grabrelief des Leon aus Sinope. Athen, Nationalmuseum 770. Photo: Autor.

catella, die Hündin, genannt, die in dem Relief oberhalb der Inschrift abgebildet ist. Das Grabrelief der Helena setzt sich von den hier zusammengestellten Grabdenkmälern von Tieren durch seine Größe, seine Qualität und vor allem seine Inschrift ab.

Die Gruppe mit "redenden Grabinschriften" oder "redenden und dem Namen des Verstorbenen angepaßten Bildern auf Grabmälern" ist recht groß.[27] Sie beginnt im späten 5. Jh. v. Chr. und führt bis tief in die römische Kaiserzeit. Zu ihr gehört das Grabrelief der Brüder Apollodoros und Lakon, Söhne des Lakon, in Basel (Abb. 6)[28] aus dem späten 5. Jh. v. Chr., das einen Lakonerhund im Relieffeld zeigt, und das Grabrelief des Leon aus Sinope in Athen, Nationalmuseum (Abb. 7),[29] aus dem 4. Jh. v. Chr., auf dem ein sitzender Löwe abgebildet ist. In der Kaiserzeit sind die Beispiele zahlreicher. Auf einem Grabaltar, der für einen Publius Aelius Taurus gesetzt worden ist, steht beherrschend ein Stier (Abb. 8).[30] Bescheidener sind die Eule auf der Nebenseite des Grabaltares einer Pallas[31] und die Wölfin auf dem Grabrelief einer Lupa (Abb. 9).[32] Bei einem Apronius Terminalis in Aquileia findet sich auf der Nebenseite eines Grabaltares ein Eber[33] und auf dem verschollenen Grabaltar einer Drakontis, der früher in Izmir war, eine Schlange (Abb. 10).[34] Auf anderen Beispielen, wie dem monumentalen Grabaltar des T.

m, Tiefe 0,30 m (Hinweise H.-G. Kolbe, der die Inschrift publizieren wird); Marmor; ein profilierter Sockel war wohl getrennt gearbeitet; die Hündin steht an einem dreibeinigen Tisch; vgl. z.B. das Relief der Lupa, s. unten Anm. 32; vielleicht 2. Jh. n.Chr.

27. Zu dieser Gruppe z.B. G. Gatti, *BullCom* 15 (1887) 114ff.; K. Schauenburg, *JdI* 81 (1966) 300f.; B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *AntK* 13 (1970) 99 mit Anm. 25.

28. Basel, Antikenmuseum Inv. Kä 206: B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *AntK* 13 (1970) 95ff., pl. 45–47; Woysch-Méautis (1982) 128, no. 302, pl. 47; Perfahl (1983) 102.

29. Athen, Nationalmuseum 770: Woysch-Méautis (1982) 133, no. 358 pl. 59.

30. Castle Howard: H. Oehler, *Foto und Skulptur* (Köln, 1980) 55, no. 22, pl. 93 (2. Viertel 2. Jh.n. Chr.). Vgl. auch G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* III 2 (Berlin, 1956) 93f., no. 619 a.

31. G. Q. Giglioli, *BullCom* 73 (1949/50) 34f., no. 2, fig. 2–4 (Ende 1. Jh./Anfang 2. Jh. n. Chr.).

32. C. Pietrangeli, *BullCom* 68 (1940) 191, no. 47, fig. 5; K. Schauenburg, *JdI* 81 (1966) 300f.

33. Scrinari (1972) 127, no. 363, fig. 363.

34. Pfuhl-Möbius (1977–1979) 536, no. 2236, fig. 119.

Abb. 8. Grabrelief des Taurus. Castle Howard. Photo: Oehler (Anm. 30) pl. 93.

Abb. 9. Grabrelief der Lupa. Rom, Musei Capitolini. Photo: Pietrangeli (Anm. 32) fig. 5.

Abb. 10. Grabrelief der Drakontis. Verschollen. Photo: Pfuhl-Möbius fig. 119.

Abb. 11. Grabrelief des Choiros. Aus Edessa. Photo: Petsas (Anm. 36).

Abb. 12. Grabrelief des Sehers Kleoboulos. Athen, Nationalmuseum 4951. Photo: DAI Athen, Neg. Nr. NM 4951.

Abb. 13. Grabrelief eines *lanarius*. Rom, Palazzo di Propaganda Fide. Photo: G. Zimmer.

Abb. 14. Grabrelief eines Archigallus. Vatikan 10745. Photo: Vermaseren (Anm. 39) pl. 64.

Statilius Aper in Rom, Museo Capitolino,[35] ist ein Eber an untergeordneter Stelle neben dem Toten abgebildet, und auf dem bescheidenen, aber unbekümmert erzählenden Relief eines Choiros aus Edessa ist der Tote, wohl ein Sklave, einmal als lebendes und einmal als zu Tode gekommenes Schwein abgebildet, und eine lange Inschrift gibt Kunde von seinem ungewöhnlichen Schicksal (Abb. 11).[36]

Bei den Tierdarstellungen, die auf Berufe hinweisen, läßt sich vielleicht die Stele des Sehers Kleoboulos aus Acharnai in Athen, Nationalmuseum (Abb. 12),[37] nennen, die einen fliegenden Adler, der eine Schlange gegriffen hat, zeigt; sie ist unter den attischen Grabreliefs ein Sonderfall und dürfte aus dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. stammen. Bei einem handwerklich bescheidenen Relief in Rom, Palazzo di Propaganda Fide (Abb. 13),[38] steht neben der Inschrift ein dicker Widder, der andeutet, daß der Tote mit der Wollverarbeitung zu tun hatte, wie auch die Bezeichnung *lanarius* angibt. Ganz ungewöhnlich ist das einer Urne ähnliche Monument eines Archigallus M. Modius Maxximus aus Ostia im Vatikan (Abb. 14),[39] bei dem der Körper die Form eines *modius* hat und oben als Bekrönung ein freiplastisch gebildeter Hahn, ein *gallus*, wiedergegeben ist. Nicht in diesen Kreis hinein gehört die Aschenurne einer Calpurnia Felicla in Palermo, die aus Rom stammt (Abb. 21).[40] Sie zeigt nämlich nicht, wie verschiedentlich behauptet worden ist, eine *feles*, also eine Katze, sondern, zumindest nach der Abbildung zu urteilen, einen *canis Melitaeus*, einen Malteser, der dem des Grabreliefs der Helena ähnelt. Er wird der Liebling der Beigesetzten gewesen sein, die Urne ist also bei unserer dritten Gruppe zu behandeln. Auch zu den Monumenten mit "redenden Grabinschriften" kann das Grabrelief der Helena also nicht gehören.

Auf einigen Grabdenkmälern sind Tiere als Wächter über die Ruhe des Toten dargestellt, auf sehr vielen als Liebling der Beigesetzten; bei einer begrenzten Zahl von Monumenten schließlich scheint auf eine Tugend der Verstorbenen angespielt zu werden. Nicht sicher ist, wie die Tiere, nämlich ein Hahn, wohl ein Hund und eine Schlange, verstanden werden müssen, die auf der Grabstele des Antiphanes in Athen, Nationalmuseum in Malerei aufgetragen waren.[41] Als Wächter des Grabes[42] wird man die beiden Löwen verstehen dürfen, die auf einer Stele des späten 5. Jhs. v. Chr. abgebildet sind, die im Kerameikos gefunden wurde und jetzt in Athen, Nationalmuseum aufbewahrt wird (Abb. 15).[43] Um Wächter handelt es sich auch bei dem Löwen ähnlichen Grabmonument in Aquileia ruhen (Abb. 16,17).[44] Als Gra-

35. Helbig⁴ II 1214 (E. Meinhardt u. E. Simon); Zimmer (1982) 197f., no. 142.

36. P. Petsas, *AAA* 2 (1969) 190f.; S. N. Koumanoudes, *AAA* 2 (1969) 424ff.; S. Marinatos, *AAA* 3 (1970) 81ff.; F. Chamoux, *BSNAF* (1971) 167ff.

37. Athen, Nationalmuseum 4951: Pfuhl-Möbius (1977-1979) 525 mit Anm. 22; Woysch-Méautis (1982) 122, no. 234, pl. 34.

38. G. Q. Giglioli, *BullCom* 73 (1949/50) 44f., no. 3, fig. 13 ("di travertino"); Zimmer (1982) 121, no. 34 ("Tuffstein"); wohl noch 1. Jh. v. Chr.

39. Vatikan, inv. 10745: M. F. Squarciapino, *I culti orientali ad Ostia* (Leiden, 1962) 12f. mit weiterer Literatur; M. J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis; The Myth and the Cult* (London, 1977) 96, 114, 199, no. 494, 203, n. 640, pl. 64; M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque* III. *Italia-Latium* (Leiden, 1977) 123f., no. 395, pl. 245. Vgl. den singulären Urnendeckel in Paris: Zimmer (1982) 223, no. 185.

40. Palermo, Nationalmuseum: *CIL* VI 14223; O. Keller, *RM* 23 (1908) 45f., fig. 1; Lippold, a.O. (s. oben Anm. 30) 94; wohl 2. Jh. n.Chr.

41. Athen, Nationalmuseum 86: Woysch-Méautis (1982) 122, no. 233, pl. 34.

42. Vgl. Pfuhl-Möbius (1977-1979) 526.

43. Athen, Nationalmuseum 3709: Woysch-Méautis (1982) 133, no. 357, pl. 60.

44. Scrinari (1972) 105, no. 315, fig. 315 (Urne mit Löwe auf Deckel); 105, no. 316, fig. 316 (Grabmonument in Form einer Urne); vgl. auch 106, no. 319, 320 (Deckel von Urnen mit Hund und Löwe). Vgl. z.B. auch das Grabrelief in Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile: G. A. Mansuelli, *Le stele romane del territorio ravennate e del basso Po* (Ravenna, 1967) 148f., no. 52, pl. 18.50.

Abb. 15. Grabrelief mit Löwen. Athen, Nationalmuseum 3709. Photo: Autor.

Abb. 16. Aschenurne mit Löwen auf Deckel. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico. Photo: DAI Rom Neg. Nr. 69.3090.

Abb. 17. Grabmonument in Form einer Aschenurne mit Hund auf Deckel. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico. Photo: DAI Rom, Neg. Nr. 72.2667.

Abb. 18. Aschenurne der Elpis. Paris, Louvre MND 439.

Abb. 19. Grabpfeiler mit Hund. Theben, Museum 44. Photo: Autor.

Abb. 20. Grabrelief mit Hund. Theben, Museum 43. Photo: Autor.

beswächter begegnen Hunde auch freiplastisch. Ein bezeichnendes Beispiel ist im Kerameikos in Athen erhalten,[45] andere befinden sich im dortigen Nationalmuseum.[46] Ob kaiserzeitliche Kopien solcher Hunde auch zu Grabdenkmälern gehörten, ist nicht mehr zu klären.[47]

Auf einer attischen Grabstele des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. in Athen, Nationalmuseum, die einer Eutamia gesetzt war, könnte der Hund, der in einem eigenen Streifen oberhalb des Hauptbildes wiedergegeben ist, auf eine Tugend der Verstorbenen anspielen.[48] Es sei dabei dahingestellt, ob es sich um die Hausfrau oder die Amme oder dergleichen gehandelt hat. In vergleichbarer Weise läßt sich wohl auch der—völlig mißratene—Hund erklären, der auf der Vorderseite einer kleinen Urne abgebildet ist, die für die Amme Elpis bestimmt war (Abb. 18); sie soll aus Pergamon stammen und befindet sich jetzt in Paris, Louvre.[49]

Auf einigen Beispielen lassen sich die Tiere, und zwar immer Hunde, vor allem als Lieblingstiere verstehen. Zu nennen sind ein Grabpfeiler aus Akraiphnion aus dem Ende des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. (Abb. 19)[50] und ein Grabrelief unbekannter Herkunft des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. (Abb. 20),[51] beide im Museum in Theben, auf denen ein sich duckender, am Boden schnüffelnder und ein sitzender Hund abgebildet sind. Von den beigeschriebenen Namen sind nur Reste erhalten, sie müssen sich aber auf die beigesetzten Menschen beziehen. Den Hunden, die auf anderen Grabreliefs häufig neben den

45. D. Ohly, *AA* (1965) 314ff.

46. S. Karusu, *Archäologisches Nationalmuseum. Antike Skulpturen* (Athen, 1969) 121f. (Athen, Nationalmuseum 3574 und 4763); C. C. Vermeule und P. v. Kersburg, *AJA* 72 (1968) 98ff., pl. 38.5 (Kopenhagen); Perfahl (1983) 79 (München).

47. Helbig[4] II 1457 (H. v. Steuben).

48. Athen, Nationalmuseum 911: Woysch-Méautis (1982) 116, no. 145, pl. 47.

49. Paris, Louvre MND 439: Pfuhl-Möbius (1977-1979) 529, no. 2199, pl. 313 (wohl 2. Jh. n. Chr.); F. Baratte wird die neue Photographie verdankt.

50. Theben, Mus. 44: K. Demakopoulou and D. Konsola, *Archaeological Museum of Thebes* (Athens, 1981) 42f., no. 44; Woysch-Méautis (1982) 128, no. 303, pl. 47; die Inschrift nennt einen Denomachos oder Denomenes.

51. Theben, Mus. 43: Demakopoulou-Konsola a. O. (s. oben Anm. 50) 72f., no. 43; Woysch-Méautis (1982) 128, no. 304, pl. 47; die Inschrift ist ausgemeißelt, man meint noch ΕΠΙΣ und danach drei oder vier Buchstaben erkennen zu können.

Abb. 21. Aschenaltar der Calpurnia Felicla. Palermo, Museo Nazionale. Photo: DAI Rom, Neg. Nr. 1520.

Abb. 22. Aschenalter des M. Antonius Ingenus. Gallese, Castello. Photo: DAI Rom, Neg. Nr. 70.302.

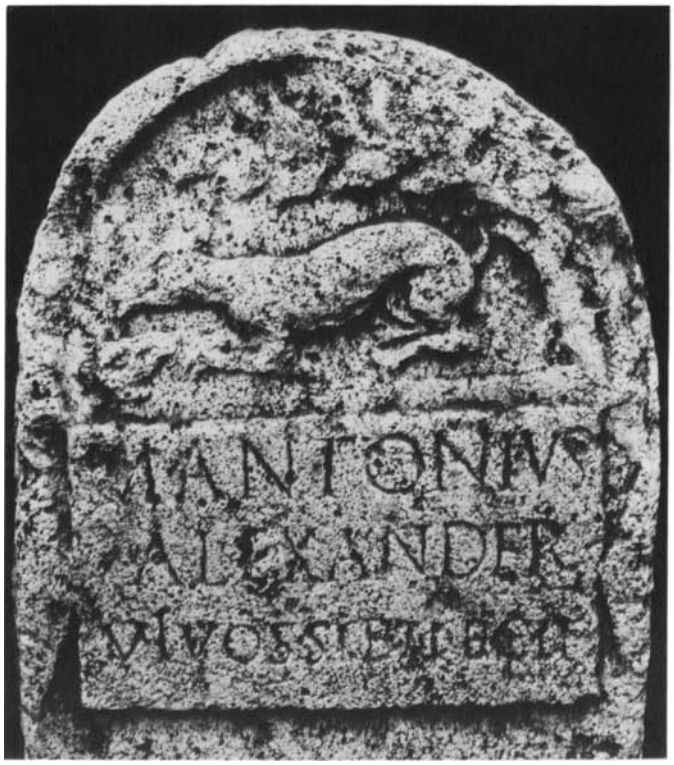

Abb. 23. Grabrelief des M. Antonius Alexander. Rom, Museo Nazionale Romano. Photo: DAI Rom, Neg. Nr. 83.1481.

Abb. 24. Grabrelief des C. Vitullius Priscus. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico.

Abb. 25. Grabrelief des C. Vitullius Priscus. Detail.

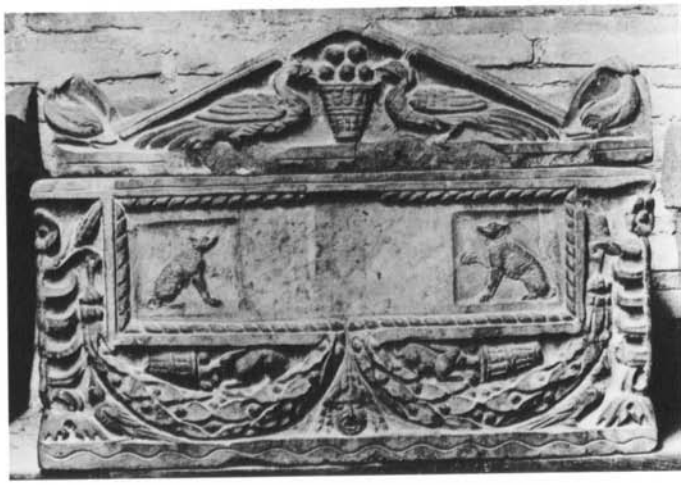

Abb. 26. Aschenurne. Rom, Museo Nazionale Romano 30069. Photo: DAI Rom, Neg. Nr. 74.241.

Toten erscheinen,[52] sind hier die gesamten Reliefflächen eingeräumt. Als Begleiter und Lieblinge der Toten wird man wohl auch die Hunde erklären dürfen, die auf Sockeln von größeren attischen Grabdenkmälern abgebildet sind; es handelt sich um Exemplare aus Salamis und aus dem Piräus, die sich jetzt in Athen, Nationalmuseum,[53] befinden.

Bei fünf kaiserzeitlichen Grabdenkmälern, die nach den Inschriften sicher für Menschen bestimmt waren, sind Hunde hervorgehobener Schmuck. Sorgfältig ist die altarähnliche Urne in Palermo gearbeitet, die aus Rom stammt (Abb. 21);[54] unter der Inschrift, die eine Calpurnia Felicla nennt, ist ein nach rechts gerichteter Hund, wohl ein Melitäer, abgebildet. In der Qualität fällt dagegen ein Grabaltar in Gallese, Castello (Abb. 22),[55] stark ab, der einem Antonius Ingenus gesetzt war; in einer vertieften Nische unter der Inschrift ist ein nach rechts gerichteter struppiger Hund mit groben Meißelhieben eingearbeitet; die Inschrift zeigt aber eindeutig, daß es sich um einen Mann handelt. Das ist ebenfalls bei einem Relief gesichert, das aus Travertin besteht und sich in Rom, Museo Nazionale Romano, befindet (Abb. 23);[56] in dem kleinen, bogenförmig begrenzten Feld ist neben einem Baum ein nach links gerichteter, sich duckender oder lagernder Hund abgebildet, unter dessen Kopf der Kopf eines anderen Tieres zu liegen scheint. In der Inschrift ist ein M. Antonius Alexander genannt, der sich den Grabstein zu

Abb. 27. Grabmonument der Cytheris. Narbonne, Musée de Lamourguier. Photo: Espérandieu (Anm. 60) 456.

Abb. 28. Grabrelief der Synoris. Rom, Vigna Codini. Photo: Toynbee, BSR (Anm. 61) pl. 10.27.

52. Vgl., um nur ein böotisches Beispiel zu nennen, die Stele Theben 33: Woysch-Méautis (1982) 127, no. 289, pl. 52.

53. Athen, Nationalmuseum 3416/17 und 3460: B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *AntK* 13 (1970) 97ff., pl. 46, 2; Perfahl (1983) 53.

54. s. oben Anm. 40.

55. Wohl unpubl.; INR 70. 302; 2. Jh. n.Chr. (?).

56. Rom, Mus. Naz. Romano Inv. 112123: P. Pensabene, *BullCom* 86 (1978/79 [1981]) 21, pl. 9.2. Die Neuaufnahme wird H.-U. Cain verdankt; vielleicht noch 1. Jh. v. Chr. (?).

Lebzeiten hat anfertigen lassen. Auf einem in lokaler Tradition stehenden Grabaltar in Aquileia ist auf der Vorderseite ein sitzender Hund wiedergegeben, der ein Halsband mit einen Glöckchen trägt (Abb. 24, 25);[57] auch er dürfte der Liebling des C. Vitullius Priscus gewesen sein, für den der Altar aufgestellt worden ist. Zu vergleichen ist ein Grabrelief in Kopenhagen,[58] auf dem ein ähnlicher Hund an untergeordneter Stelle neben der Inschrift abgebildet ist. Größeres Gewicht haben die beiden Hunde, die auf einer stadtrömischen Aschenurne neben der *tabula* sitzen (Abb. 26);[59] eine Inschrift ist nicht vorhanden, vielleicht war sie aufgemalt; es liegt aber kein Anhalt dafür vor anzunehmen, daß die Urne für die beiden Hunde bestimmt war, es wird sich auch hier um die Lieblinge der oder des Beigesetzten handeln. Das fünfte Beispiel ist ein provinzielles, aus Kalkstein gearbeitetes Relief in Narbonne (Abb. 27).[60] Auf ihm füllt eine sitzende Hündin, die ein Halsband trägt, fast die gesamte Fläche. Die Inschrift, CYTHERIS L(IBERTA), gibt an, daß es sich um das Grabmonument einer Freigelassenen handelt. Die Hündin wird kaum die Funktion einer Wächterin haben, sie scheint auch nicht eine Tugend der Beigesetzten verkörpern zu sollen, sie wird vielmehr der Liebling der Verstorbenen gewesen sein. Ein schlichtes Relief im Columbarium der Vigna Codini in Rom (Abb. 28)[61] ist etwas schlechter zu beurteilen, gehört aber vielleicht auch in den Kreis der hier behandelten Denkmäler. In einem leicht vertieften Feld in der Mitte ist ein nach rechts gerichteter Hund abgebildet. Links und rechts daneben steht die Inschrift SYNORIS CLYCON DELICIV(M). Es wäre möglich, daß der Hund Synoris hieß. Da das Relief aber aus dem Columbarium stammt, handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um eine kleine Sklavin mit Namen Synoris, deren Lieblingstier auf dem einfachen Grabrelief wiedergegeben ist. In diesen Zusammenhang gehört wohl auch die ungewöhnliche Büste eines Mannes in Kos, bei der in provinzieller Unbekümmertheit auf dem Oberkörper ein kleiner Hund in Relief wiedergegeben ist; das Stück könnte aus antoninischer Zeit stammen (Abb. 29).[62] Der Mann hat seinen Liebling, den Hund, ganz nah bei sich haben wollen und ihn deshalb mit auf sein Grabmal, die Büste, meißeln lassen. Auch beim Grabmal des Trimalchio, das weit großartiger werden sollte, ein gebautes *monumentum*, spielt die *catella*, das Hündchen, eine besondere Rolle; es wird gleich als erstes, unmittelbar

Abb. 29. Büste eines unbekannten Mannes. Kos, Museum. Photo: Autor.

nach dem Standbild des Grabinhabers genannt: "valde te rogo ut secundum pedes statuae meae catellam pingas..."[63] Es ist der Liebling des neureichen Herren. Die Fortunata wird erst viel später erwähnt; auch sie soll eine Statue erhalten, und wiederum wird eine *catella* besonders hervorgehoben, in diesem Fall das Lieblingshündchen der Frau.

Die Darstellungen von Tieren auf Grabdenkmälern lassen sich nun nicht immer ausschließlich einer der genannten Gruppen zuordnen; es dürften oft mehrere Gründe dafür angeführt werden können, warum das Tier gewählt worden ist. Ein Hund, beispielsweise der auf dem Grabstein der Söhne des Lakon (Abb. 6), kann als Grabeswächter dienen, seine chthonischen Beziehungen können eine Rolle gespielt

57. Scrinari (1972) 127, no. 362, fig. 362.

58. Altmann (1905) 214, no. 276, fig. 173.

59. Rom, Mus. Naz. Romano, Magazin, inv. 30069; nach Inventar "dono di S.M. il Re," aus Castel Porziano; wohl unpubliziert (Hinweise F. Sinn-Henninger); spätes 1. Jh./frühes 2. Jh. n. Chr.—Vgl. z.B. auch die Urne in Newby Hall: Oehler a.O. (s. oben Anm. 30) 77, no. 74, pl. 83 (Girlandenbogen, darin laufender Hund).

60. Narbonne, Musée de Lamourguier: E. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule Romaine* I (Paris, 1907) 456, no. 770 (vgl. auch das Relief a.O. 457 no. 773, das allerdings keine Inschrift trägt, aber auch als Grabmonument für einen Menschen gedient haben dürfte).

61. Wird wohl noch in Rom, Vigna Codini, aufbewahrt: J. M. C. Toynbee, *BSR* 16 (1948) 34, pl. 10.27; J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London, 1973) 110, pl. 48.

62. Kos, Mus.: wohl unpubl.; vgl. D. Davaris, *Kos Museum. Exhibits List* (Athen, o.J.) 22, no. 92.

63. Petronius, *Satyrica* 71,6.

haben, er war vielleicht auch treuer Begleiter und lieber Spielgefährte der Brüder, und in diesem Fall kann man noch die Verbindung vom Namen zum dargestellten Tier herstellen.[64]

Wenn man das hier gesammelte Material überblickt, ergibt sich für das Grabrelief der Helena des Getty Museums folgendes: aus der Inschrift geht zwar nicht unmittelbar hervor, ob es sich bei "Helena" um einen Hund oder ein Mädchen handelt; gesicherte Inschriften von Tieren sind aber immer so eindeutig, daß man schon deshalb mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit annehmen kann, daß Helena ein Mädchen ist. Diese Annahme gewinnt an Sicherheit, wenn man andere Reliefs heranzieht, auf denen Tiere in hervorgehobener Weise dargestellt sind. Das Grabrelief der Helena läßt sich nur der dritten der hier zusammengestellten drei Gruppen zuordnen, bei der Tiere als Wächter, als Zeichen einer besonderen Tugend oder als Lieblinge der Toten abgebildet sind. Die dicke Hündin auf dem Grabrelief der Helena kann kaum eine Wächterin sein; auch eine Tugend wird sie nicht verkörpern, sie wird vielmehr der Liebling der Helena gewesen sein. Bei Helena könnte es sich um eine kleine Sklavin gehandelt haben, die in jungen Jahren verstorben ist; für sie hat man nicht ihr eigenes Bildnis auf den Grabstein gesetzt, sondern das der treuen Spielgefährtin, der Hündin. Daß man der kleinen Sklavin überhaupt einen solchen Grabstein gegeben hat, mag zeigen, daß man sie fast wie eine Tochter in die Familie aufgenommen hat; dafür könnte auch die Bezeichnung "alumna" sprechen.[65]

Das Grabrelief der Helena ist also nicht, wie gezeigt werden konnte, für eine Hündin mit Namen Helena, sondern für ein kleines Mädchen mit diesem Namen bestimmt gewesen; das nimmt ihm aber nichts von seinem Reiz und seiner besonderen Stellung unter den stadtrömischen Grabreliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit.

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Marburg, West Germany

64. B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *AntK* 13 (1970) 98.
65. Vgl. das Grabrelief der Antonina im Getty Museum, Koch (1985) no. 37, das auch für eine kleine Sklavin gesetzt worden sein dürfte.

Ancient Repairs to Classical Sculptures at Malibu

Jiří Frel

For the modern viewer classical statues, well protected and unchanging in their museum settings, are primarily art. In classical antiquity, however, their first function was religious and/or representative. Sculptures had their own lives with hazards and dangers; they were the victims of wars and weather, occasionally needing repairs and reworking. Traces of these vicissitudes are visible, even though archaeologists sometimes refuse to see them. Several notes have been published on the subject.[1] This article lists the repairs on the classical sculptures in the Getty Museum.[2]

Three types of repairs may be distinguished. First there are pentimenti, done by the artist himself during the work. The reason may be technical, perhaps a flaw in the marble, or artistic, possibly the result of a better idea emerging in the process of execution. Corrections and repairs of imperfections made immediately after the conclusion of the main work—the most ordinary being the plaques masking the gas holes in bronzes—may be considered in this same class. The most ancient repair in the J. Paul Getty Museum executed by the original sculptor is the reattaching of the broken left arm of the limestone idol from Cyprus from the third millennium, described above (p. 25) by P. Getz-Preziosi. In the second category are modifications for a second use and changes necessitated by new external circumstances; for example, an official portrait of a ruler may have been revised after his death to emphasize his apotheosis (cf. No. 8 below). In the third category are included actual repairs and restorations. The second and third types of repairs may occur together; a second use may require a general repair, especially if the piece has been damaged.

It can be difficult to distinguish a pentimento from a secondary repair, but close and repeated examination can sometimes help (see No. 26); in other cases the interpretation cannot be conclusive, as for Nos. 6 and 7.

There is one circumstance that should not be confused with secondary intervention: evidence of additions in other materials. Thus, there was originally a bronze rein fixed in drilled holes on the Cottenham Relief (accession number 78.AA.59, M. Moore, *GettyMusJ* 2 [1975], 37ff.; *GARSIA*, no. 7). The bronze fillets in the hair of some heads of the Alexander-Hephaistion group (see No. 23) may, however, be secondary. Original additions in the same material should be classed pentimenti (see Nos. 2–4 and 36).

Finally, a completely different occurrence is the use of unfinished pieces for different motives. They will be listed here too, as they involve the technique of the sculpture and provide insights comparable to the evidence resulting from the repairs and modifications.

I. SOME PENTIMENTI AND ORIGINAL REPAIRS

1. THE GETTY BRONZE

Height: 151.5 cm

Accession number 77.AB.30

Getty Bronze 1978; *Getty Bronze* 1982; *GARSIA*, no. 59.

As explained in *Getty Bronze* 1982, 13, the sculptor decided to improve the finished clay model. Originally the neck was shorter and the right arm, probably holding the crown above the head, was raised higher. Sutures are perceptible on the inside of the bronze wall, but attentive examination can detect the changes even on the outside surface. There are

Abbreviations

Cat.: C. C. Vermeule and N. Neuerburg, *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1973).

Checklist I: J. Frel, *Sculpture: Greek Originals*, vol. 1 of *Antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1979).

Checklist II: J. Frel, *Sculpture: Greek Portraits and Varia*, vol. 2 of *Antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1979).

GARSIA: C. C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America* (Malibu and Los Angeles, 1981).

Gesichter: H. Jucker and D. Willers, *Gesichter. Griechische und römische Bildnisse aus Schweitzer Besitz*, ex. cat., 3rd ed., (Bernischen Historischen Museum, 1982).

Getty Bronze 1978: J. Frel, *The Getty Bronze* (Malibu, 1978).

Getty Bronze 1982: *ibid.*, rev. ed. (Malibu, 1982).

Greek Ports: J. Frel, *Greek Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1981).

Koch: G. Koch, *Roman Funerary Sculpture, J. Paul Getty Museum Catalogue of the Collections, Antiquities 2* (forthcoming, Malibu, 1985)

Roman Ports 1981: J. Frel and S. K. Morgan, *Roman Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1981).

Roman Ports 1985: *ibid.*, 2d ed. (Malibu, forthcoming 1985).

1. A note on repairs of archaic sculptures is in press in *AAA* (1983).

2. Some of these observations, previously published, have been revised, while many are published here for the first time. The bibliography is kept to the indispensable minimum. The photographs are the work of Jerry Podany who contributed many useful observations.

Figure 1. Artemis, left little finger (No. 3). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 73.AA.5.

countless rectangular plaques covering the bubbles in the cast; a long row of them is visible at the back right waist (*Getty Bronze* 1982, fig. 14).

2. SEATED BOY WITH A BUNCH OF GRAPES
Italian marble, height: 40.5 cm
Accession number 73.AA.6
GARSIA, no. 151.

The right big toe was attached with an iron pin forced directly into the marble. The toe itself did not survive, but the joining surface was clear cut; hence, a defect in the marble block or a mistake during the original work is a more probable explanation than a later repair, especially as there are no traces of any other secondary interventions. In 1973, some months after the installation of the sculpture in the atrium of the museum, the rusting iron made the join explode resulting in the loss of some millimeters of the marble surface. The next day the iron pin in the left little finger of the Artemis (No. 3) did the same. In the following weeks, where possible, the other ancient iron pins in the marble sculptures, whenever they had been inserted, were removed (see Nos. 3, 4, 30, and 32 below).

The statue is a Roman decorative sculpture from the first half of the second century A.D.

3. ARTEMIS (fig. 1)
Italian marble, height: 138 cm
Accession number 73.AA.5
GARSIA, no. 30.

The left little finger was joined on a clearly cut surface with an iron pin forced into the marble (now removed, see No. 2 above). As with No. 2, it is difficult to decide whether the repair was done during the work or later. The quality of the cut surface compared with the cut of the head argues for an original repair. The head was broken off in antiquity, and to rejoin it, the surface of the neck was cut (not very carefully), and an iron pin was imbedded in lead; this is surely a secondary repair.

The statue is a *reduced* copy after a late fifth-century B.C. original; the left hand is clearly too large for the overall proportions.

4. TORSO OF A CUIRASS STATUE
Said to be from Italy
Pentelic marble, height: 107.5 cm
Accession number 71.AA.436
Roman Ports 1981, no. 35.

A head was to be inserted into the conical cavity, so the statue was carved as a standard type that could support the portraits of various emperors. Both of the lower legs, the raised right arm, left elbow, back of the upper left shoulder, and the sword-hilt arm were carved from separate pieces of marble that were attached with iron pins (removed by the conservation department in 1975 when the pin of the sword hilt broke the marble). All these joins were done at the same time as the original work in the late Flavian period.

II. ANCIENT REUSE

5. ATTIC GRAVE STELE OF THRASYNOS (fig. 2)
Pentelic marble, height: 139 cm
Accession number 72.AA.120
Checklist I, no. 67.

The secondary names are written on a rasura, and their arrangement is peculiar: ΘΡΑΣΥΝΟΣ, the name of the deceased, is preceded by ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΟΥ, his patronymic, written above the figure of the father, Thrasonides, and identifying him—an ingenious but confusing procedure. The sacrificial knife in the father's *left* hand (itself retouched) is a secondary addition; it "undulates" over the drapery of the seated mother. The deceased is rejuvenated; originally, he sported a beard that has not been completely suppressed.

Second quarter of the third century B.C.

6. ATTIC GRAVE STELE OF MYNNIA
Pentelic marble, height: 98 cm, length: 41.5 cm
Accession number 71.AA.121
GRBS 14 (1973), 173ff.; M. Markovich and R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 15 (1974), 168; G. Daux, *BCH* 100 (1976), 206ff., fig. *idem*, and 102 *BCH* (1978), 604ff., no. 38; *Checklist* I, no. 65.

The representation identifies the seated figure as the deceased. Both the small child and the girl are turned toward her, the child with a greeting gesture. But the inscription gives the name of *Mynnia* (said to be deceased in the epigram) to the standing girl. Either the stele was used for a second time, or an incised inscription replaced a former one

Figure 2. Attic grave stele of Thrasynos, father's left hand with sacrificial knife (No. 5). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 72.AA.120.

Figure 3. Colossal head of Ptolemy II, upper-left portion of head with rectangular cavity (No. 8). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AA.72.

that was painted (since there is no trace of a rasura), or a ready-made stele was purchased without regard to the iconographic meaning of the relief. The second possibility is the most probable; as for the epigraphy (see Daux), the inscription is not much earlier than the mid-fourth century while the relief belongs to the classical revival after 370. The name *Artemisias* has been interpreted as a matronymic belonging to the seated matron Euphrosyne (Daux) or, more probably, as the name of the small child (Frel, Markovich and Merkelbach). In either case the whole word *Artemisias* (and not just the final sigma, as I originally thought) was engraved later (but probably still before the stele was mounted at the grave) by the same hand as the rest of the inscription but more hastily and with larger letters, possibly on the request of the family.

7. FUNERARY RELIEF OF AGRIPPINA
Said to be from Rome
White Italian marble, height: 77.5 cm
Accession number 71.AA.456
Roman Ports 1981, no. 72.

The portrait on the Antonine relief represents a boy of eight-to-ten years, but the inscription states that the monument belongs to Agrippina, a deceased girl aged three years. A second use is less probable than the family purchasing a ready-made funerary monument and completely disregarding the image.

8. COLOSSAL HEAD OF PTOLEMY II (fig. 3)
Said to be from western Asia Minor
White, possibly Pentelic, marble, height: 40 cm
Accession number 76.AA.72, anonymous donation
Greek Ports, no. 28; R. Kabus-Preishoffen, *AA*, 1983, 682ff., figs. 3–4.

The head was adapted for a second use, probably after the death of the ruler, to emphasize his apotheosis. Most of the hair was cut down and the surface picked on both temples. Slightly above the temples two rectangular cavities were

Figure 4. Roman funerary relief with bust of a man, head with added beard (No. 10). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AA.147.

Figure 5. Roman funerary relief with bust of man, detail of retouched drapery (No. 10). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AA.147.

carved to support the heavy tusks of an elephant's head helmet in bronze that was fixed in place on the sculpture with seven iron pins in the head and five on the nape.

For the identity, a head in Kos has been aptly compared by R. Kabus-Preishoffen.

9. NERVA
   Said to be from Campania
   Italian marble, height: 35.5 cm
   Accession number 83.AA.43
   Gesichter, no. 45 (H. Jucker).

The head, made for insertion into a statue body, is a recarved portrait of Domitian (the two separate pieces of the top and of the occiput retain Domitian's hairstyle), as demonstrated in detail by H. Jucker.

10. ROMAN FUNERARY RELIEF WITH BUST OF A MAN (figs. 4, 5)
    Italian marble, height: 59 cm
    Accession number 81.AA.147
    Roman Ports 1981, no. 84.

The sculpture presents a very interesting problem; at first glance it appears to have been carved in the second quarter of the third century A.D., a date indicated not only by the appearance of the male portrait but also by the toga: the main fold—clavus—is very large as it appears on the portraits of this period. A closer look, however, suggests another explanation. The relief was heavily recarved in late antiquity. The drapery was completely redone, especially on the right shoulder, but the clavus and the fold between the hands were also retouched. The short beard, indicated by incisions, is secondary. The original carving of the relief must date to the early first century A.D. (cf. another funerary relief in the Getty Museum, *Roman Ports* 1981, no. 11), following the style and portrait types of monuments from the republican period. The change to third-century style did not require deep modification. The ruthless portraits of the second quarter of the third century compare well with the verism of the late Republic, and it is possible that the taste of the period was conscious of this affinity.

11. PORTRAIT OF AN EMPEROR PERHAPS GALBA (fig. 6)
    Asia Minor
    Marble, height: 34 cm
    Accession number L.82.AA.24
    Roman Ports 1981, no. 87.

The small rectangular pillar supporting the nape is an element current in Asia Minor. This provenance is also supported by the marble and the workmanship. The over life-size scale suggests an imperial portrait. The present appearance corresponds to the style before the middle of the third century A.D., but the whole head was reworked by a very competent sculptor. The eyebrows were sharpened and the hair largely suppressed. The lower eyelids were cut down and the pupils redrawn. The contours of the lips were recut. The short incisions of the hair and the beard are secondary, especially behind the ears. More difficult to see, but no less certain, is the repolishing and remodeling of the cheeks and the forehead. The final product of this reworking is a stylistically coherent and outstanding image. (Compare a statue in Alexandria with an utterly reworked portrait head, *Götter und Pharaonen* [Hildesheim, 1979], no. 174.)

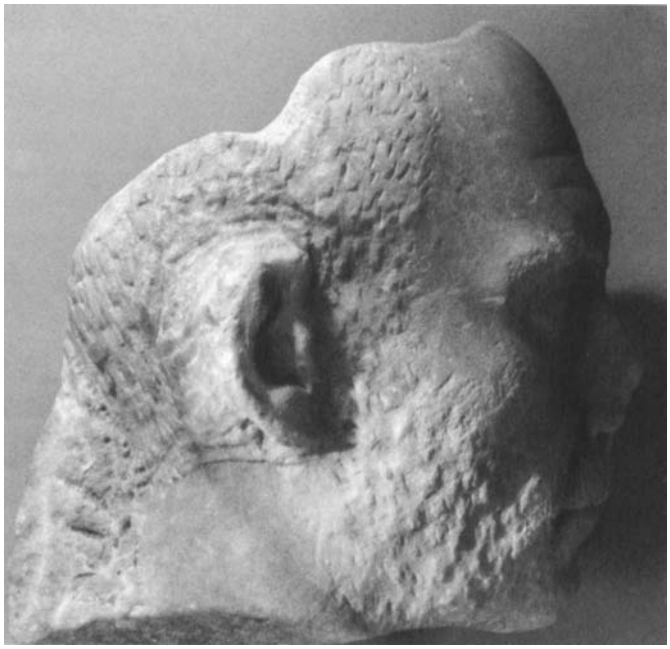

Figure 6. Portrait of an emperor, right profile with reworking (No. 11). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum L.82.AA.24.

12. A SON OF CONSTANTINE
    Said to be from Constantinople
    White homogenous marble, height: 25.5 cm
    Accession number 83.AA.212, presented by Jonathan Rosen

The sculpture, which may be a recarved portrait of Trajan, will be published by Sandra K. Morgan.

13. LATE FOURTH-CENTURY HEAD
    White homogenous marble, height: 28 cm
    Accession number L.82.AA.62, anonymous loan

The portrait dates from the end of the fourth century A.D., but the marble itself is earlier. A closer look at the ears and hair shows that there is recutting and that the original pattern was Trajanic, including the proportion of the face before the eyes were enlarged.

14. SARCOPHAGUS OF A HADRIANIC BOY WITH EROTES AND GRIFFINS (figs. 7, 8)

Figure 7. Sarcophagus of a Hadrianic boy with erotes and griffins, feet of an eros figure (No. 14). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 74.AA.25.

Figure 8. Sarcophagus of a Hadrianic boy with erotes and griffins, lower torso of an eros figure with cut-off penis (No. 14). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 74.AA.25.

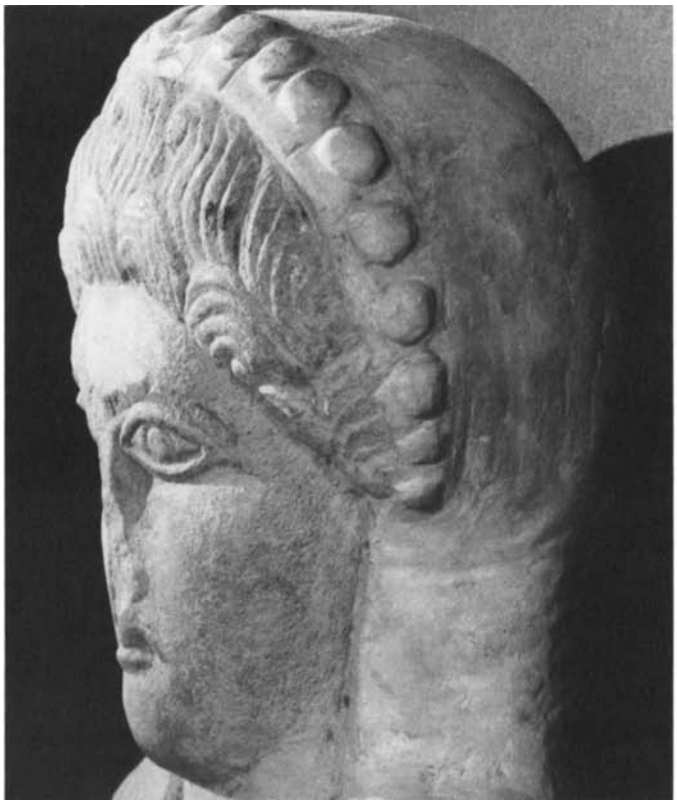

Figure 9. Funerary relief with a charioteer, left side of the figure with beads indicating a crown (No. 17). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AA.32.

Figure 10. Funerary relief with a charioteer, lower right side of drapery (No. 17). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AA.32.

Said to be from Rome
Italian marble, height: 45 cm, length: 116 cm
Accession number 74.AA.25
Roman Ports 1981, no. 49; Koch, no. 4.

The back right acroterion was cut off. Whatever may have been said elsewhere, the feet of most of the erotes have been recarved and their penises cut off. The top and bottom moldings have been leveled down.

15. SARCOPHAGUS WITH GARLANDS
Marble, height: 52 cm, length: 198 cm
Accession number 77.AA.66, presented by Gordon McLendon
Koch, no. 8.

The sarcophagus is unfinished; the contours of the garlands show the preliminary drill marks. The inscription (see Koch) in the rectangle of the tabula ansata is secondary; the original inscription was cut out, none too carefully. Nothing was originally written in the "wings" of the tabula or at the bottom of the sarcophagus where the present inscription is engraved into the original surface.

16. PORTRAIT HEAD ON A SHELL, FRAGMENT OF A SARCOPHAGUS
Marble, height: 43 cm
Accession number 73.AA.48
Roman Ports 1981, no. 92; Koch, no. 15.

The portrait of the deceased man was carved later—perhaps as much as a generation later—than the boss left for it in the middle of the shell.

17. FUNERARY RELIEF WITH A CHARIOTEER (figs. 9, 10)
From Phrygia
White marble with big crystals, height: 75 cm
Accession number 77.AA.32, presented by Bruce McNall
Checklist II, no. V54; Koch, no. 38.

The relief seems to date from the earlier third century A.D. At a later time the slab was cut down following the contour of the figure; spherical beads were left around the head indicating a kind of crown.

III. TWO SPECIAL CASES

18. PORTRAIT HEAD OF A BEARDED MAN (fig. 11)
Said to be from Italy
Italian marble, height: 36.5 cm
Accession number 78.AA.7
Roman Ports 1981, no. 8.

The original intention was for the head to be beardless. The recarving may have been prompted by the sitter who had in the meantime gone into mourning and wanted the fact to be recorded. Another possibility is that the beard masks damage to the portrait: the middle part of the lower

Figure 11. Portrait head of a bearded man, lower left jaw (No. 18). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AA.7.

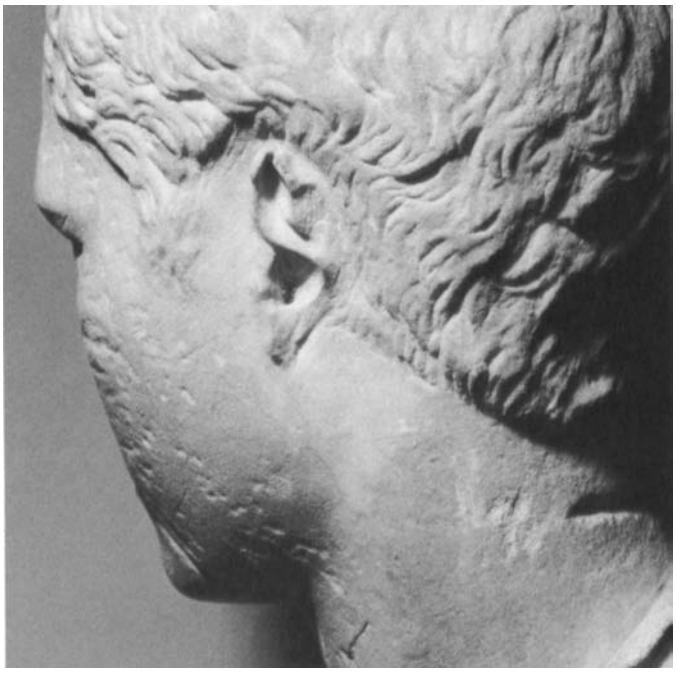

Figure 12. Bust of Geta, cutting of the nape and hammered face (No. 19). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AA.265.

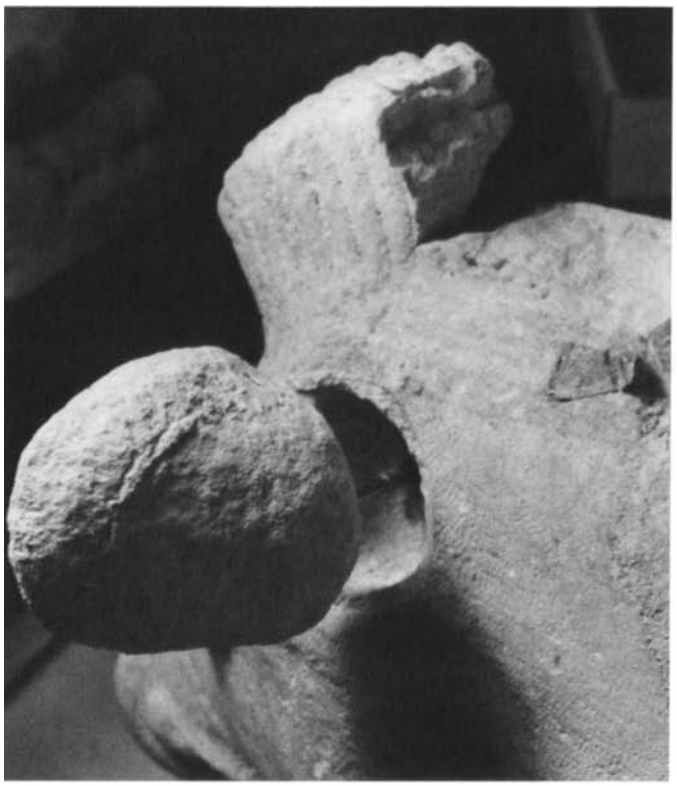

Figure 13. Statue of a boar, left ear insertion and a lead join (No. 20). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.366.

Figure 14. Under life-size female head (No. 22). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AA.62.

left jaw lost some volume *before* this second intervention happened. The head was carved about 40–30 B.C.

19. BUST OF GETA (fig. 12)
    Probably Italian white marble, height: 55 cm
    Accession number 78.AA.265
    Roman Ports 1981, no. 79.

When Caracalla murdered his younger brother in A.D. 211, he officially proclaimed Geta's *damnatio memoriae*, which included deleting Geta's name from public inscriptions and destroying his portraits. An attempt was made to save the bust of this portrait for reuse by sawing the head off beginning at the nape. Perhaps lateral parts of the bust broke off in the process, making the continuation of the attempt futile. The angry stonecutter then seems to have hit the face several times with a hammer—the deep gashes are manifestly intentional—before throwing it into the Thames. The case is unique.

IV. REPAIRS AND RESTORATIONS

20. STATUE OF A BOAR (fig. 13)
    Travertine, height: 88.5 cm (including the base)
    Accession number 83.AA.366

The sculpture was carved from two large slabs that were picked with the chisel on the sides to be fixed together for better adhesion. The left ear (the only one preserved) is a separate piece inserted by means of a large spherical protrusion into a well-carved cavity; the addition must have been part of the original work. Just behind the ear, half of a lead clamp shaped like a swallowtail is preserved. It must be either a repair of a crack in the stone or, more probably, a repair of an accident that happened shortly after the statue was already exhibited, probably as an ex-voto.

The crude but powerful style points to the early archaic period, just before the middle of the fifth century B.C., and to central Italy. The work, however, looks more Greek than Etruscan.

21. HEAD OF A YOUTH, POSSIBLY FROM A PARTHENON METOPE
    Pentelic marble, height: 17.5 cm
    Accession number 75.AA.47
    M. Weber, *GettyMusJ* 5 (1977), 5ff.; F. Brommer, *GettyMusJ* 5 (1977), 13ff.; J. Frel, *GettyMusJ* 5 (1977), 17ff.

The extensive reworking is described and illustrated in detail in my published note.

22. UNDER LIFE-SIZE FEMALE HEAD (figs. 14, 15)
    Said to be from central Italy
    Parian marble, height: 24.5 cm

Figure 15. Under life-size female head, detail of back (No. 22). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AA.62.

Figure 16. Elgin throne, left-side relief (No. 25). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 74.AA.12.

Accession number 82.AA.62, anonymous donation

The surface was completely recut and a regular rectangular cut was made as the base for the application of a new nose. A large vertical cylindrical hole was drilled through the center of the head together with two smaller ones.

The original work dates from the late fifth century B.C.; there is no evidence for the chronology of the repair.

23. FRAGMENTS FROM A LARGE FUNERARY MONUMENT INCLUDING HEADS OF ALEXANDER, HEPHAISTION, A PRINCESS, A FLUTIST, AND A LION; NUMEROUS SETS OF VARIOUS SMALLER FRAGMENTS
Pentelic marble
Accession numbers 73.AA.27–31 (heads), 76.AA.28 and 35, 77.AA.2, 78.AA.301 and 309 (fragments)
Checklist I, nos. 20–49, with complete dimensions; only the two first heads have been reproduced: *GARSIA*, nos. 101 and 102; *The Search for Alexander*, ex. cat., (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1976), 101, no. 6, color pl. 2, and 105, no. 13, color pl. 2.

The heads and limbs were repeatedly hit with a hammer, probably with the intention of breaking the statues into construction material. There are also traces of extensive ancient reworking previous to this final destruction, corresponding to an ancient repair of the monument. A detailed account of this restoration was presented in *Checklist* I, 6ff.

24. HEAD OF ACHILLES FROM THE WEST PEDIMENT OF THE TEMPLE OF ATHENA ALEA IN TEGEA, BY SKOPAS
Doliana marble, height: 29.8 cm
Accession number 79.AA.7
J. Frel, *GettyMusJ* 8 (1980), 90ff.; *GARSIA*, no. 50; A. Stewart, *Skopas in Malibu* (Malibu, 1982).

A detailed account of the ancient repairs is given in volume eight of *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* and in Stewart. In January of 1984 I observed a new detail in the presence of David Mitten and Zdravko Barov: in raking light a slight incision for the center of the iris and a large flattened dot for the pupil can be seen in the right eye. The eye is turned upward and to the right, confirming the main view from the left side. Later, we could also trace the iris of the other eye.

A circumstance not yet noted must be stated with emphasis. The surface was cleaned in modern times with acid, taking away the patina and producing the distressing soapy appearance that has made even people of good will hesitate about the authenticity of the sculpture. There are also traces of modern wall paint that once may have covered the whole head.

Figure 17. Herakles, left eye (No. 26). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.11.

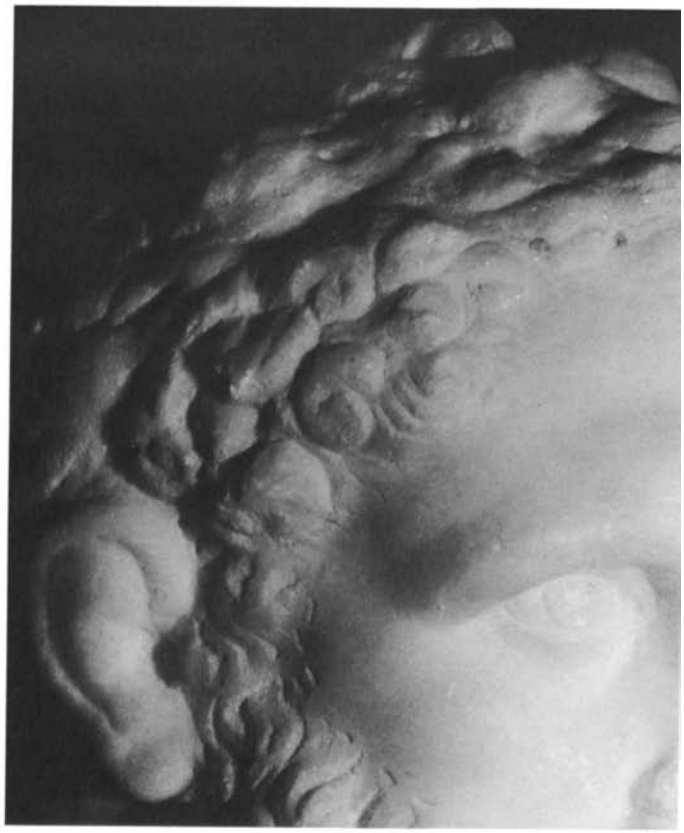

Figure 18. Herakles, upper-right portion of head (No. 26). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.11.

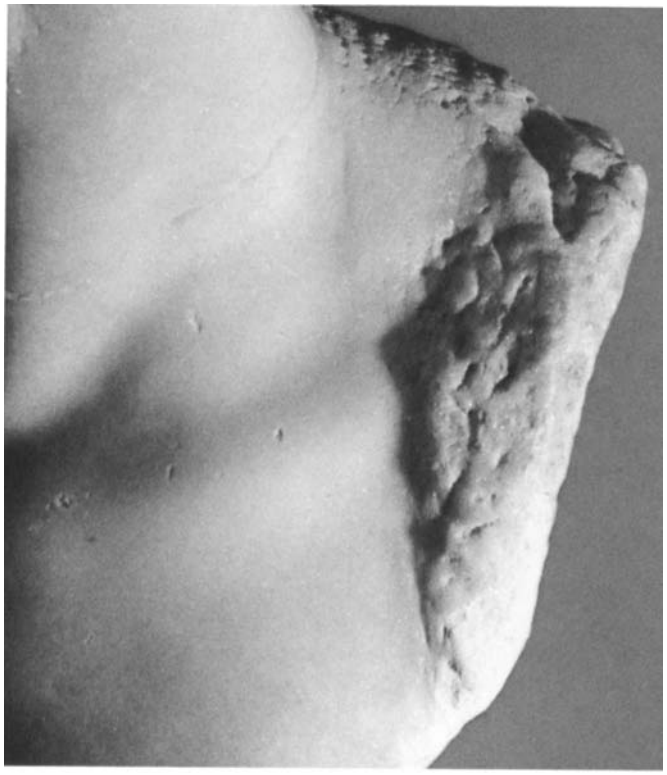

Figure 19. Herakles, reworked left shoulder (No. 26). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.11.

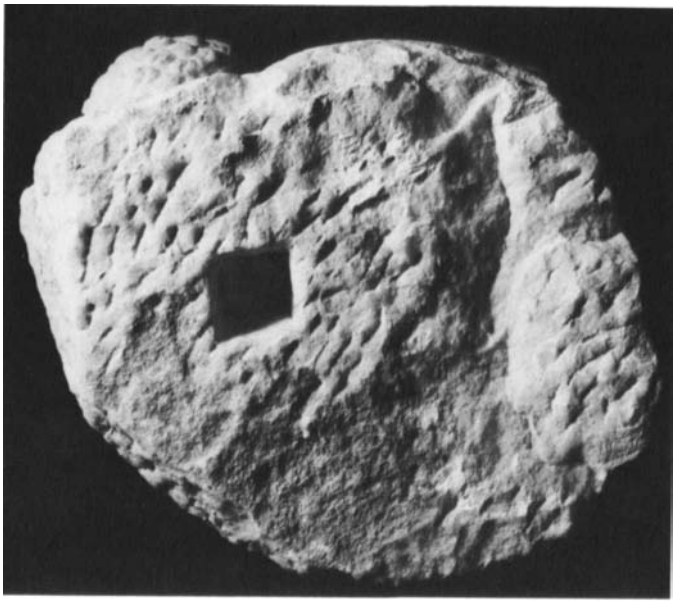

Figure 20. Herakles, back (No. 26). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.11.

The ancient repairs are beyond any doubt, and the authenticity of the head is also confirmed by external evidence. It was in the province of Angers in France at least before 1870, long before its twin, the helmeted head now in the Athens National Museum, was discovered in V. Berard's excavations at Tegea (1888/1889).

25. ELGIN THRONE (fig. 16)
From Athens, ex-collection the earl of Elgin, Broom Hall
Hymettan marble, height: 81.5 cm
Accession number 74.AA.12
J. Frel, *AM* 91 (1976), 28ff.; L. Beschi, *GettyMusJ* 5 (1975), 33ff.; *Checklist* I, no. 52.

The sharp cut in the front bottom to fit a footstool is secondary. Around the left-side relief (Theseus and the queen of Amazons), the surface is cut down with a claw chisel to increase the relief. All the inside lines of the relief (articulation of the drapery and of the male nude) are redrawn; the sword in Theseus' hand is recarved.

26. HERAKLES (figs. 17–20)
Said to be from Alexandria
Parian marble, height: 58 cm
Accession number 83.AA.11

The statue, created about 300 B.C., was the victim of a terrible accident, and the surviving bust was completely reworked in the second century A.D. The lion skin over the left shoulder was cut off, the nude surface was repolished, and the nipples were suppressed. The eyelids were redrawn—the upper ones practically disappeared—and the pupil was cut in. The eyebrows and the root of the nose were considerably lowered. All the beard and hair curls were reshaped and reincised. The path of the taenia in the hair and, to some extent, its shape were redone. The reverse was hewn down with a pick; in the middle, a rectangular cavity was carved for the large metallic pin intended to hold the two parts of the statue together.

27a, b. TWO MARBLE FEET
(said to have been found together with the Herakles [No. 26] and which might have been part of the same group)
a. Sandaled Right Foot (fig. 21)
Parian marble, length: 25 cm
Accession number 83.AA.427, anonymous donation

The foot may not belong to the statue of Herakles, although the scale is appropriate. Two iron pins have been planted in the marble, one in the distal ankle, the other in the top, which means that the foot might at some time have been separated from the body even if it was not originally worked from another piece of marble. Both pins were later filed off and the whole surface lost several millimeters by a drastic repolishing that affected the modeling. The surviving toes were shortened and their nails recut with the exception of the smallest one. The strap of the sandal close to the small toe was cut down. The changes are as radical as for the Herakles (No. 26).

Figure 21. One of two marble feet, reworking on sandaled right foot (No. 27a). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.427.

b. Female Left Foot
The same marble as Nos. 26 and 27a, max. length: 16.5 cm
Accession number 84.AA.25, anonymous donation

The piece, about half of the foot, was originally joined in back by a metallic pin to the main part of the statue, *under* the lower edge of the drapery; this left some scratching damage on the back top. The surface seems to be original; the painted strap of the sandal between the big toe and the next one has disappeared. The nails are lowered in the same way as on No. 27a.

28. TORSO OF HERMES(?) (fig. 22)
Said to be from southwestern Asia Minor
Marble with large crystals (Asia Minor), height: 71 cm
Accession number 79.AA.146
J. Frel, *GettyMusJ* 8 (1980), 92ff.; *GARSIA*, no. 20; C. E. Vafopoulou-Richardson, *GettyMusJ* 11 (1983), 111ff.

The broken-off limbs were reaffixed with an elaborate system of iron pins, a carefully carved central cavity for the main support, and two cuts on the opposite sides of the external surface for crampons. The joining surface that has

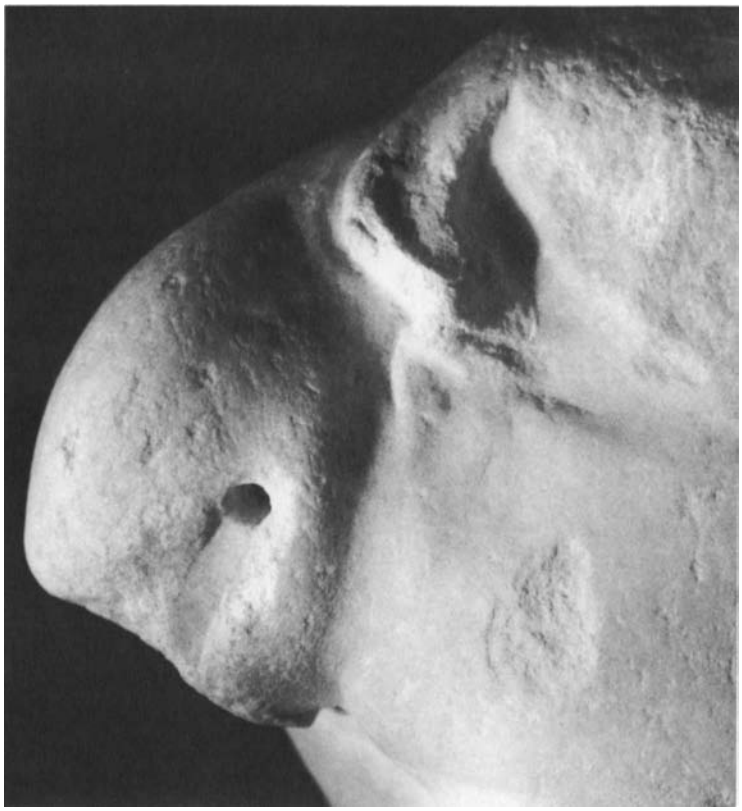

Figure 22. Torso of Hermes(?), right shoulder (No. 28). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AA.146.

Figure 23. Collapsing Niobid, back bottom view (No. 31). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 72.AA.126.

survived for both upper arms is very carefully executed. The head (the iron pin in lead is extant) and the penis (with the secondary drilled hole) were also reattached. Only the restoration of the limbs is mentioned in the 1983 publication, but a very extensive recutting of the front also occurred. The ends of the taenia were shortened, and the area of the collarbones was remodeled. The sternum and the linea alba were cut with consequent flattening of the adjacent areas. Both inguinal lines were completely changed, together with the top of the pubic hair. But the statue was saved for further display, possible reused to praise a Roman dignitary.

29. HEAD OF ATHENA
Said to be from western Asia Minor
Pentelic marble, height: 34.5 cm
Accession number 79.AA.138
A. Houghton, *GettyMusJ* 11 (1983), 99ff., with detailed account of the restorations; Z. Barov, *GettyMusJ* 11 (1983), 110ff. (recent conservation).

Together with the Parthenos from Pergamon, the piece is essential for understanding Hellenistic copying of classical originals.

30. ALEXANDER THE GREAT
From western Asia Minor
Pentelic marble, height: 31.5 cm
Accession number 73.AA.17
Greek Ports, no. 21.

The statuette, inspired by a masterpiece of Lysippos, was carved in Pergamon before the middle of the second century B.C. Sometime later it was damaged; in particular, the left arm was broken off. A competent sculptor took over the repair work. He cut down the break carefully to achieve a good joining surface with as little as possible loss of the marble mass. This can still be seen at the armpit, where the new surface bites a little into the shoulder. Then he tried to join the now-lost arm with an iron pin, which was still in place in 1973 when it was taken out because it was swelling with rust and discoloring the marble (see No. 2 above). But the join could not succeed as there was not enough space for the hand which now touched the abdomen. To make the join possible, the sculptor leveled the left side of the abdomen a little, carefully following the original modeling. The work is so fine that I took it at first for a pentimento by the original sculptor. The ancient restorer also eliminated a break above the forehead, retouched the damaged face (where he could not avoid producing a rather soapy appearance), and probably reattached the broken-off head and the now-lost right arm. He also revised the polish of the surface, leaving only a trace of the originally distinct nipples.

31. COLLAPSING NIOBID (fig. 23)
Said to be from Rome
Pentelic marble, height: 146.7 cm
Accession number 72.AA.126
Cat., no. 22; *GARSIA*, no. 154.

The raised right arm, the left arm from shoulder to the wrist, and the right foot from the ankle to the second tarsal joints of the toes were carved from separate blocks of marble. This is immediately evident in the case of the right arm, where this technique saved a considerable amount of marble and work. The regularly picked surface of the join is bordered by the narrow fillet of an "anathyrosis." The iron pin fixed in lead may be from a secondary repair, but the well-carved, large cylindrical cavetto in which the pin is placed is surely original. The situation is partly obscured at the left shoulder. The original picking of this join remains only partially clear; it was disturbed by partial reworking and by the secondary flat cut of the neck to reinstate the head on a vertical iron pin embedded in lead and supported by a smaller horizontal pin in the front. At the same time, the "anathyrosis" for the arm was suppressed. The join in the wrist of the right arm is perhaps a little retouched but original, with a clear cut and a precisely drilled hole for a dowel. The thumb was broken off and joined secondarily with an iron pin carelessly inserted into the marble. The right foot was originally carved as a separate piece. The joins above the ankle and at the toes are very careful, but a lateral join at the drapery consists of a surface secondarily cut into the drapery with two careless holes for the pins. The drapery has been retouched and even rearranged; most notably, it was flattened over the left knee on the front and still more at the reverse where the entire width of the bottom edge is redone; the drapery originally made an elegant wave reaching some 12 cm lower, as the traces clearly show. The scrotum lost some volume, and the penis was added secondarily. The nude surface was repolished.

The sculpture remains an impressive Greek original. The ancient repairs help to obscure the problem of its date: late fifth century B.C. (Vermeule, *Cat.*; M. Gjødesen, orally) or after 120 B.C. (B. Sismondo Ridgway; J. Frel; Vermeule, *GARSIA*). The discussion involves the whole Niobid group.

32. TORSO OF MITHRAS TAUROKTONOS
(figs. 24, 25)
Gray, homogenous marble, with yellowish patina, height: 99 cm. Weathered by exposure to seawater, including fine holes tunneled by sea animals.
Accession number 82.AA.74

The head was reaffixed in antiquity with a thick iron pin, and both arms with pins and crampons similar to but heavier than those for the torso of Hermes (No. 28). The surface was unified and the drapery folds lowered. A broken-off fold on each side was carefully cut down and its edge replaced with additional marble; several holes, some of them with original iron pins, are still extant. Both ends of the sword in the sheath

Figure 24. Back of Mithras Tauroktonos, cut-down drapery fold (No. 32). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AA.74.

Figure 25. Torso of Mithras Tauroktonos, broken-off left arm and sheath (No. 32). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AA.74.

were broken off and replaced with iron pins.

The bull was worked from a separate block of marble. The workmanship points to East Greece; a Rhodian workshop may have been involved. The style points to about 100 B.C. It is a very early statue of Mithras, perhaps the earliest. The rather negligent repairs may date from the second century A.D.

33. STATUETTE OF HERMES (figs. 26, 27)
Fine white marble, height: 18.25 cm
Accession number 83.AA.312, anonymous donation
D. Willers, *GettyMusJ*, forthcoming.

Both wings on the petasos are cut down, especially the left one. The folds of the chlamys on the chest are also reduced; and on closer examination, the whole front of the statuette is remodeled to some extent. The original work must be early Augustan.

34. ATHLETE POURING OIL (fig. 28)
Italian marble, height: 150 cm
Accession number 73.AA.3
C. C. Vermeule, *Greek Art: Socrates to Sulla* (Boston, 1980), 169, fig. 22D; *Getty Bronze* 1982, 46, fig. 63.

The area of the inguinal line is completely recut. Only one original curl of pubic hair survives; straight incisions, done rather cursorily, replace them. A new penis, cut from a separate piece of marble, was added. The repair was necessary because of intentional damage. One would like to imagine a Christian enemy of nude statues, but the vandalism cannot be dated.

The statue is a good Trajanic copy after a bronze original probably cast by the young Lysippos about 360 B.C. The proportionately small head is broken off but fits exactly on the break.

35. ARTEMIS
See No. 3 above
Accession number 73.AA.5

This statue also belongs in this section for the secondary join of the head.

36. TORSO OF STEPHANOS-EPHEBE (fig. 29)
Italian marble, height: 37.5 cm
Accession number 84.AA.28

The cavity for the inserted head is secondary; there is also a repair to the right arm.

The copy seems to be from the (early?) second century A.D.

37. BEARDED HEAD FROM A HERM (figs. 30, 31)
Italian white marble, height: 22.5 cm
Accession number 83.AA.395, presented by F. Richmond
D. Willers, *GettyMusJ*, forthcoming.

Modern and ancient restorations occur side by side. The restoration of the nose is modern, as is the cutting of the neck to replace the head on the herm and the substitution of a curl above the left temple. On the other hand, the lower part of the beard was reattached in antiquity. The surface is picked,

Figure 26. Statuette of Hermes, left of hat with wing cut down (No. 33). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.312.

Figure 27. Statuette of Hermes, reduced folds of the chlamys (No. 33). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.312.

Figure 28. Athlete pouring oil, lower torso (No. 34). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 73.AA.3.

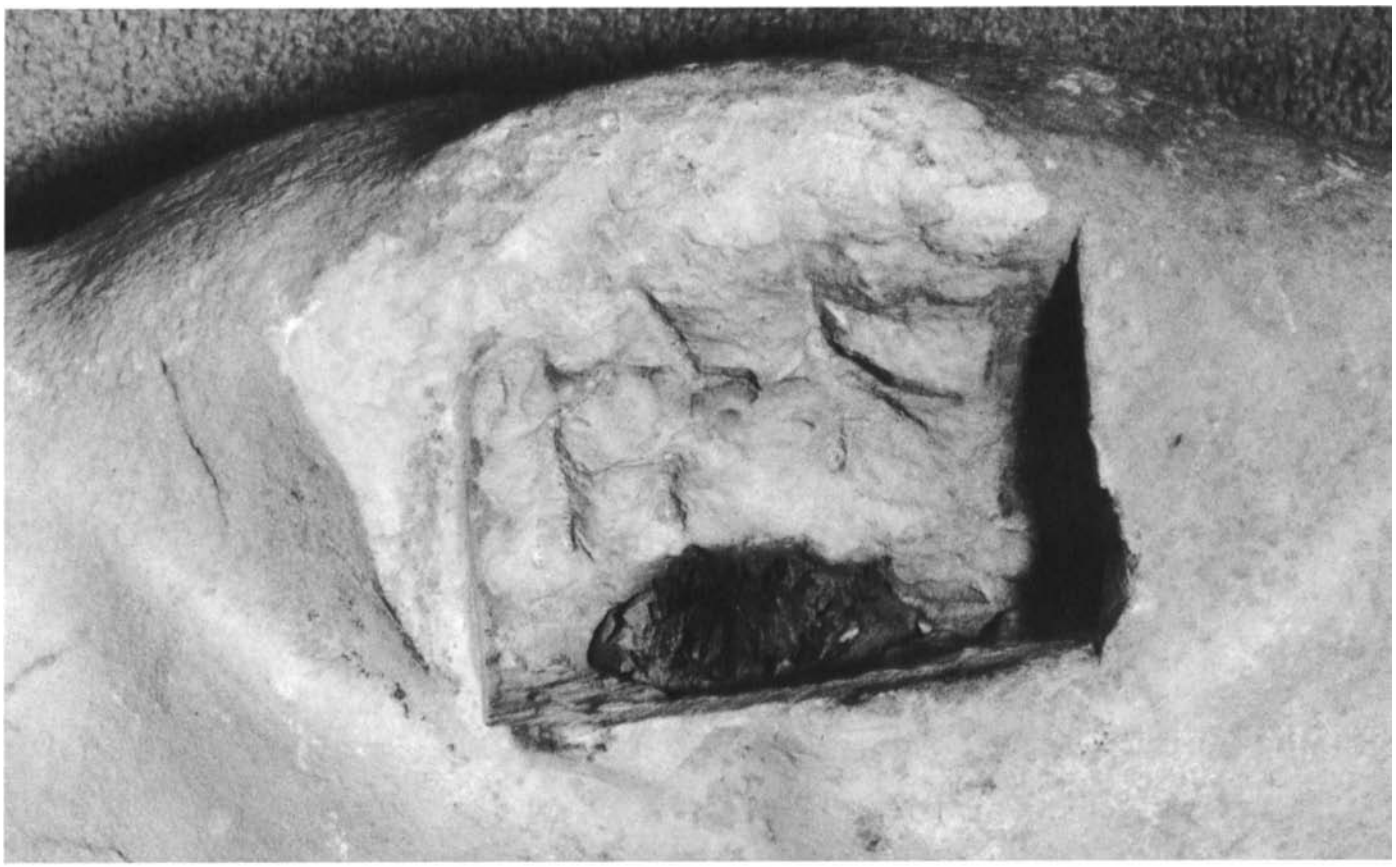

Figure 29. Torso of stephanos-ephebe, secondary cavity for the inserted head (No. 36). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.AA.28.

Figure 30. Bearded head from a herm, hair around left temple (No. 37). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.395.

Figure 31. Bearded head from a herm, bottom of neck (No. 37). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.395.

Figure 32. Herm of a Greek poet, leveling of the head (No. 38). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 74.AA.9.

Figure 33. Herm of a Greek poet, detail of upper-left occiput (No. 38). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 74.AA.8.

and there are two iron pins and a lead fill-hole extant to hold it well; a crampon was put in on the right side. A small part of the hair above the forehead seems also to be an ancient repair; the workmanship of the rough surface looks ancient, while the iron pins must be new.

The head is Alkamenoid; the excellent copy dates from the earlier second century A.D.

38. TWO HERMS OF GREEK POETS (figs. 32, 33)
Pentelic marble with brown incrustation, heights: 29.5 cm and 38.5 cm
Accession numbers 74.AA.8 and 9
Greek Ports, nos. 42 and 43.

Half of the height of the first herm was cut away, and the broken top of the head was leveled. The lobe of the left ear and the jaw angle under it have been improved.

The left shoulder of the second herm has been cut in for its entire height, and the missing part was added with an iron pin that is still in place. Both lateral sides of the herm have been repicked. There is some ancient retouching in the hair, especially above the left temple, and on the fillet, especially at the left back. The articulation of the ears and their outside contours were redone to suppress the breaks. The right eyebrow was retouched. The upper-left occiput was added as a separate piece, the joining surface is neat, but because of the thick incrustation, it is difficult to decide if this was a repair or original work.

39. PORTRAIT HEAD OF THUCYDIDES (figs. 34, 35)
Pentelic marble, height: 27 cm
Accession number 76.AA.47
Greek Ports, no. 7.

The beard, originally in undulating waves, was damaged and cut down (this is particularly clear at the sideburns) with curly locks incised. At the same time, the mustache was also cut down and the entire surface repolished (the small damages on both cheeks are prior to the repolishing). It is impossible to say whether the portrait kept its original name after the operation.

40. HERM OF SOLON(?)
Said to be from Kerkyra, ex-collection B. Meissner
Pentelic marble, height: 52.5 cm
Accession number 73.AA.134
Greek Ports, no. 16.

The eyes were retouched in antiquity: the lower eyelids

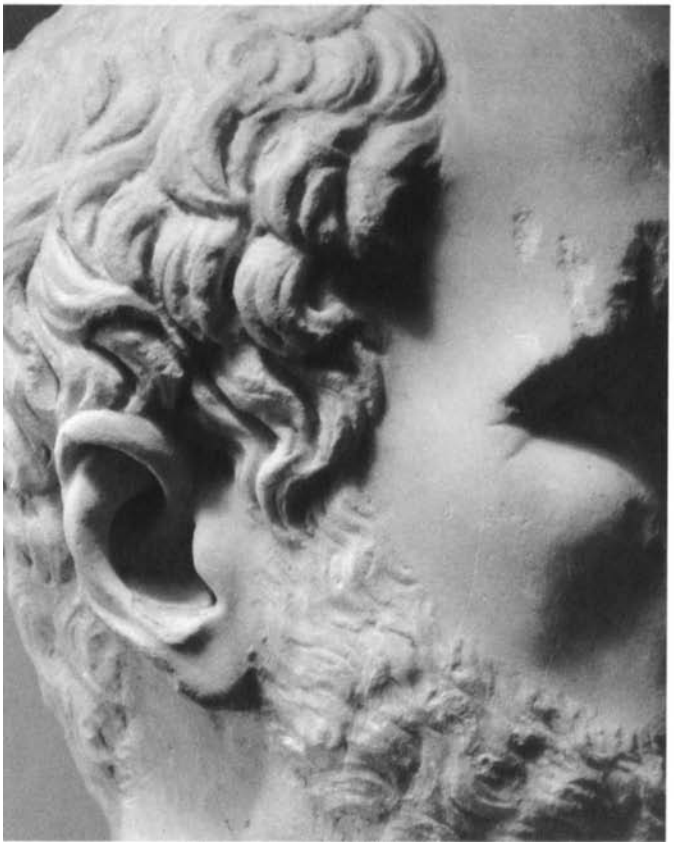

Figure 34. Portrait head of Thucydides, right sideburns (No. 39). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AA.47.

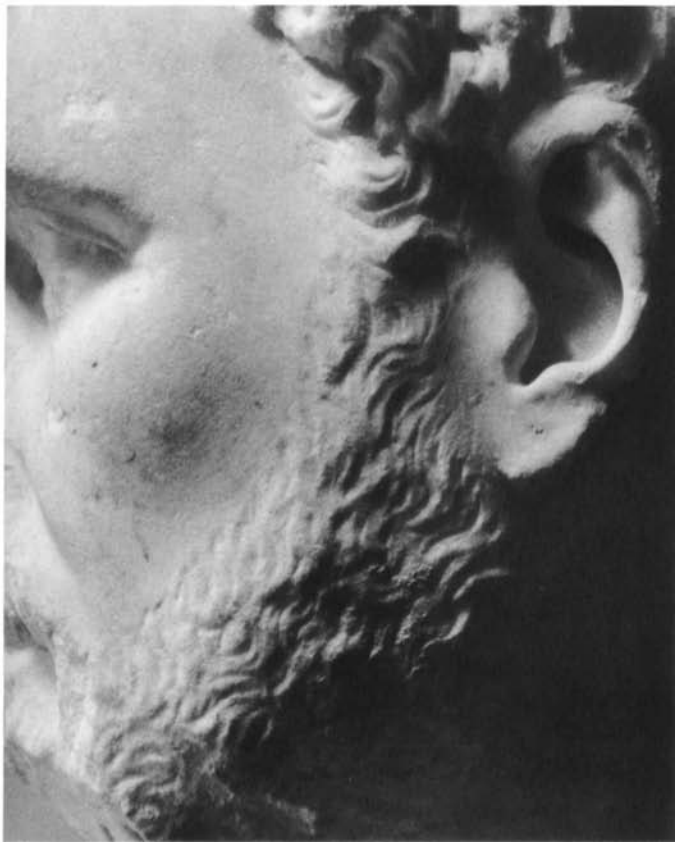

Figure 35. Portrait head of Thucydides, left sideburns (No. 39). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AA.47.

lost a little of their thickness, and their line was modified to some extent; the eyeballs were slightly flattened.

The herm may originally have been displayed with other portraits of famous Greeks. Three such portraits are now in the Archaeological Museum of Kerkyra (Menandros, see G. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* [Oxford and New York, 1967], figs. 1633ff.; the so-called Thucydides 2, *ibid.*, figs. 837ff.; and a head arbitrarily named Pyrrhon, *AntP* 7 [1967], 33ff., pls. 10ff., which was extensively recarved in antiquity). While the herm was found in the sea (there are small holes on the occiput, and the surface is damaged by seawater), the three heads came from the Roman baths in Kerkyra.

41. FUNERARY PORTRAIT OF A MAN IN THE REPUBLICAN TRADITION (figs. 36, 37)
Said to be from southeastern Italy
Italian marble, height: 32.3 cm
Accession number 79.AA.176
Roman Ports 1981, no. 9.

The head was originally displayed on the top of a cippus or similar funerary monument. It was damaged by weathering to some extent, and most of the surface was systematically recut following the original dispositions. The difference is minimal, but the surface shows the intervention even under the chin and in the hair of the reverse. For some archaeologists, this may appear to be evidence against the authenticity of the piece, which is, however, beyond any dispute.

42. PORTRAIT OF A MAN
Italian marble, height: 26 cm
Accession number 75.AA.52
Roman Ports 1981, no. 90.

The whole surface of the portrait was repolished in antiquity, as good traces of incrustation remain over this surface. The intervention completely suppressed the original firm contours of the lips; the eyelids were only slightly retouched, but the plastic marking of the pupils was redone. At the same time, the beard was flattened, the sideburns were completely remodeled, and the hair was considerably retouched. The resulting impression is Gallienic, but there is no doubt that the original work was an outstanding portrait of the middle Severan period.

43. TWO ARCHITECTONIC RELIEFS WITH OPPOSED ELEPHANTS
Italian marble, (right elephant) height: 80.3 cm, length: 131.5 cm; (left elephant) height: 87.5 cm, length: 129 cm

Accession number 71.AA.463
Cat., 82; *Checklist* I, no. V66.

Both slabs were retouched, but the repairs are more striking on the elephant turned to the left. They include the shortening and recarving of the damaged tusk; the retouching of the broken contour of the ear; the flattening and remodeling of both left legs; and the reincising of the net covering the body and the legs.

The proposed chronology for the slabs in the Flavian period must be correct; to the same building belong two prismatic architectonic blocks with geisipodes (73.AA.96); the top of one of them preserves contours of a base for a statue that must have been an acroterion. It faced to the left, being placed above the main entrance. The elephants may also have been part of the same side of the building.

44. LION-HEAD WATERSPOUT
White (Italian?) marble, height: 48 cm
Accession number 76.AA.2
Checklist I, no. 110.

The style is a reinterpretation of an early classical lion head. The dry and rather provincial execution must be early Augustan. The sides, which are cut carefully into well-designed steps, prove that the piece was produced as a substitute for a probably damaged waterspout. The sculptor was a well-trained stonecutter but not an artist. The Augustan substitutes for the original lion's head waterspouts of the temple of Zeus in Olympia are the closest parallel. The piece is said to be from Campania.

45. MARBLE FUNERARY EROS
Said to be from Italy
Italian marble, height: 72 cm
Accession number 73.AA.86
Koch, no. 32.

Both wings were worked together from another piece of marble and fixed in one cavity carved under the location of the left wing. Both legs were later (in the cemetery?) broken off and refixed. The part of the left foot which remained with the body was recut, and a hole was made for the iron pin. Under the right knee, a cylindrical cavity was carved for the join; and, at the level of the heel, a small hole was drilled in the prismatic seat for the other iron pin. Both iron pins survived, completely rusty and discoloring the marble; they were removed in 1975.

V. UNFINISHED

46. OVER LIFE-SIZE HEAD OF DOMITIAN
Said to be from Ephesos
White marble with large crystals (Asia Minor), height: 36 cm
Accession number 75.AA.26, presented by Bruce McNall
Roman Ports 1981, no. 34.

Figure 36. Funerary portrait of a man in the republican tradition, lower left profile (No. 41). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AA.176.

Figure 37. Funerary portrait of a man in the republican tradition, left back (No. 41). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AA.176.

Originally intended to be inserted in a statue, the head was left unfinished, probably in A.D. 96 when the news of the tyrant's death reached Asia Minor. It was reused possibly as construction fill. For an account of the technique, see *Roman Ports* 1981, no. 124.

47. HERMES
From Thasos, ex-collection Wix de Zsolnay
Thasian marble, height: 79.5 cm
Accession number 71.AA.283
Cat., no. 45.

The back is roughly sketched with the pick; the modeling of the front is barely indicated, as is especially clear for the drapery. No carved marble remains under the left buttock or on the left side under the drapery. The legs are not separated. The caduceus is in relief on a large surface. The neck is left large to protect the head from breaking off during the carving; the shape of the ears hardly emerges. There are many dots—pointing marks—especially on the back. A small circular puntello with a hole on the left shoulder is one of the supports of the three-point copying technique.

48. HEAD OF BEARDED HERAKLES
From Thasos, ex-collection Wix de Zsolnay
Thasian marble, height: 21.5 cm
Accession number 70.AA.111
Cat., no. 18.

The ears are only lightly indicated; the hair and beard curls sketched; and the modeling of the face and the design of the eyes are not finished. It seems that a fault in the marble running between and a little underneath the outside corners of both eyes took away the layer of the marble needed for the nose and the sculptor gave up. Because of the unfinished state, the interpretation of the head may seem doubtful; it has even been suggested that it may be a portrait. Indeed, the roughly cut face gives a false impression of individual features, but the old-fashioned circular curls identify Herakles.

49. SARCOPHAGUS WITH GARLANDS
See No. 15 above
Unfinished, but used twice.

Malibu

A Boeotian Horseman

Reynold Higgins

In 1982 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired an archaic Greek terracotta figurine of a horseman that stands out against the generally mediocre quality of such figurines (figs. 1a–d).[1] The rider wears a short black tunic (chiton) with short sleeves, and a wreath is placed in his longish curly hair. His face is rendered schematically with nothing but a large nose and a black blob for each eye to represent the features. The horse is black with added white used for its curly mane, its eyes, its bridle, and a rosette on its chest. The use of black "glaze" with added white was standard practice for Greek pottery over a long period, as well as for the simple figurines, which were often also made by potters.

Subject, style, and clay all point to Boeotia, but can we get any closer? Fortunately, this exact type is recorded only from Tanagra, where examples appear in considerable numbers.[2] So the Getty horseman must surely be of Tanagran origin.

As for the date, an outside limit of about 625–550 B.C. is established by the decorative technique, which at Tanagra is found only on figurines between these dates. Before this time, no figurines are recorded; after, they are decorated with polychrome matte colors. The treatment of the face gives exactly the same date range, although, strangely enough, it is regularly found not on horsemen but on goddesses.[3]

The Getty horseman is rendered in rather more detail than the regular Boeotian horsemen of this date[4] and could well be leading the way to the far more realistic late sixth-century riders.[5] Given this, we should perhaps date him around 550 B.C.

Finally, who is he? Horses had strong funerary associations in the eyes of the ancient Greeks for reasons that are not entirely clear. They are also indications of aristocratic, and therefore heroic, circumstances. Might this suggest that the Getty horseman and his fellows represent the heroized dead?

Godalming, Surrey

1. Accession number 82.AD.84. Height: 12.7 cm.
2. F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, vol. 3 of *Die antiken Terrakotten* (Berlin/Stuttgart, 1903), pt. 1, p. 7:1.
3. R. A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (London, 1967), 45f., pls. 18A–D.
4. Higgins, 46, pl. 19E.
5. Higgins, 77, pl. 32G.

Figures 1a–d. Top left, Boeotian archaic terracotta figurine of a horseman, left profile. *Top right,* right profile. *Bottom left,* front view. *Bottom right,* back view. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AD.84.

Une Statuette Béotienne au Musée J. Paul Getty

Alain Pasquier

A l'ombre des marbres majestueux et des bronzes célèbres que conserve la prestigieuse collection du Musée J. Paul Getty, à Malibu les figurines de terre cuite occupent une modeste place. Le développement qui suit s'attache néanmoins à commenter une statuette de femme assise, dont l'examen attentif fournit des renseignements qui pourraient enrichir quelque peu, croyons-nous, la connaissance de la coroplastique grecque en un moment important de son histoire: celui où les modeleurs reçoivent l'impact des transformations définitives que connaissent l'art grec et en particulier la statuaire à la naissance du "style sévère."[1] Pour qui veut bien l'écouter, cet humble objet d'argile dit un peu de ce que fut l'ambiance des échoppes où il a vu le jour, alors que les sculpteurs inventaient les formes du classicisme.

STATUETTE DE FEMME ASSISE (figs. 1a–b)
Hauteur: 17,2 cm
Numero d'inventaire 71.AD.140

L'argile chargée d'impuretés, au contact rugueux, est d'une teinte brun clair, avec de nombreuses traces d'un engobe blanc épais dont la présence est visible un peu partout sous les concrétions. Des traces de peinture rouge sont perceptibles sur la chaussure gauche. La statuette a été tirée d'un moule qui sculpte la partie antérieure de la figure. Le dessous est complètement ouvert et le revers constitué d'une paroi faite à main libre de plusieurs bandes d'argile qui, placées en largeur, se chevauchent les unes les autres avec une surface extérieure unifiée par le lissage.

La femme est donc assise, les avant-bras reposant parallèlement sur les cuisses, les deux mains épousant le contour du genou. Les jambes sont jointes, avec les pieds chaussés, le droit légèrement en retrait par rapport au gauche (conséquence probable de la déformation notée plus haut), et posés sur une manière de tabouret, qui constitue une prolongation de la base du siège. Celui-ci est muni d'ailettes latérales en forme de fer à cheval qui couronnent le sommet du dossier. L'ailette de droite est plus développée que celle de gauche: indice qui plaide en faveur d'un travail fait à la main et rapporté après le démoulage de la figurine. Les montants du siège sont sans décor plastique et l'assise remonte légèrement en oblique.

En l'absence de tout détail peint, le vêtement peut être décrit comme un chiton dont les manches viennent jusqu'à la saignée du coude, avec un profond repli (kolpos) qui arrondit sa poche jusque sous le genou. Sous la saillie que forme la bordure inférieure de ce kolpos, l'étoffe est plaquée contre les jambes, mais sans qu'aucune notation du modelé en trahisse la présence. Sur le buste, au contraire, les deux éminences de la poitrine animent la surface, avec une certaine inégalité qui se retrouve dans la facture générale de l'objet (le sein gauche est légèrement plus bas et moins saillant que le droit).

Enfin la femme porte les cheveux longs: ils ondulent à partir du sommet du front jusqu'aux épaules qu'ils rejoignent en cachant les oreilles, mais en découvrant toute la région antérieure du cou. Sur le crâne, est posé un petit polos aux bords très évasés. Les traits du visage sont très simplifiés et leur tracé est émoussé par l'usure du moule. Le profil est fuyant, le front bas, le nez court et fort, la bouche épaisse et teintée maladroitement d'une ombre de sourire. L'oeil se réduit, avec la disparition de la couleur, à une amande au contour flou, en faible relief sous l'arc régulier mais faiblement marqué du sourcil. Notons enfin que les pommettes sont signalées par un petit bossellement, et que le menton assez fort sans être ferme alourdit et amollit quelque peu la physionomie.

D'après son aspect général, la statuette de Malibu doit prendre sa place parmi les très nombreux types moulés de femme assise que les différents ateliers de coroplastes produisent à partir de la fin de l'archaïsme et qui survivent en partie à l'avènement du style sévère, par l'effet du conservatisme maintes fois constaté dans l'évolution de ce genre artistique.[2] Il convient donc de jeter un coup d'oeil sur les différents aspects de cette production, afin de repérer le groupe au sein duquel la statuette qui a retenu notre attention trouverait le mieux sa place.

Les figurines de femmes assises remontent bien sûr à une période plus reculée de l'archaïsme. Les ateliers attiques,

1. Cette étude a été entreprise au Musée J. Paul Getty à Malibu, ou l'auteur a été reçu comme "visiting scholar" au mois de Janvier 1982. Que tous les responsables de ce beau musée soient ici remerciés pour la générosité et la gentillesse de leur accueil, et tout particulièrement J. Frel, qui nous a permis de publier ce document, et dont l'amitié ainsi que la grande expérience scientifique nous ont été prodiguées sans parcimonie.

2. Par exemple R. A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas,* 1967, 58.

Figure 1a. Figurine féminine assise. Malibu, Musée J. Paul Getty 71.AD.140.

Figure 1b. Profil gauche de figure 1a.

Figure 2. Figurine de la Grèce de l'Est. Paris, Musée du Louvre MNC 680.

Figure 3. Figurine attique. Paris, Musée du Louvre MNB 543.

béotiens, argiens, corinthiens, tégéates, laconiens, ont tous proposé, certains dès le septième siècle avant J.C. des modèles où le corps, une large bande d'argile pliée à la taille et aux genoux, est modelé à main libre, tandis que le visage est tantôt modelé, lui aussi, tantôt tiré d'un moule séparé.[3] Ce procédé ne nous concerne pas ici. Remarquons toutefois que des statuettes féminines assises entièrement moulées apparaissent déjà à haute époque, par exemple à Corinthe ou à Thasos.[4]

Mais la grande période des moules de ce type féminin assis commence avec le "groupe d'Aphrodite," famille nombreuse d'objets créés à partir du deuxième quart du sixième siècle avant J.C. par des centres de production de la Grèce de l'Est.[5] A côté des gracieuses korés debout qui ont baptisé le groupe, plusieurs modèles féminins assis ont été élaborés (au moyen de deux moules) puis largement exportés dans toutes les régions du pays grec, mais en particulier vers la Grande Grèce et la Sicile (fig. 2).[6] Ces premières versions d'une image qui va dominer la thématique des coroplastes grecs ont dû voir le jour un peu avant le milieu du siècle.[7]

Lorsque le "groupe d'Aphrodite" disparaît, à la fin du même siècle, elles laissent la place à des types dérivés qui en simplifient les données: leur formule se maintient jusqu'au milieu du cinquième siècle et au-delà, avec un effort d'adaptation aux temps nouveaux qui affecte surtout la morphologie de la tête. De ce groupe, dont le centre doit probablement être situé à Rhodes, il existe mainte imitation réalisée surtout par les ateliers de la Béotie, mais aussi de l'Attique, de la Crète, de la Cyrénaïque et de la Grande Grèce.[8]

Toutes ces figurines moulées sont en creux, généralement à partir d'une seule matrice pour la face, le revers étant fait d'une paroi façonnée à main libre, la partie inférieure est en principe fermée par une feuille d'argile qui est le plus souvent

3. Higgins, 1967, 43 (Attique), 46 (Béotie), 50 (Argos), 48 (Corinthe), 51 (Tégée), 52 (Laconie).

4. Cf. A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth* XV, 2, *The Potter's Quarter*, 1952, 65, no. 9, pls. 9 et 11; et pour Thasos, cf. Higgins, 1967, 41, pl. 15 D: le type de la déesse au polos a été récemment étudié sous tous ses aspects par N. Weill dans sa thèse de doctorat d'état, encore non publiée.

5. Higgins, 1967, 34–36. Les figurines de ce groupe sont souvent des vases plastiques, munis d'une embouchure d'aryballe.

6. Higgins, 1967, 34. Pour les exportations vers l'île de Thasos, cf. N. Weill, "Plastique ionienne à Thasos," *RA*, 1976, 219–226.

7. Sur la datation des figurines féminines *tronantes* de la Grèce de l'Est, cf. en dernier lieu F. Isik, "Die Koroplastik von Theangela in Karien und ihre Beziehungen zu Ostionien," *Ist Mitt–BH* 21 (1971), 46sq.

8. Higgins, 1967, 61–64.

9. Il existe néanmoins un petit groupe particulier qui pratique le double moule et que l'argile et le style rapprochent plus étroitement du groupe d'Aphrodite: c'est pourquoi on l'a dénommé "groupe post-Aphrodite"; cf. R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British*

Figure 4. Figurine kourotrophe. Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 805.

Figure 5. Figurine béotienne. Athènes, Collection Canellopoulos 1909.

percée au moyen d'une lame de couteau, d'un bâtonnet, ou simplement du bout du doigt.[9]

Mais il n'est pas que dans la Grèce de l'Est, en cette dernière génération de l'archaïsme, que l'on moule des figurines de femme assise. A la fin du sixième siècle avant J.C. les ateliers de l'Attique éditent un modèle trônant sur un petit siège à dossier pourvu à son sommet d'ailettes latérales (fig. 3).[10] Les statuettes connues surtout par les trouvailles de l'Acropole et de l'Agora d'Athènes, mais exportées bien au-delà des limites de l'Attique, connaissent des filiations complexes et des versions multiples où la taille et le décor plastique ou peint varient d'une pièce à l'autre.[11]

La technique la plus courante, surtout pour les petits spécimens, est celle d'une sculpture massive traversée en hauteur par un étroit canal circulaire pratiqué avec un bâtonnet. Pour les exemplaires d'une plus grande taille, la partie inférieure est souvent évidée au moyen d'un bâtonnet auquel la main semble avoir imprimé un mouvement circulaire de plus en plus large. Mais dans le sillage de ce type courant, qui persiste jusque vers 460, il nous apparaît que les coroplastes attiques ont concurremment créé à partir de l'aube du style sévère, d'une manière plus parcimonieuse, un ensemble de types, qui ne connaissent pas, apparemment, de dérivations de petite tailles.[12] Et surtout, l'image se modifie en ce sens que le trône laisse la place au "klismos" ou au "diphros," que le tabouret se présente à deux degrés ou sous une forme demi-circulaire. De plus, la technique y diffère généralement par le fait que l'intérieur de la statuette est entièrement creux, tandis que le revers est parfois fait d'une paroi obtenue par le raccord de plusieurs bandes d'argile lissées par le passage de l'outil sur la surface visible.[13] Les représentations sont assez variées: korés simples portant parfois un attribut, mais aussi figurines

Museum, 1954, 21.

10. S. Casson et D. Brooks, *Catalogue of The Acropolis Museum*, II, 1921 (*Sculpture and Architectural Fragments*, par S. Casson, *Terracottas* par D. Brooks), 317–329. M. Brouskari, *Musée de l'Acropole, Catalogue descriptif*, 1974, 36–37, figs. 30–34.

11. Higgins, 1967, 71 et 151 pour la bibliographie; cf. les deux articles fort importants de R. V. Nicholls, "Types, Groups and Series," *BSA* 47 (1952), 217sq. et "Two Groups of Attic Terracottas" dans *The Eye of Greece, Studies in the Art of Athens*, 1982, 89–122. Sur la technique, cf. P. Knoblauch, "Über einige attische Tonfiguren in Archäologische Seminar der Universität Berlin," *AA*, 1939, cols. 413–425.

12. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* I, 1903–1904, 49 et 71, nos. 4, 5, et 6.

13. Cf. Les remarques de R. V. Nicholls, 1982, 106, nos. 7 et 8. La technique du revers constitué de bandes d'argile superposées s'observe en particulier sur la statuette du Louvre CA 805 (cf. note 14).

kourotrophes (fig. 4), Artémis à la biche, Cybèle au petit lion placé sur ses genoux.[14]

En dehors de ces deux grands groupes stylistiques, les coroplastes de Corinthe créent eux aussi des statuettes moulées de femmes assises à partir du début du cinquième siècle avant J.C., mais leur morphologie est si éloignée de celle de la statuette de Malibu que nous les laisserons de côté.[15]

Il reste à évoquer le cas de la production béotienne, carrefour d'influences diverses où il est difficile de voir tout-à-fait clair. Pour ce que est du type moulé de la femme assise, on discerne, dans la première moitié du cinquième siècle, l'impact des importations directes de la Grèce de l'Est, dont les créations ont été couramment imitées et adaptées, dans leur forme comme dans leur technique (fig. 5).[16] Mais on sait aussi que les artistes béotiens, en cette période comme auparavant, ont eu des contacts avec leurs collègues attiques, comme le montre par exemple l'évolution stylistique de leurs protomés féminines. Ces liens ne feront que se renforcer à partir du milieu du siècle![17] C'est pourquoi il est fort probable que certaines figurines procédant plus ou moins de types attiques de la période de transition entre l'archaïsme et le style sévère sont des imitations béotiennes. En l'absence d'un examen soigneux ou d'une analyse de la terre, il est difficile de trancher.

Si l'on envisage l'aspect matériel de la figurine de Malibu, c'est plutôt à la coroplastique béotienne, "lato sensu," que l'on songe à l'attribuer. La nature de l'argile dont la pâte est chargée d'impuretés et rugueuse sous le doigt, sa légèreté, sa couleur brun clair sont déjà des indices favorables à un classement parmi les différentes terres utilisées par les Béotiens à partir du cinquième siècle. La présence importante de l'engobe blanc n'y contredit pas.[18] L'exécution de la figurine ne fait que renforcer cette impression: même si l'on doit supposer que l'usure du moule y est pour une part, les détails plastiques restent d'une facture épaisse, en particulier les traits du visage, le modelé des avant-bras et des mains qui procèdent d'une sculpture simplifiée. L'absence de couleurs, qui devraient aviver cette physionomie, accentue encore cette sensation. Si nous reprenons en compte l'ensemble des types proposés par la Béotie dans la transition de l'archaïsme tardif au "style sévère" tel que nous l'avons évoqué plus haut, au sein de quelle tendance la figurine de Malibu serait-elle la plus familière?

Elle ne peut se ranger aisément parmi les adaptations des modèles de la Grèce de l'Est. Les statuettes de ce genre, en effet, à l'imitation des images qui les inspirent, portent régulièrement le voile qui, couvrant la tête, descend symétriquement sur les épaules;[19] on le chercherait vainement sur l'objet qui nous occupe. D'autre part, ce dernier comporte un élément morphologique qui se situe en dehors de cette tradition venue de l'Est; il s'agit des ailettes qui décorent le haut du dossier, qu'on ne rencontre que fort rarement dans les types de Grèce d'Asie (fig. 6), et peut-être à l'imitation de types étrangers.[20] En revanche, ce mode de décor est persistant sur les figurines produites par les ateliers attiques, et régulier sur les multiples variantes du type de la fin de l'archaïsme si richement présenté dans le matériel des fouilles d l'Acropole. Quant à la taille et à la technique de fabrication, elles s'écartent, elles aussi, de celles que l'on connaît par le type "rhodien" courant et par les fréquentes imitations que les Béotiens ont réalisées, et font au contraire écho à ce que l'on observe sur les innovations attiques du tout début du style sévère.

Mais il est temps d'évoquer un détail important de la figurine de Malibu. Il s'agit du vêtement, dont l'aspect, bien que rudimentaire, peut néanmoins engendrer certaines réflexions susceptibles de jeter quelque lueur dans la chronologie et dans l'histoire stylistique.

Pour revenir à certains éléments de notre description, la femme porte donc un chiton à l'encolure rendue indistincte par l'effacement des couleurs. Mais les manches, notées plastiquement, atteignent la saignée du coude laissant à nu les avant-bras. De plus, grâce à l'invisible présence d'une ceinture, l'étoffe de la tunique forme une ample poche qui recouvre la surface des cuisses et retombe au-delà des genoux, dessinant ainsi une forte saillie par rapport au plan vertical déterminé par la périphérie des jambes. C'est là un détail vestimentaire qu'il convient d'examiner à la lumière des types de femmes assises que la grande sculpture nous a transmis, et de repérer parmi les autres modèles proposés par les différents ateliers de coroplastes.

On sait la faveur dont a joui l'image de la femme assise dans la plastique en pierre de la Grèce de l'Est: les statues de Didymes et surtout de Milet ont fourni un nombre d'exemples importants qu'il faut interroger ici.[21] A Didymes, après l'effigie féminine qui se range parmi les statues des "Bran-

14. Type au klismos: Louvre MNB 544, S. Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre cuite grecs, étrusques et romains*, Musée du Louvre, 1954, 14, no. B 82, pl. 10; Musée National d'Athènes no. 17375; Collection Canellopoulos no. 1669. Type au diphros: Musée de l'Acropole nos. 11697 à 11707; Musée National 5806; Collection Canellopoulos 1674; New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 36-11-2, 1972.118, 122, 123; Musée des Beaux-arts de Budapest T 50529. Kourotrophes: Louvre CA 805, Mollard-Besques, 15, no. B 89, pl. 11; R. Lullies, *Eine Sammlung Griechischen Kunst*, 1955, nos. 143. Artémis: Musée de Brauron; Collection Canellopoulos 1434; Musée de l'Acropole 12078; New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 59.48; Higgins, 1954, no. 662; Collection Canellopoulos no. 1374, etc. Cybèle: Winter, 50, no. 2; Louvre, Eléonte no. 288, Mollard-Besques, 109, no. C 151, pl. 18.

15. Higgins, 1967, 82, pl. 35B. Mis à part ce modèle de petite taille, qui, sous des formes diverses, est plus fréquent, il existe un certain nombre de types d'une plus grande taille (par exemple, Louvre CA 3241; Winter, 72, no. 4 et 75, nos. 1, 3, et 6) mais qui, pas plus que celui-là, ne rappellent la figurine de Malibu. Nous omettons volontairement les modèles créés par les ateliers de Grande Grèce, bien que certains d'entre eux, en particulier à Paestum ou à Tarente, aient produit des types dont le schéma est proche des séries évoquées dans cette étude.

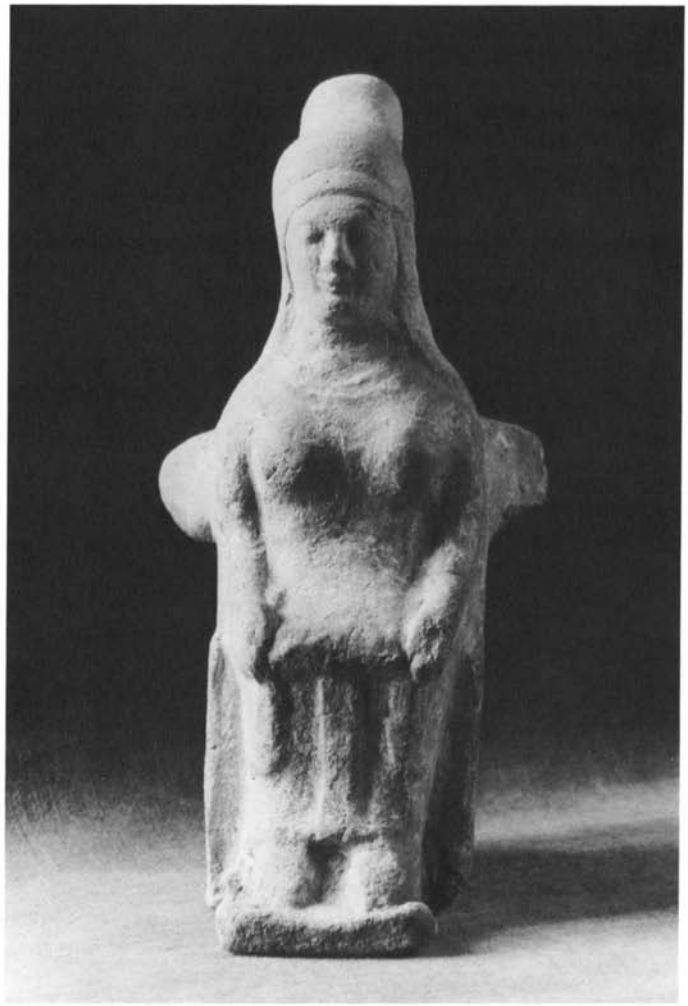

Figure 6. Figurine de la Grèce de l'Est. Paris, Musée du Louvre AM 623.

Figure 7. Statuette de femme assise. Musée de Berlin 1625.

chides" les plus anciennes, où le kolpos s'étend sur les cuisses jusqu'à la naissance des genoux,[22] deux documents plus tardifs offrent un reflet plus précis de cette mode: la poche d'étoffe unie, sur la première,[23] vient juste couvrir les rotules, sous les mains qui en épousent la forme; sur la seconde,[24] elle est parcourue de stries finement ondulées et saille plus nettement encore par rapport au plan défini par le large pli plat qui, entre les jambes, descend jusqu'aux chevilles. A Milet deux statues d'un style plus avancé portent un chiton où le kolpos (fig. 7), recouvrant les genoux, descend assez bas sur les jambes.[25]

Sans quitter la Grèce et l'Est, ou son aire d'influence, il faut aussi citer les reliefs sculptés dans les petits "naiskoi" qui abritent la figure assise d'une divinité que l'on identifie généralement comme Cybèle;[26] certains exemplaires y laissent deviner un kolpos bas, ainsi le petit édicule du Louvre (fig. 8) où malgré le caractère rudimentaire du travail, le détail est très lisible.[27] Ces derniers objets sont d'autant plus intéressants

16. Higgins, 1967, 78.
17. Cf. M. Szabó, *BMusHongr* 43 (1975), 3–32.
18. La couleur des argiles utilisés par les artistes béotiens est variable: Higgins, 1954, 203. Ce qui est sûr, c'est que l'aspect de la terre cuite de Malibu ne correspond pas à ce que l'on connaît des figurines attiques ou corinthiennes.
19. Cf. par exemple, B. Schmaltz, *Terrakotten aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben*, 1974, 111, no. 301 et pl. 23.
20. Voir Higgins, 1954, 66, no. 128, pl. 23.
21. Pour les statues archaïques de femme assise, cf. B. Sismondo-Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, 1977, 121–139. Pour Milet et Didymes, voir surtout C. Blümel, *Die archaisch griechischen Skulpturen der staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 1963; et K. Tuchelt, "Die archaischen Skulpturen von Didyma," *Istanbuler Forschungen* 27 (1970).
22. Tuchelt, no. K 45.
23. Tuchelt, no. K 60.
24. Tuchelt, no. K 63.
25. Blümel, 55, no. 55, figs. 152 et 153; 55, no. 56, figs. 154 et 155.
26. Cf. E. Langlotz, *Studien zur nord-ost-griechischen Kunst*, 1975, 163 (Meter-relief) et pl. 60.
27. Louvre MA 3304.

Figure 8. Naïskos de Cybèle. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 3304.

Figure 9. Stèle d'Ikaria.

à observer qu'ils se rapprochent, par leur taille comme par la modestie de leur exécution, des petites statuettes d'argile qui nous occupent ici. Il vaut la peine de mentionner également, dans les créations tributaires de la manière de la Grèce de l'Est, les femmes assises que l'on rencontre sur le fameux relief de "Leucothéa" de même que sur la stèle d'Ikaria (fig. 9). Ces deux documents offrent des représentations de la femme assise avec le long kolpos qui, appartenant respectivement au style sévère naissant, puis déjà mûr, mettent bien en lumière le prolongement dans le préclassicisme de ce schéma né dans l'atmosphère archaïque.[28]

Cette disposition du vêtement existe donc dans la grande plastique de la Grèce de l'Est, où elle semble plus fréquente à partir du dernier quart du sixième siècle. Sans revenir sur les divergences de datation qui séparent les archéologues en ce qui concerne le placement relatif des pièces rapidement évoquées plus haut, disons que ces statues et reliefs se distribuent, en gros, entre 530 et 460 avant J.C.[29] Mais ce ne sont pas les seuls exemples de femmes assises portant le chiton à long kolpos. Il faut envisager ici le cas bien connu de l' "Athéna d'Endoios," mise au jour par les fouilles de l'Acropole d'Athènes.[30] Cette statue, si souvent commentée et datée d'environ 530–520, porte en effet un chiton dont le repli antérieur s'épand sur les cuisses de la déesse jusqu'à atteindre la proximité des genoux. Mais les genoux ne sont pas recouverts par le kolpos, sur ce document probablement attique, pas plus que

28. Relief de Leucothéa: E. Berger, *Das Basler Arzt-relief*, 1970, 124–126, fig. 144. Stèle d'Ikaria: N. Kontoléon, *Aspects de la Grèce pré-classique*, 1970, 1–21. Les deux reliefs sont étudiés dans l'ouvrage de H. Hiller, "Ionische Grabreliefs der ersten Halfte des 5 Jahrhunderts v.chr," *Ist-Mitt–BH* 12 (1975), *passim*, et surtout 113–118 et 186–188. Voir aussi à propos du long kolpos, A. Kostoglou-Despinis, *προβλήματα τῆς παριανῆς πλαστικῆς τοῦ δου αἰώνα π.χ.*, 1979, 208, n. 41; pourquoi l'auteur ne signale-t-elle, à propos de ce détail vestimentaire, que la jeune fille debout du relief de Leukothéa, alors que le costume de la femme assise présente le même dispositif?

29. Pour les femmes assises de la période archaïque, cf. en dernier lieu R. Özgan, *Untersuchungen zur archaischen Plastik Ioniens*, 1978, 70–78.

30. H. Payne et G. Young, *Archaic Marbles from the Acropolis*, 2ème éd. Londres, 1950, 46 et pl. 116; H. Schrader et E. Langlotz, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis*, 2ème ed., 1969, 109–111, no. 60, pl. 85; J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture, The Archaic Period*, 1978, 82–83, fig. 135.

31. Schrader et Langlotz, 114–116, no. 64 et fig. 69, a et b. On a souvent rapproché de l'Athéna de l'Acropole la figure d'Artémis sur la frise

Figure 10. Statuette de Rhamnonte. Musée National d'Athènes 2569.

sur un fragment de même origine du musée de l'Acropole,[31] qui conserve les genoux et la plus grande partie des jambes d'une femme assise.

Tandis que le fragment est situé autour de 480, l'Athéna d'Endoios remonte à la décennie 530–520, période haute à laquelle il faut probablement placer aussi le document de statuaire dont l'aspect est le plus proche de celui des figurines dont nous avons entrepris d'examiner le cas: il s'agit de la petite statue de femme assise trouvée à Rhamnonte (fig. 10) et conservée au Musée National d'Athènes.[32] Sur cette oeuvre attique, le kolpos du chiton descend au-delà des genoux et forme une saillie marquée par rapport au plan des jambes. Nous retrouvons donc à peu près la même fourchette de dates que pour les créations de l'Est, au sens large.

Il faudrait bien sûr, pour appréhender d'une manière plus complète l'évolution de ces modes, enquêter aussi parmi les figures de femmes debout.[33] Pour faire court, bornons nous sur ce point à réserver une mention particulière pour un seul exemple, celui de la koré des Propylées,[34] première réalisation du style sévère, dont le dispositif vestimentaire est intéressant; sous un himation drapé symétriquement, la figure porte le chiton qui présente la double caractéristique d'un "apoptygma" recouvrant la poitrine, et d'un kolpos long atteignant le niveau du genou. Nous soupçonnerons plus bas qu'une telle image n'est peut-être pas absente de l'inspiration de certains modeleurs de terre cuite, au moment où le style archaïque cède la place au "style sévère."

L'énumération rapide de ces quelques pièces montre donc que le chiton à long kolpos, spécialement sur les figures de femmes assises, se rencontre sporadiquement, à partir de 530, tant dans la plastique de la Grèce de l'Est que dans la statuaire attique. Chercher à décider lequel de ces deux groupes a lancé cette formule est une entreprise au moins hasardeuse. La chronologie n'est pas affinée au point de faire clairement connaître l'ordre d'apparition des statues conservées; l'état actuel de ces dernières et la disparition probable de beaucoup d'autres incitent à la prudence. Ce qui est certain, c'est que la grande statuaire grecque, dans la dernière partie de l'archaïsme, s'est fait l'écho de ce qui devait être une des modes contemporaines.

En revanche, il est peut-être possible de désigner le centre d'art coroplastique qui a repris la formule le plus volontiers. Certes quelques-unes des statuettes de la Grèce de l'Est, au début du cinquième siècle (fig. 6), présentent un long kolpos, mais le schéma ne se répand pas. Car, pour la plupart, elles perpétuent dans la manière d'un archaïsme prolongé l'image de la femme assise telle que l'avait définie le "groupe d'Aphrodite," avec un chiton sans kolpos et l'himation symétrique.

On trouve au contraire parmi les modèles proposés par les ateliers attiques dans les années 480–450, un certain nombre de types qui affectent le détail vestimentaire qui a retenu notre attention sur la statuette de Malibu. Ils ont été peu étudiés et la proximité immédiate des centres d'art béotiens qui les ont imités très rapidement ne facilite pas leur analyse. Les notices des différentes publications qui traitent

Est du Trésor de Siphnos à Delphes, précisément à cause du traitement du kolpos identique dans les deux cas. Cette question est trop complexe pour que nous envisagions de le reprendre dans le cadre de cette étude.

32. Statuette de Rhamnonte: S. Karouzou, *Musée Archéologique National, Collection des sculptures*, Athènes, 1968, 29, no. 2569.

33. Il est curieux de constater que les types corinthiens de femmes debout présentent fréquemment le kolpos long, alors que les différents modèles de femmes assises ne retiennent jamais cette formule. Nous avons volontairement laissé de côté les figurines de Grande Grèce bien que celles-ci portent souvent le vêtement à long kolpos: cf. Louvre CA 3297, Mollard-Besques, 123, no. C 247, et pl. 88, de Tarente; et surtout les figurines de Paestum, *ibid.*, nos. C 575 à C 582.

34. Acropole 688: Schrader et Langlotz, 62, no. 21, pls. 30–32. M. Brouskari, 138 et figs. 244–245; B. Sismondo-Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture*, 1970, 34–35 et fig. 46.

Figure 11. Figurine de Cybèle. Paris, Musée du Louvre Elé 288.

Figure 12. Figurine de femme assise. Athènes, Collection Canellopoulos 1666.

des types concernés hésitent souvent entre les deux origines, se prononçant plus facilement pour la Béotie qui produit davantage.

Pour les modèles où le kolpos s'arrête juste à l'extérieur du genou, citons une statuette fragmentaire du Musée de l'Agora (T 2002) et la figurine du Musée de l'Acropole (inv. 12430) qui ont de bonnes chances d'être attiques. Il faut peut-être y ajouter les femmes assises inv. 4524 et 4525 du Musée National d'Athènes, bien que leur provenance probable soit Tanagra,[35] et inv. 4787, qui aurait été exhumée à Erétrie. Les fouilles de l'Antre Corycien ajoutent un exemplaire incomplet, que nous inclinerions à donner à l'Attique.

Mentionnons, dans le même ordre d'idées, bien que la présence du lionceau introduise une variante, une grande Cybèle du Musée National d'Athènes (inv. 4433) et le fragment d'une pièce traitant le même thème, conservé au Musée du Louvre, qui provient des fouilles d'Eléonte (fig. 11): ce dernier fragment est important, car il a été trouvé dans une tombe dont le mobilier s'inscrit dans une période allant de 490 à 450.[36] Dans les deux cas, l'argile se déclare comme attique.

Une autre famille de types prolonge le kolpos au-delà de la limite des genoux en le faisant retomber sur les jambes. Il existe avec un polos de petite taille, comme la statuette de

35. Winter, 71, no. 4. V. H. Poulsen, "Der strenge stil," *ActaA* 8 (1937), 76, évoquait déjà pour ce style l'existence d'un prototype attique.

36. Louvre, Elé 288: Mollard-Besques, 109 no. C 151 et pl. 68. Les renseignements sur le contexte funéraire nous ont été aimablement communiqués par A. Waiblinger, à laquelle la publication des fouilles d'Eléonte a été confiée.

37. Winter, 71, no. 5.

38. R. Lullies, *AA* 103 (1938), col. 441 et fig. 21.

Figure 13a. Fragments d'un type de figurine de femme assise, dépôt de l'Antre Corycien. Musée de Delphes.

Figure 13b. Fragments d'un type de figurine de femme assise, dépôt de l'Antre Corycien. Musée de Delphes.

Berlin reproduite dans l'album de Winter,[37] qui évoque dans les notes la présence de plusieurs fragments dans les réserves du Musée de l'Acropole, ce qui peut faire envisager avec une certaine confiance une provenance locale. On retrouve le même schéma au Musée National d'Athènes avec les nos. 3950 et 3951 (de Tanagra ?), et le no. 4783 de même que dans la collection Canellopoulos no. 1666 (fig. 12), où l'argile donne l'impression d'être attique. Toutefois R. Lullies décrit une figurine identique comme béotienne.[38] La même retombée du kolpos apparaît aussi sur des types à polos haut que nous connaissons par quelques fragments de l'Antre Corycien (figs. 13a–b) et par deux statuettes complètes conservées dans les vitrines du Musée de Chéronée: ceux là indiquent plutôt la Grèce Centrale, Béotie ou Locride. Deux autres pièces, l'une au Musée du Louvre (fig. 14), l'autre dans une collection privée néerlandaise, avec le polos prolongé à l'arrière d'une sorte d'appendice en panache dénonceraient une origine plus franchement béotienne.[39] Enfin, parmi les trouvailles de la grotte Corycienne, un grand nombre de tessons appartiennent à un type reproduit par surmoulage sur au moins quatre générations, où les détails s'effacent de plus en plus, mais avec la bosse du kolpos toujours sensible même sur les "tirages" les plus émoussés (figs. 15a–d). Ces fragments

Figure 14. Figurine béotienne. Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 4266.

39. Louvre CA 4266. Signalons aussi dans le contexte béotien, le groupe du Louvre MNC 626 (Mollard-Besques, no. C 33) où une femme (Europe ?) est assise sur un bovin.

Figures 15a–b. Fragments de figurines appartenant à un type plusieurs fois surmoulé, dépôt de l'Antre Corycien. Musée de Delphes.

Figures 15c–d. Fragments de figurines appartenant à un type plusieurs fois surmoulé, dépôt de l'Antre Corycien. Musée de Delphes.

Figure 16a. Figurine de femme assise. Paris, Musée du Louvre MNC 662.

Figure 16b. Profil droit de figure 16a.

Figure 16c. Détail de figure 16a.

Figure 17. Koré dédiée par Euthydicos. Athènes, Musée de l'Acropole.

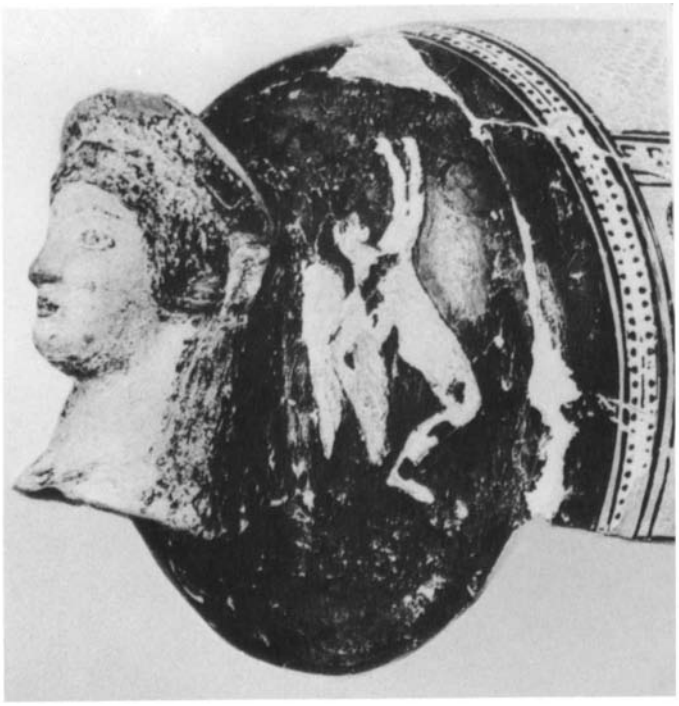

Figure 18. Epinétron à figures noires. Musée National d'Athènes.

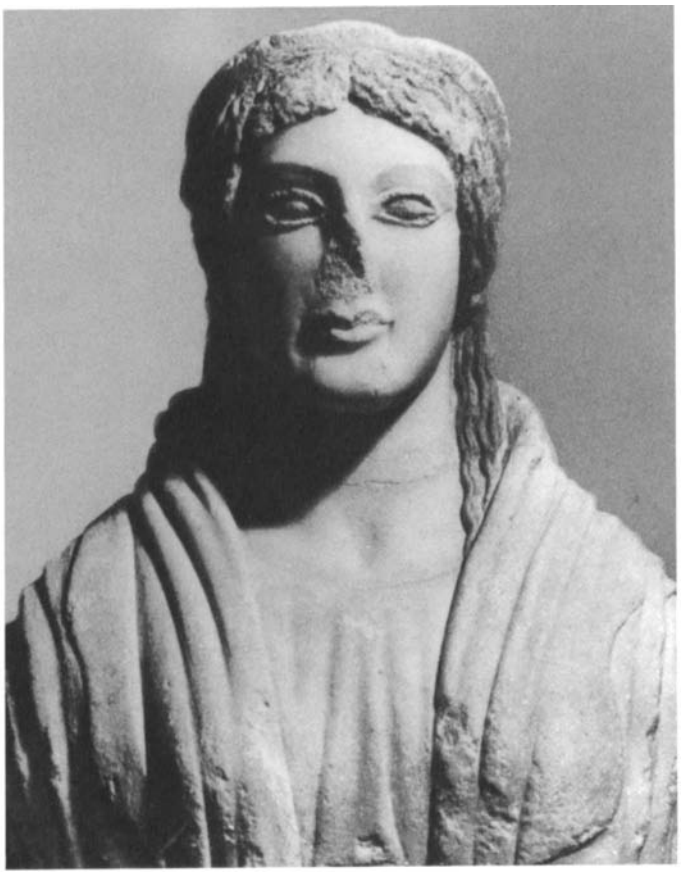

Figure 19. Koré des Propylées. Athènes, Musée de l'Acropole.

présentent nettement l'apparence d'une terre béotienne; mais les réserves du Musée National d'Athènes recèlent un exemplaire où le détail est d'une précision étonnante, qui pourrait avoir été façonné dans l'argile attique.[40]

Pour éclairer ce débat qu'il n'est pas facile de clore, tant que des analyses soigneuses n'auront pas été pratiquées, nous aimerions citer un exemple particulièrement intéressant par l'ambition de sa conception: il s'agit de la statuette du Musée du Louvre MNC 662 (figs. 16a–c).[41] D'une taille imposante, la figurine frappe par la netteté des traits qui la sculptent, de même que par le soin qui a présidé à leur exécution. Assise sur un trône à ailettes largement développées, le personnage féminin, en majesté, laisse reposer ses avant-bras sur les cuisses, en sorte que les mains, dont le modelé est quelque peu rabougri, atteint la naissance du genou. La droite est ouverte, tandis que la gauche se referme sur un petit objet rond (un fruit?). Les faces latérales du siège sont ajourées (détail rare, il est vrai, à Athènes)[42] et les pieds reposent sur une sorte de tabouret en demi-cercle.

Le kolpos qui fait poche sur les genoux est ici l'objet d'une sollicitude particulière de la part du coroplaste: il est rythmé de plis en vif relief qui dessinent, au bord de la saillie, une manière de bordure côtelée. Sur les jambes dont le volume est sensible sous l'étoffe, tout un registre de plis profondément creusés anime la surface du vêtement. Mais c'est la partie haute de la figurine qui présente l'aspect le plus intéressant: sur le buste, les plis ondulés qui, à partir de l'encolure, parcourent la surface de l'argile, s'arrêtent en leur limite inférieure au contact d'une bande plate dont le tracé horizontal est interrompu par deux encoches en U. Ce ne peut-être que l'ourlet d'un rabat, d'un "apoptygma."[43] Si l'on tient compte de la riche ornementation du tissu et de la variété des plissés, il est logique d'interpréter ce vêtement comme un chiton agencé sur le corps de sorte, qu'il forme, outre le kolpos profond qui retombe sur les genoux, l'apoptygma rabattu devant le buste. Cette mode s'observe sur mainte image des vases attiques du début du cinquième siècle, particulièrement sur

40. Athènes, Musée National, inv. 17351. Le type est représenté dans les fouilles de l'Acropole d'Halai: cf. Hetty Goldman, "The Acropolis of Halae," *Hesperia* (1940), 466–467, no. 21 et fig. 160, 1.

41. Mollard-Besques, 120 no. C 232 et pl. 80.

42. Les montants ajourés sur les faces latérales du trône se rencontrent sur les figurines féminines assises de style corinthien, dont les types se répandent au milieu du cinquième siècle; mais ces statuettes ne présentent pas le kolpos long. Peut-être s'agit-il d'un désir d'alléger la pièce, comme le suggère Mollard-Besques, 120.

43. Plutôt que le péplos, que décrit la notice de S. Besques; l'hypothèse d'un petit vêtement indépendant, à la manière d'un "poncho," ne nous paraît guère vraisemblable.

les oeuvres attribuées au peintre de Brygos,[44] ou surtout à Makron.[45]

Ce tracé ininterrompu de l'ourlet qui traverse le bras à la saignée du coude s'explique ainsi aisément. Mais la simplicité de cet ourlet, qui s'éloigne des cascades de plis que font ruisseler les étoffes archaïques, peut faire aussi songer aux lignes sévères du péplos préclassique. La même sévérité teinte fortement les traits du visage (fig. 16c): la chute latérale des cheveux, certes, avec ses ondulations horizontales soigneusement étagées du niveau de l'oreille à celui de l'épaule, prolonge la mode capillaire des temps anciens, mais l'alourdissement du menton, la bouche forte dont les coins s'abaissent comme pour résister au sourire, à la manière de la koré d'Euthydicos (fig. 17), les yeux aux paupières fermement modelées s'inscrivent clairement parmi les formes préclassiques. Les coques qui recouvrent les tempes appellent dans la mémoire l'image de certaines protomés féminines, en particulier celles qui décorent l'extrémité des "épinetra" à figures noires du début du cinquième siècle (fig. 18).[46] Elles rappellent aussi la chevelure de la koré 688 du Musée de l'Acropole, "la Koré des Propylées," où, par surcroît, la division médiane répartit au-dessus du front les mèches ondulées dans un même dispositif (fig. 19).

Un agencement similaire se retrouve également sur quelques têtes appartenant à des figurines représentées en particulier dans les collections de l'Acropole d'Athènes, sur celle d'une Artémis au faon indubitablement attique.[47] La figurine du Louvre doit donc procéder des types coroplastiques édités par les ateliers d'Athènes au moment de la transition vers le style sévère pour venir renouveler des modèles dont le thème était exploité vers 530–520 avant J.C. Comme la plupart d'entre eux, il manifeste un rapport évident avec le style archaïque aussi bien par l'aspect général, que par certains détails comme la luxuriance du réseau des plis. Mais la structure du visage et l'influence latente des formes du péplos ne peuvent se concevoir avant 480–470 avant J.C., décennie dans laquelle nous croyons que ce type a été créé; car la fraîcheur de l'exécution et la fermeté dans la transcription des élèments nouveaux ne pourraient, à notre sens se situer dans une époque plus tardive. Isolé jusqu'à aujourd'hui, ce type de la figurine du Louvre est du reste représenté une seconde fois, dans le matériel recueilli lors des fouilles de l'Antre Corycien. Quelques fragments, en effet, dont l'origine attique nous paraît plus assurée encore que pour l'objet du Louvre (fig. 20), proviennent d'une statuette tirée du même moule.

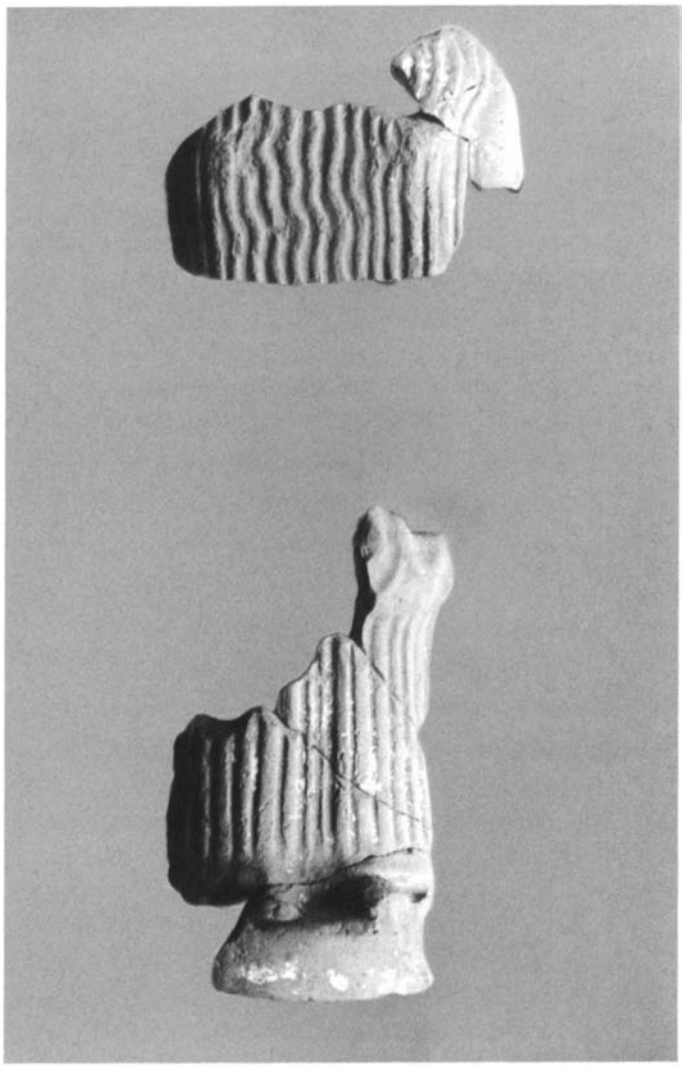

Figure 20. Fragments d'une figurine de femme assise, dépôt de l'Antre Corycien. Musée de Delphes.

Donc il nous apparaît que ces figurines de femmes assises portant un vêtement au kolpos long ont toutes chances d'avoir vu le jour d'abord en milieu attique. Elles font assister à la transition des images archaïques vers les schémas classiques, en adoptant de plus en plus nettement le péplos, avec des surfaces plus unies, l'ouverture du vêtement sur les bras et la simplification de plus en plus accusée de l'apoptygma. Celle-ci se présente d'abord avec un évasement médian demi-circulaire entre les deux échancrures créées par les deux plis plat que détermine la retenue de la poitrine.[48]

Puis le profil se redresse, décrivant une ligne droite écartant

44. Par exemple la coupe du British Museum E68 et les figures d'Héra et Iris attaquées par les satyres: cf. J. Boardman, *Athenian Red-figure Vases, The Archaic Period*, 1975, fig. 252, 1 et 2.

45. Par exemple la ménade sur le médaillon de la coupe de Munich, Antikensammlungen 2654; cf. J. Boardman, 1975, fig. 31.3.

46. Musée National d'Athènes no. 2184.

47. Cf. par exemple Winter, 49, nos. 4 et 7; pour l'Artémis cf. Higgins, 1954, no. 662, et Collection Canellopoulos no. 1374.

48. Assise: Agora T 2002 et Winter, 71,4.

Figures 21a–b. Fragments de figurines du même type que la statuette de Malibu, dépôt de l'Antre Corycien. Musée de Delphes.

Figure 22. Figurine de femme assise, dépôt de l'Antre Corycien. Musée de Delphes.

les deux plis "en serviette" de part et d'autre du buste;[49] parfois un petit pli en V agite l'étoffe, au centre de l'encolure, quand elle est plastiquement notée.[50] Quant au kolpos il se manifeste sous la forme d'une large poche plate qui s'évase sur les genoux;[51] quand il les dépasse, il est, sur certains types, orné de "côtes," et sur d'autres, sans doute plus récents, plus naturel, et plus souple, parcouru d'ondes molles en arc-de-cercle.[52] Lorsque les types de péplophores du milieu du cinquième siècle conservent la présence du kolpos, ils le réduisent à un liseré de plis horizontaux qui bordent l'extrémité des genoux.[53]

Comment situer, dans ce paysage, la statuette du Musée J. Paul Getty? Elle doit appartenir aux créations béotiennes qui ont cherché à absorber la nouvelle formule présentée par le centre d'art attique. Ces adaptations ont dû s'opérer d'une manière assez diverse. Les unes ont suivi étroitement l'impulsion attique, au point qu'il est difficile, en l'absence d'une manipulation des pièces, ou mieux encore, d'une analyse de la terre, de distinguer les prototypes des imitations. Mais certaines adaptations, plus conservatrices, ont dû prolonger des traits anciens en ignorant encore les mutations engendrées par la révolution du classicisme et l'apparition du péplos. Sur cette figurine qui porte encore le chiton, seuls le kolpos long et saillant sur les jambes, ainsi que la présence des ailettes du siège attestent de la parenté qui l'unit aux nouvelles créations attiques. D'ailleurs la prolongation de la manière archaïque se lit aussi dans la facture rudimentaire du visage ainsi que dans la fuite du profil.

Ce type est aussi représenté parmi les trouvailles de la grotte corycienne; les fragments qui s'y rattachent indiquent qu'il devait exister en plusieurs tailles (figs. 21a–b) avec l'intervention probable du procédé de surmoulage. Il existe aussi dans le matériel du même dépôt une série assez abondante d'un modèle qui reflète la même tradition iconographique, réparti sur plusieurs générations, mais en telle sorte que la plus grande taille est largement inférieure à celle de la statuette du Musée californien (fig. 22). La terre qui a servi à les façonner est d'un rouge brique que l'on retrouve sur les figurines et protomés attribuées par certains, et à juste titre, à une fabrique locale logiquement située à Kirrha, port de Delphes. Les coroplastes de ce secteur phocidien ont donc vraisemblablement adopté, en réduisant sa taille, le type que les Béotiens avaient créé en s'inspirant des schémas attiques.

Et tout ce jeu d'influences doit se situer, à notre avis, dans la période qui a immédiatement suivi les premières réalisations qui prennent acte de la naissance du style sévère, c'est à dire dans les quinze ou vingt années qui précèdent le milieu du siècle.

Musée du Louvre
Paris

49. Winter, 71,5 et Louvre CA 4266.
50. Voir le type au polos représenté au Musée de Chéronée et dans le dépôt de l'Antre Corycien.
51. Cf. Winter, 71,4.
52. Kolpos "côtelé": Agora T 2002 et Louvre MNC 662; kolpos à plis naturels, Winter, 71,5.
53. Cf. Higgins, 1967, pl. 30.C.

Three Female Head Antefixes from Etruria

Birgitta Lindros Wohl

Among the holdings of the J. Paul Getty Museum are a number of antefixes. Three of them, all from Etruria and all in the form of female heads, will be presented here.[1]

The first of these is a fragment (accession number 81.AD.97), which preserves only the upper right-hand portion of the face with one ear, the adjoining hair, and the beginning of the cover-tile; a small section of the lower part of the fragment preserves a finished edge (see fig. 1 and cf. fig. 2). The preserved width of the fragment is about 8.5 cm; the preserved height, 11 cm; the preserved depth, 14 cm; and the total projected width at the lower edge of cover-tile, about 19 cm. The clay is coarse, light brown to brown (7.5YR 6-5/4), and slightly micaceous with many small black inclusions and occasional large white ones.[2] The eye displays minimal plasticity, the head bears no diadem or shell, and the top of the hairline becomes the top of the cover-tile.[3] Over the forehead, the hair appears in a scalloped edge of flat waves, three of which are extant; the beginnings of two hanging tresses are seen under the ear. The color scheme is limited to off-white for the flesh and the two bands behind the ear at the beginning of the cover-tile; black for the hair, eye, eyebrow, and the petal loops of the earring; light brown for the earring; and reddish brown for the center of the earring and the stylized indications inside the ear. In addition, thin waves of off-white are applied on top of the black hair, including each of the hanging tresses.[4]

Although the Getty piece is very fragmentary, sufficient diagnostic features remain to assign it with certainty to a specific known type of antefix. This type is linked to the city of Caere and the immediately surrounding area. It was known to Andrén, who published two examples in his monumental work that remains a standard on the topic.[5] This type has, however, received further attention in recent decades in light of additional examples that have appeared both in excavations and on the art market. Caere's production of architectural terracottas, including different series of antefixes, was lengthy and varied. It spanned the period from the sixth century through the first century B.C. and was connected with different buildings.[6]

The type under discussion belongs to the early archaic stages of these series but not to the earliest so far known from Caere. The earliest stage is represented by female head antefixes demonstrating the same general qualities as the Getty fragment (i.e., no frame around the head, black hair with a scalloped edge, disk earrings, and the same color distribution) but with heavier, more angular features. The delicacy of the mouth, eyes, and facial outlines that was to become characteristic of the second variant—represented here by the Getty antefix—had not yet emerged. This second type dates at least a quarter of a century later than the first and represents subsequent building stages and repairs.[7]

The later type of antefix can with some certainty be

1. I would like to thank Professor Jiří Frel, Curator of Antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum, for making these works available for study and for assistance in publishing this article.

2. Color descriptions are from Munsell Color Company Inc., *Munsell Soil Color Charts* (Baltimore, 1971). See A. Andrén, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples* (Leipzig and Lund, 1940), cxxiii, for a suggestion that larger particles were mixed into the clay on purpose to promote the stability of the fabric; this condition is found in widely separated places and certainly also applies to the third antefix discussed in this article, accession number 75.AD.94.

3. For a profile view of a closely related head, see S. B. Luce, "Archaic Antefixes from Cerveteri in the University Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.," *AJA* 24 (1920), 29, fig. 2.

4. See Andrén, cxxiii–cxxv, for the polychromy and its generally good preservation on archaic terracottas from Caere; cf. also the analogous color scheme described in C. H. Pennock, "An Etruscan Antefix in the Fogg Museum of Art," *ArchClass* 6 (1954), 10.

5. The first example is one in Cerveteri, Museo Nazionale, see Andrén, 22, under type I:4d (not illustrated but quoted as a parallel to the example shown in pls. 6.16 and 17); the second example is Paris, Louvre, inv. no. 5157; see Andrén, 33, type II:11b, pl. 9.31 (without the extensive restorations of the piece made by the restorers of Count Campana in order to create a Juno Sospita type). As can be seen from his classifications, Andrén did not—in the absence of further examples—recognize these two works as constituting a common type; for changes of his dating, see note 15 below.

6. See Andrén, 13ff. Cf. also the second Getty antefix discussed.

7. An excellent recent treatment of this type of antefix with numerous implications is found in E. Rystedt, "An Etruscan Antefix," *Bulletin of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm* 15 (1980), 59–72. I wish to thank Dr. Rystedt for helpful suggestions in discussing with me some of the inherent problems. A clear description of the difference between the early and later frameless variant from Caere is found in her article (p. 66), as well as in Pennock, 13, pl. II.1–2, though the latter's dating of the later variant should be disregarded. For the earlier Caere variant, see Andrén, type I:4c and d, pls. 6.15 and 16, both from the Pergamum Museum in Berlin.

The bibliography on Cerveteri and its architectural terracottas is ample. In addition to the works already referenced, the following sources are of importance for the present discussion: E. D. Van Buren, *Figurative*

Figure 1. Fragment of an antefix from Caere. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AD.97.

Figure 2. Antefix from Caere (a more complete example of the type represented by figure 1). Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum 3095.

assigned to a specific temple in Caere, that of Hera in the area of the Vigna Parocchiale.[8] Outside of Caere proper, examples have been found at Pyrgi and Ceri.[9] There are now eight published examples of this type, including the Getty head.[10]

A stylistic analysis of the type with ample *comparanda* has recently been done, and most parallels point to a Greek Ionic influence.[11] As many important features of the characterization (chin, lips, rouge spots, etc.) are unfortunately not observable on the Getty fragment, it cannot contribute anything new in this respect. One aspect must, however, be stressed, namely the relative lack of plasticity in the preserved eye. One of the distinguishing marks of this type in general is that the eye area consists of a single bulge without plastic distinction of the eyelid.[12] Its shape is therefore primarily created by color, a fact that becomes particularly evident in cases of bad color preservation. Even within this group, however, there appear to be slight variations with regard to the eye; the flatness of the eye area in the Getty fragment results in the impression of an almost frontal eye in a profile face. Only a firsthand examination of all known examples can establish whether this is due merely to the placement of the painted outlines or possibly to differences in the molds.[13]

The dating of this type has varied considerably, ranging from the first half of the sixth century to the early fifth century B.C.[14] Rystedt has given the most recent serious consideration to all factors involved in the material thus far published and has settled for a date of 540–530 B.C., primarily on stylistic grounds. This places the Getty fragment antefix between Andrén type I:4a and II:11a.[15] Foti has argued, however, for the last quarter of the sixth century.[16]

The second Getty antefix (accession number 83.AD.211.11) exemplifies in its high diadem the increasing elaboration in the fashion of antefixes. The face, hair, and crown are pre-

Terra-cotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium (London, 1921); G. Q. Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca* (Milan, 1935); R. Mengarelli, *StEtr* 1 (1927), 145–171, 9 (1935), 83–94, 10 (1936), 67–86; P. J. Riis, *Tyrrhenica* (Copenhagen, 1941); B. Pace et al., *Caere. Scavi di R. Mengarelli* in *MonAnt* 42 (Rome, 1955); M. Pallottino, "Cerveteri" *EAA*² (1959), 518–521; F. Roncalli, *Le lastre dipinte da Cerveteri* (Florence, 1965); M. Moretti, *Cerveteri* (Novara, 1977).

8. See Mengarelli, 1936. No remains of the temple exist.

9. For the Pyrgi examples no specific building attribution has been made, at least not on the basis of the material so far published. See *NSc* 13 (1959), 143–263; the parallel is a battered surface find (p. 182, fig. 32.2). The same type is not cited in the expanded publication of the Pyrgi material: *NSc* suppl. 2 (1970), where the section by F. Melis is of special interest. Cf., however, Rystedt, 64, no. 4 and nn. 5 and 10, where the Ceri antefix is also discussed with bibliographical references.

10. See Rystedt, 64, for references to illustrations. Further material may be expected from Pyrgi. The Caeretan antefixes from the Regia in Rome are, however, of an earlier stage, Andrén, type I:a, pl. 6.13; see F. Brown, "Protostoria della Regia," *RendPont* 47 (1974–1975), 33. I owe this information to Dr. S. Downey who is publishing the Regia material. The Roman examples are of interest for the implications of the geographical spread and the possibility of more than one production center. See Andrén, cxixff. concerning the mobility of molds. The infiltration of stylistic influences from southern Etruria into Latium in the sixth century B.C. is summarized in E. Gjerstad, *Early Rome* IV:2 (Lund, 1966), especially 570–574; antefixes are referred to (figs. 132.2 and 3) that have exact facial counterparts in Lanuvium and Caere, where, however, they carry shells. N. Winter, *Terracotta Representations of Human Heads Used As Architectural Decoration in the Archaic Period,* Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr, 1974, 119–127, contains a good discussion of traveling molds, both for identical and for diversified use. This thesis is the only full-scale treatment of the topic, and its essence was presented in article form as "Archaic Architectural Terracottas Decorated with Human Heads," *RM* 85 (1978), 27–58. I am grateful to Dr. Winter for generously sharing her expertise on several occasions.

11. See Rystedt, 66ff.; of special value is her succinct summary of present theories and the state of knowledge of Ionic Greek influence on archaic art of Etruria (pp. 68ff. with bibliography). See also A. della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia* (Rome, 1918), 120ff.; cf. also note 29 below.

12. The best illustration is Moretti, 62, fig. 89.

13. See Andrén, cvci–cxxii for the considerable use, and thus wear, of a mold, as well as for the making of a new mold from existing heads.

14. See respectively Moretti, 16, and Pennock, 15 (the absence of a diadem at such a late date is unlikely).

15. 66ff. and n. 20; Andrén's date for I:4*c* and *d* is in the process lowered circa twenty years suggested also by other scholars, see Andrén's n. 19 on p. 70.

16. *NSc* 13 (1959), 183.

Figure 3a. Antefix from Caere. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AD.211.11.

Figure 3b. Left profile of figure 3a.

served, but the tresses, which once hung below the ears, are missing along with the section of neck that is an integral part of this category of antefix. A segment of the cover-tile is extant (figs. 3a–b).[17] The preserved height of this example is 24 cm;[18] the width, 18 cm (outer edge of the earrings); and the depth of the profile face, 9 cm. The clay is light red to reddish yellow (2.5YR 6/8 to 5YR 6/8) and somewhat micaceous with a few black and white bits.

The cover-tile joins the face at about the level of the top of the forehead, leaving the whole height of hair and diadem to rise free above it. The back of the face itself is extremely hollowed out; its minimum thickness is approximately 2 cm.[19] Given the rise of the hairdo and the diadem, the face has a distinctly more elongated quality than the previous antefix type from Caere (cf. figs. 1, 2). Otherwise there are many obvious similarities, both in plasticity and the appli-

17. On the left side of the head there is an angular cutting at the bottom of the break behind the ear, without equivalent on the right side (see fig. 4). It is well worn and possibly represents some secondary use in modern times.

18. This fits within the 26–28 cm recorded for fully preserved pieces.

19. See Andrén, cxvii, on trimming of surface clay for better firing. The antefix would originally have had a substantial lower overhang in accordance with archaic custom; see Andrén, clxii; R. Vighi, *StEtr* 5 (1931), pl. X.5 shows a profile view.

20. See G. Richter, *Handbook to the Etruscan Collection in the Metropolitan Museum* (New York, 1940), fig. 54, for a parallel head with the color missing.

21. See note 8 above.

22. The core of this listing is derived from Winter, 1974, 60ff.

23. Andrén, 11–14, 32ff., type II:11a and b, pls. 9.28, 29, and 31. The following items updating Andrén's bibliography are found in Winter, 1974, 60ff.: Helbig, *Führer*, ed. 4, vol. 1, 581ff., no. 786 and vol. 3, 539, no. 2571; V. Poulsen, *Den Etruskiske Samling* (Copenhagen, 1966), 32 (p. 66 in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, *A Guide to the Collections*, rev. by F. Johansen, rev. English ed. [Copenhagen, 1977]); K. Schefold, "Zum Begriff Etruskische Kunst," in *Studi in onore di G. Libertini* (Florence, 1958), 129–136, pl. 1; F. Shtitelman, "Etruscan Antefixes in the Kiev Museum of Western and Oriental Art," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* 108 (1969), pt. 2, 94–100, fig. 1. The following can also be cited: Richter, 22 and fig. 54; Riis, 10, no. 7, pl. I.3, see also by the same author *Etruscan Types of Heads. A Revised Chronology of the Archaic and Classical Terracottas of Etruscan Campania and Central Italy*, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 9:5 (Copenhagen, 1981), 25, 28, and pl. II, type 5A; V. Poulsen, "Etruscan Art: Five Centuries of Sculpture and Painting from Archaeological Sites in Etruria," in *Etruscan*

cation of color. The eyes in the second Getty antefix continue to be represented by bulges with color indicating their shape,[20] and its nose remains short and broad. The mouth, however, is rendered differently; the prior distinct treatment of the upper lip has yielded to a somewhat smoother shape, upon which the faintest impression of a smile is playing. The placement and shape of the ears are more realistic, but a similar large, slightly concave disk earring adorns the lobe. The hair on the forehead is shaped into tight raised waves, as if it had been grooved with a finger; there are nine waves on the right side but only eight and a half on the left. The diadem has a smooth surface.

The preserved color scheme is limited to off-white, black, and dark red. Off-white is used not only for the face, where it is flakily preserved, but as a base all over; black is employed for the outlines of the large slanting eyes, which have a tear-duct indicated in their inner corners; the iris, eyebrows, and outer edges of the ear are also marked in black. Red is found on the earrings, the lips, in spots on the hair, and on the diadem, although no recognizable pattern can be detected on the latter. On the top of the cover-tile and the back of the diadem a reddish brown shade is rather sloppily applied.

The similarities to the prior type of antefix are hardly surprising since the two types are closely related in the existing series from the rich Caeretan production, and both probably adorned the temple of Hera, though in successive stages.[21] Unlike the first antefix discussed in this article, however, examples of the second type are numerous, and it has been well established for a long time. Holdings in both Europe and the United States are for the most part adequately published and number around twenty examples, including the Getty head: six in Berlin, at least three in Rome, two in Philadelphia, and one each in Basel, Copenhagen (plus one fragment, ABb 297), Kiev, London, Malibu, Munich, New York, and Paris.[22] Most of these were known to Andrén.[23]

From these examples, Winter suggests a distribution over three different molds, represented by (1) London, British Museum, no. B 624 (ill. Andrén, pl. 9.28), (2) Berlin, Antiquarium, no. 1838 (ill. Andrén, pl. 9.29), and (3) Paris, Louvre, no. 5164 (Andrén, 33, type II:11b, no ill.).[24]

Can the Getty antefix be fitted into any of these categories? Mold one is not identical; the mouth of the Getty piece is different, the earrings smaller, and the profile more protruding.[25] The forehead of mold two is too tall, and in the absence of illustrations and specific description, it is impossible to judge regarding the third mold.[26]

Furthermore, the application of color on the Getty antefix does not conform in its manner or variety to that customary for examples from Winter's first two molds. This type of head in general is characterized by the use of startling polychromy with blues and greens making their first appearance and enriching especially the great variety of diadem patterns. Separate features, such as the hair, vary in color from piece to piece.[27] On the Getty head, however, the eyes are black and the eyebrows only describe a single curve, while on most examples they are drawn with a double curvature; nothing remains of the original rich coloration of hair and diadem except faint traces of red. For the moment then, it seems best to place the Getty antefix in a subcategory of its own, both on the basis of plasticity and coloration.

Most scholars have dated this type of antefix to the last quarter of the sixth century,[28] that is, closely subsequent to the type represented by the antefix fragment initially discussed. Conclusions drawn from a comparison with Attic material from the Akropolis would point to the very turn of the century, a time when Attic permeation of the Ionic standards made itself felt in Greece, as well as in Etruria.[29] It is here that we find parallels to the rather substantial rounded cheeks of the Getty antefix and its horizontal lips, as they appear in profile.

Given the proximity of the two types of antefixes from Caere discussed here, however, a date within the sixth century for the later one is necessary. If the head without diadem can be placed around the very beginning of the last quarter of the sixth century, the head with the diadem would rea-

Culture, Land and People (Malmö and New York, 1962), 359–376 with an excellent color illustration of the Copenhagen head, pl. 43.

24. Winter, 1974, 74.

25. It seems unlikely that the Basel antefix belongs to this group, as suggested. Its tresses are not crinkled but straight, the earrings are proportionately wider, and the neck longer than on the London, Copenhagen, or Vatican examples. It should, therefore, constitute a category of its own.

26. Cf. also Vighi, 116, who stresses the plastic variations within this type.

27. See the color illustration of the Copenhagen head, referred to in note 23 above.

28. The date of the Basel example (550–525 B.C.) is too early; see Schefold, 129. Van Buren's date (fifth century B.C.) is too late (p. 17).

29. See H. Payne and G. M. Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis* (London, 1936), no. 674, pls. 78.1–2 or no. 684, pl. 80.1, dated at the very end of the sixth century and very beginning of the fifth century respectively, see p. 38; cf. also his discussion (pp. 55–63) of Attic and Ionic stylistic interrelationship in the last half of the sixth century B.C.; Riis, 1941, 10, postulates an Attic influence on this type of antefix; Johansen suggests the very end of the sixth century (p. 66), as does Vighi (p. 115); the latter includes the large Eos acroterion (pl. X.6) with its striking similarities to our head; both antefix and acroterion are assigned to the same stage of the temple of Hera at Cerveteri (p. 118). The acroterion, however; has recently been dated somewhat earlier (530 B.C.) by Italian scholars; see, for example, R. Bianchi Bandinelli and M. Torelli, *L'Arte dell' Antichità Classica. Etruria. Roma* (Turin, 1976), no. 76.

Figure 4a. Antefix from Veii(?). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AD.94.

Figure 4b. Left profile of figure 4a.

sonably fall within the closing decade of that century.

The third Getty antefix (accession number 75.AD.94) represents a further elaboration of types from Etruria where the head is not only equipped with a diadem but also surrounded by a shell of petals (figs. 4a–b). The whole face and about two-fifths of the span of diadem and shell are preserved; missing are part of the right ear, the earring and the locks hanging below it, and the lower left-hand corner of the shell. The bottom of the fragment preserves a finished edge. There are no restorations, but part of the shell is mended. The preserved width of the piece is 23.6 cm; the preserved height, 25.8 cm; the preserved depth, 13.5 cm; the maximum width of the shell, including the volute band, 8.5 cm; the total projected width, circa 33 cm; the total projected height, circa 29.5 cm. There were probably originally sixteen tongues on the shell.[30] The clay is pink to reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/4–6), very micaceous, and coarse with several large bits of clay and many black bits, both small and large.

The back has been hollowed out only very slightly, by less than 2 cm, leaving the face area quite thick. The back support for the rising shell took the form of a vertical buttress (width about 2.2 cm) entirely attached to the shell, rather than the flying buttress that was the ordinary arrangement for large shells.[31]

The face is long and relatively thin, narrowing towards a protruding, but not pointed, chin. The lips present rounded rather than pointed profiles; the lower lip is noticeably thicker. As the corners of the mouth are not sharply offset, there is no impression of a smile. The nose is straight and substantial; the eyes consist of raised areas bordered by raised rims; and the eyebrows are raised edges. A rather low forehead is framed by flat scalloped waves, six on the right side and seven on the left. The ear is concave, but it is unrealistically set at an almost ninety-degree angle to the face; a single painted curve in the shape of the figure nine delineates its inner structure. The earlobe is covered by a large rosette earring with a slightly raised center knob. As a whole, the face is distinctly asymmetrical; the left eye is smaller and higher and the left cheekbone more raised. Generally, the left side of the face is narrower, as if compressed.[32] The diadem, which

30. An even number of tongues is by far rarer than an uneven; see, for example, Winter, 1978, 18–22, pl. 12, or *NSc* 7 (1953), 52, fig. 27 for displays of both kinds.

31. See Andrén, clxiiif.; a good illustration is found in Mengazzini, *MonAnt* 37 (1938), pl. 6.12.

32. This lopsided condition—presumably inherent in the mold—also affects the scalloped hairline, which surprisingly enough has more waves (seven) on the compressed left side than on the right, which has six.

33. See, for example, Winter, 1978, 35 and 39ff. with detailed references, and Andrén, clxvii–clxxvi, for a discussion of the early palmette antefix as source for the shell antefix and suggestions of possible Greek antecedents.

34. For examples of these three steps, see Winter 1978, pls. 12.3 and 4 (Capua), pl. 19.3 (Veii), and Pl. 19.2 (Lanuvium).

protrudes from the shell background, has a smooth front face and an offset roundel at the bottom. Finally, the whole head is framed by a large flat band ending in volutes at the bottom. Outside this band, the tongues of the shell begin.

The color scheme covers the ordinary gamut: cream, black, light brown, and dark brownish red. The cream color is used for flesh, the band at the bottom of the diadem, the large volute band, and the edges and center of the tongues of the shell; black is employed for the hair, eyes, eyebrows, the loops around each shell tongue and diadem petal, the dots on earrings, the band below the diadem, and the large volute band; light brown appears on the diadem base, the earring base, and the back of the shell; dark brown colors the curve in the ear, loops of the earring petals, vertical bars on the roundel below the diadem, and the diadem petal loops; dark brownish red is used for the spine of each shell tongue and each diadem petal.

The shell antefix as such seems to have originated in Campania where a developed combination of plastic human heads and rather flat surrounding tongues was to be found by the mid-sixth century B.C. A large-scale spread of the type, however, did not occur until later, towards the last two decades of the century, when Campania was again the probable starting point, this time for a diffusion to the north. The shell antefix was encountered especially in Latium and southern Etruria, and included at this time a variety of male, female, and gorgons' heads in the center.[33] The general tendency was for the radiating tongues of the shell to change from a rather short flat shape to a longer and more concave one; some fifth-century examples exhibit elaborate combinations of decorative motifs including open-worked relief.[34] The two factors of chronological evolution and geographical spread are neither very linear in themselves, nor do they parallel each other. This is ensured by the well-known fact already referred to: in the huge production of ancient Italic architectural terracottas—friezes as well as antefixes—many molds, and probably their makers as well, traveled.[35] As a result of these interrelating sources of influence, the stylistic characteristics of a specific production area tend to become blurred in time. The Getty antefix, like many others, is to some extent a testimony to this tendency.

There is to my knowledge, no exact published parallel to this third Getty antefix, but most indications, both stylistic and technical, point to Latium and southern Etruria in a general way. The following features must be considered. The back of the tile has, as mentioned above, a support buttress rising from the cover-tile. This arrangement did not originate in Campania but was invented further north, where the larger size of the shell called for bracing.[36] The shell itself is not as extensive and curving as that of the famous Veii examples nor are its tongues as flat as those of Capua; instead it represents something of an intermediary between the two, both in size and degree of concavity.[37]

From a stylistic point of view, the large disk earrings and the high flat diadem, which appears over a scalloped hairline, present the most obvious distinguishing marks. These features are, however, shared by many Latian and southern Etrurian antefixes from the last quarter of the fifth century (e.g. Caere, Pyrgi, Rusellae, and Palestrina, none of these, however, is surrounded by a shell).[38]

The stylized shape and unrealistic placement of the ear on the Getty piece, features which hark back in time, are found occasionally in this group of antefixes. The majority of them, however, have ears placed relatively flush with the side of the head. The ear treatment, as well as the earring (a rosette with raised center rather than a disk) and the painted pattern of the diadem, make the Palestrina antefix the closest parallel to the Getty example from among those just enumerated.[39] Several traits, however, serve to separate the Getty head from the Palestrina example. Apart from the obvious addition of the shell, the most significant difference lies in the face itself. While the face of the Getty piece is thinner and strikingly graceful, its plasticity is also handled differently. Both eyebrows and eyelids consist of raised ridges in the Getty antefix, while the Palestrina face relies primarily on color for outlines in the same way that the Caere antefixes do.

Another somewhat analogous antefix comes from Minturno.[40] This delicately shaped antefix shares a slender face and similar hair rendering and diadem, in addition to a concave, moderately sized shell; but again, the differences are also very noticeable. The shell of the Minturno antefix is deep, and it is decorated with additional palmettes on the circumference; the positioning of the ears is remarkably high; and finally, a stepped fascia marks the bottom in customary Campanian manner.

For the moment, it is towards the circle of Vejentine terracottas that we must move to find suitable parallels for the sculptural form of the Getty antefix head, to works such as the famous so-called Maenad antefix and the female goddess from the ridge beam.[41] In spite of the monumental size and

35. See note 10 above.

36. See note 31 above.

37. See Winter, 1978, 41.

38. Defined by Winter as a group of circa 525–500 B.C.; see Winter, 1978, 39ff. and pl. 15.4 (Caere), pl. 16.3 (Pyrgi), pl. 17.1 (Rusellae), and pl. 16.5 (Palestrina).

39. Andrén, 375, type II:1, pl. 116:407 and *StEtr* 41 (1973), 510, pl. 93e.

40. See Andrén, p. 486 no. I:3; and also Mingazzini, 730–738, pls. 5.11 and 6.3–4.

41. The architectural terracottas from the Portonaccio Temple outside the city walls have been amply illustrated, though no final monograph publication has been done. See Andrén, 3–8, especially no. 4, pl. 2:4. E. Stefani, *NSc* 7 (1953), 29–112 is the fullest, single publication of

greater formality of such pieces, a close inspection demonstrates a kinship between them and the third Getty antefix that is considerable and goes beyond such general qualities as hair, diadem, and the shape of the face. Although the Veii terracottas, including the antefixes, were handmade,[42] several striking similarities to the Getty piece can be observed. In both the Veii and the Getty antefixes, there appears the same plastic treatment of the eyes, which consists of a raised, flat area surrounded by slightly raised edges for the eyelids. Similarly, the left eye is smaller and narrower than the right in both cases. In the striding goddess, one also observes an identical spreading configuration of the scalloped hairline in front of the ear and the smaller and narrower left eye. The nose and mouth of the Getty piece are not as sharp and angular, however, and its forehead is lower than that seen on any Veii example. The mouth and rounded profile of the lips, together with the absence of a smile, are in fact typologically later than the large Veii terracottas; these features fall in line with sculptures from the early years of the fifth century B.C.[43]

Nevertheless, the total impression of the Getty antefix is one of a modest attempt to emulate the homogeneous stylistic flavor of the Veii workshop during its high period in the last decades of the sixth century B.C.[44] Whether indeed it adorned a small structure in Veii itself or somewhere in the south Etruscan vicinity, the general spirit of its models lived on into the early years of the fifth century B.C., the probable date of the Getty antefix.

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this temple. For the city at large, see J. B. Ward-Perkins, "Veii: The Historical Topography of the Ancient City," *BSR* 29 (1961), with full bibliography current to 1961 interspersed in the various sections; for the period between 1961-1966, see J. B. Ward Perkins, "Veio," *EAA* 7 (1966), 1101, and G. Bartolini, *MonAnt,* Monograph Series I (Rome, 1979). Of particular usefulness for correspondence between the Getty head and the large striding goddess from the roof are M. Pallottino, *ArchClass* 2 (1950), 122-179 and M. Santangelo, *Emporium* 107-108 (1948), 21-29.

42. Andrén, clxxvf.

43. See, for example, the male head from Satricum, circa 490 B.C. or even the antefix from Falerii Veteres, circa 480 B.C., illustrated in M. Sprenger and G. Bartoloni, *Die Etrusker. Kunst und Geschichte* (Munich, 1977), figs. 132 and 137.

44. For the tradition of Vulca, see M. Pallottino, "Vulca," *EAA* 7 (1966), 1206-1207.

Two Fragmentary Etruscan Painted Terracotta Panels

Mario A. Del Chiaro

Fragments recently acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum (Nos. 1 and 2, figs. 1 and 3)[1] that preserve small portions of two different, and once fairly large, painted terracotta panels or slabs provide a suitable sequel to the presentation of two more complete Etruscan painted terracotta panels in an earlier number of this journal.[2] Even though each of these new fragmentary terracottas offers only a tantalizing glimpse of the original figural decoration, adequate salient details have survived to justify placement within the archaic period.

The two panels (around 3.5 cm in thickness) are created of a very gritty clay fired to a warm yellow-brown, which based on my experience, argues strongly for Caeretan manufacture (i.e., produced in ancient Caere [modern Cerveteri], a coastal site located about 35 km northwest of Rome, or in its environs). Both panels were prepared prior to painting with a relatively thin, creamy white slip, which on panel No. 1 extends onto the finished edge at the left.

1. PAINTED TERRACOTTA PANEL (fig. 1)
   Caeretan, 530–520 B.C.
   Maximum Preserved Height: around 19 cm; Maximum Preserved Length: around 22 cm; Thickness: 3.5 cm
   Incomplete; three joining fragments; terminating edge at left side
   Upper part of a male head facing to the left and wearing a high cloth headpiece (*tutulus*). Near his face, fingers of his right hand hold an object or objects, which may be *krotala*. On the upper panel three horizontal bands (red-brown between dark brown bands) are surmounted by a partially preserved indented band with angular dark brown forms.
   Accession number 83.AD.211.10, gift of Leon Levy

That the head and hand preserved on this fragmentary terracotta panel are those of a man is clearly confirmed by the red-brown color used for the skin. In sharp contrast, a light yellowish brown is employed for the *tutulus*,[3] which judging from the clothlike element of the same color at the lower right, may have possessed a long trailing end. Also of the same yellowish brown color is the object or objects delicately held in the right hand. I take these forms to be *krotala* (i.e., clappers used to create castanetlike rhythms while dancing). It must be pointed out, however, that *krotala* are normally associated with dancing women and perhaps nude boys but not men.[4] If the Getty painted panel should prove to illustrate a dancing male figure with *krotala*, this would be a unique occurrence. It is not certain, however, that this is the case. If it were, the figure's body would have originally extended considerably downward into the missing portion of the panel. The presence of the terminating edge of the panel

1. I wish to thank Dr. Jiří Frel, Curator of Antiquities, for permission to study and publish these two painted terracotta panels in this number of *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*.

2. M. Del Chiaro, "Two Etruscan Painted Terracotta Panels," *Getty MusJ* 11 (1983), 129–134.

3. The cloth *tutulus*, particularly in its color and certain elements of decoration (embroidered designs?), is not unlike that of the well-known female dancer in the Tomb of the Lionesses at Tarquinia. See in particular, M. Sprenger and G. Bartolini, *Die Etrusker* (Munich, 1972), pl. 87 and M. Moretti and L. von Matt, *Etruskische Malerei in Tarquinia* (Cologne, 1974), 35.

4. See E. Richardson, *The Etruscans. Their Art and Civilization* (Chicago, 1964), 227ff. Representations of women dancing to the rhythms of their *krotala*—which are sometimes held in only one hand, sometimes one in each hand—are not uncommon in Etruscan stone and bronze (small) sculpture and wall painting. For a nenfro relief, see G. Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca* (Milan, 1935), pl. 149; M. Moretti and G. Maetzke, *The Art of the Etruscans* (New York, 1970), pl. 127, below; and M. Sprenger and G. Bartolini, pl. 66. For small bronzes, see M. Santangelo, *Musei e monumenti etruschi* (Novara, 1960), 131; L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* (Baltimore, 1975), 181, fig. 81 (with additional references); M. Bizzarri, *Orvieto Etrusca* (Orvieto, 1967), pl. 24; and A. Hus, *Les bronzes étrusques* (Brussels, 1975), pl. 24, where the dancer's left hand holds the *krotala* in a more delicate fashion (i.e., with several fingers outstretched). Terracotta examples are conveniently provided by the celebrated antefixes from Satricum (Conca): G. Giglioli, pl. 185; A. Andrén, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples* (Lund and Leipzig, 1939), pls. 147–149; and A. Boethius et al., *Etruscan Culture, Land and People* (Malmö, 1962), fig. 396 (hand with *krotala* restored), or the satyr-maenad antefix from Civita Castellana (p. 83, no. 16). For wall painting, see the Tomb of the Rooster at Tarquinia, M. Moretti and L. von Matt, p. 115 (Tomba del Gallo). It must be pointed out that in practically all cases cited here, the *krotala* are firmly clasped at their upper ends as if the clappers were hinged. This grip contrasts markedly with the delicate grasp with parted fingers which may be noted in the hand on the Getty panel No. 1 (fig. 1). In this latter case, the grip recalls the manner with which old time vaudeville performers "played" bones or spoons.

Figure 1. Fragment of a painted terracotta panel. Caeretan, 530–520 B.C. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AD.211.10.

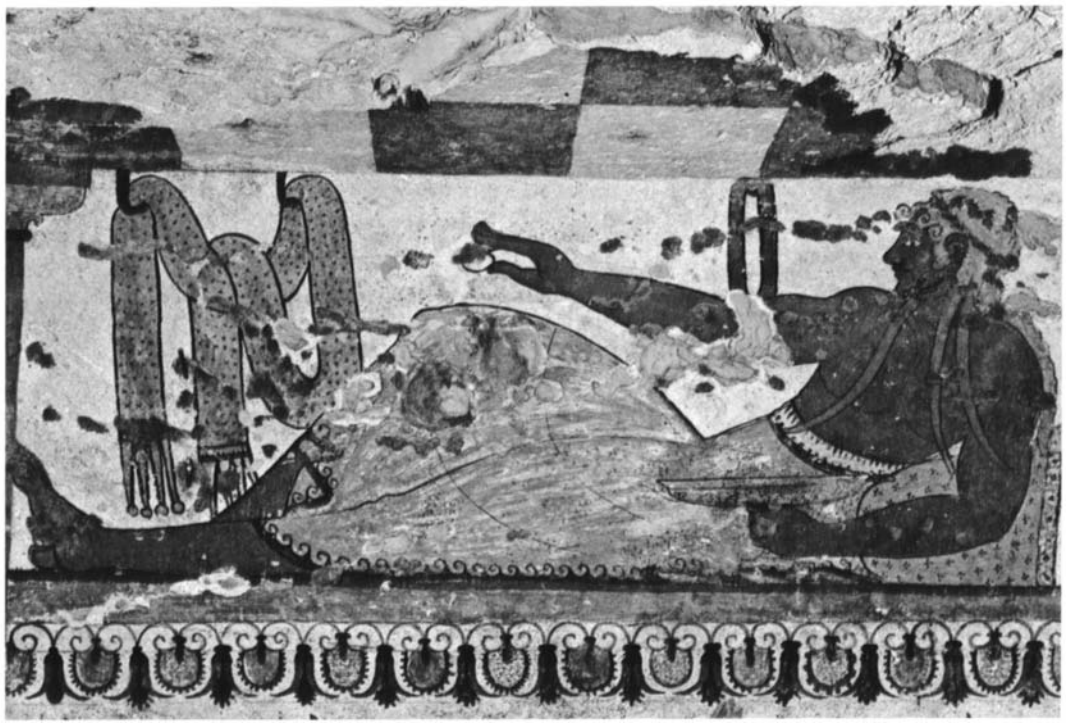

Figure 2. Banqueter from the Tomb of the Lionesses. Tarquinia, 520–510 B.C. Photo from M. Pallottino, *Etruscan Painting* (New York, 1952), 48.

just to the left of the hand would make a standing figure seem more plausible than a reclining figure—such as the banqueter in the Tomb of the Lionesses at Tarquinia (fig. 2)[5]—since a vertical figure would not necessitate the two or more adjoining panels required to complete a horizontal or reclining figure.[6]

The ear of the head on the Getty fragment is relatively large and ornate, and the sharply defined almond-shaped eye with a large central dot indicating the pupil seems more narrow and slitlike than the eye of the woman on panel No. 2. It is the rendering of the man's hand, however, that urges me to consider panel No. 1 to be slightly earlier in execution than No. 2. In addition to the details of the head and the character of the rich red-brown color used for the flesh, this chronological consideration is even more strongly suggested by the graphically elegant contours of the elongated fingers of the hand, especially the fleshy upturned fingertips and their artistically indicated fingernails. It is the drawing of these fingers that once again recalls the banqueter in the Tomb of the Lionesses (fig. 2).[7] The merit of this close stylistic analogy cannot be denied, and it consequently suggests a date circa 530–520 B.C. for Getty panel No. 1. Needless to say, such an analogy may give rise to the question of Tarquinian versus Caeretan craftsmanship and all that it implies regarding local and migratory artists. Frankly, I cannot enter into so thorny and complex a question here owing to the limits imposed by this study. All that can be said for the moment is that since such a relationship between painted terracotta panels[8] and Tarquinian tomb paintings deserves further consideration, the archaeological importance of this painted terracotta panel is increased.

2. PAINTED TERRACOTTA PANEL (fig. 3)
Caeretan, 520–510 B.C.
Maximum Preserved Height: around 19.5 cm; Maximum Preserved Length: around 11 cm; Thickness: around 3 cm (sheared away)
Incomplete; single fragment; no terminating edge preserved
Head, part of torso, arms, and a thigh of a female figure moving swiftly to the right while carrying an amphora.
Accession number 83.AD.211.11, gift of Leon Levy

It must be explained at the outset that the ghoulish, tusk-like appearance of this female's face is not intentional but the result of an abraded and discolored surface in the region of the mouth. Actually, the profile is quite normal, and the flesh color of the woman is the creamy white slip applied to the entire surface of the panel itself. The details of the ear have vanished altogether. The full head of hair, which is worn long and wavy below the nape of the neck at the back of the head, has received internal striations with light reddish brown brush strokes—short lines near the brow and long wavy lines that follow the contour of the head. The general character of the head and the style of coiffure on this Getty terracotta panel are strongly reminiscent of the women's heads represented on some Pontic vases and the celebrated Loeb bronze tripod in Munich.[9]

The especially intriguing feature of this second painted panel is to be found in the pose and action of the female figure, that is, the possible iconography. Unfortunately, the key portions of the panel, which would allow precise interpretation of the scene, are missing. Perforce, I can only be highly speculative. What can still be seen on this small preserved portion of an originally much larger panel is a woman dressed in a short-sleeved, short-skirted garment, which is painted in the same yellow-brown color used for the *tutulus* in panel No. 1. The extremely raised position of the right thigh suggests that the figure moves swiftly to the right in the standard pose for running or flying figures dating from the archaic period.[10] Equally important to my explanation of the theme, the woman carries an amphora or hydria—painted red-brown—which is held by its horizontal handles in an upraised position before her. It is quite obvious that she does not take part in a sedate procession, bearing the vase instead in a hurried, if not frantic, manner. Consequently, I can think of only two possible themes with which such a figure can be associated: (1) the pyre of Herakles, as noted and interpreted by John Beazley from scenes on four

5. Illustrations of the banqueter from the Tomb of the Lionesses are readily found, but for a fine color illustration, see R. Bloch, *Etruscan Art* (Greenwich, Conn., 1965), 14–15.

6. Cf. F. Roncalli, *Le lastre dipinte de Cerveteri* (Florence, 1965), 86, fig. 2.

7. See *supra*, note 5.

8. See F. Roncalli.

9. For Pontic vases, see L. Hannestad, *The Paris Painter. An Etruscan Vase-Painter* (Copenhagen, 1974), pl. 32a, and *The Followers of the Paris Painter* (Copenhagen, 1976), pl. 15; and L. Bonfante, 73. For the Loeb bronze tripod in Munich, see G. Giglioli, pl. 91; O. von Vacano, *Die Etrusker* (Stuttgart, 1955), pls. 91–92; M. Sprenger and G. Bartolini, pls. 101–103 (pl. 103 in particular); L. Bonfante, figs. 76–80; and U. Höckmann, *Die Bronzen aus dem Fürstengrab von Castel san Mariano bei Perugia. Staatliche Antikensammlungen München*, vol. 1 of *Katalog der Bronzen* (Munich, 1982).

10. Examples of the traditional archaic running or flying pose are not difficult to find; it will suffice to cite a few of the better-known examples: the Gorgon in the pediment of the Temple of Artemis, Corfu, J. Charbonneaux et al., *Archaic Greek Art* (London, 1971), 26, fig. 24; painted metope from the Temple of Apollo, Thermon, Charbonneaux et al., 33, above; Gorgons and Perseus on dinos in Paris by the Gorgon Painter, Charbonneaux et al., 49; fleeing Titan in frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Charbonneaux et al., 164; unfinished metope (Tityus abducting Leto) from the Heraion, Sele, U. Zanotti-Bianco and L. von Matt, *Magna Graecia* (New York, 1962), pl. 34. Closer to home, that is, to Etruscan art and the painted terracotta panels: see M. Moretti in *ArchCl* 9 (1957), 21, fig. 1, and F. Roncalli, 61ff. and pls. 25–26.

Figure 3. Fragment of a painted terracotta panel. Caeretan, 520–510 B.C. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. 83.AD.211.11.

Figure 4. Fragment of an Etruscan red-figure stamnos. Second half of the fourth century B.C. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia 43795. Photo: Gabinetto Fotographico Nazionale, Rome.

fragmentary Etruscan red-figure stamnoi in Rome;[11] and (2) the Danaids.[12]

Of the four stamnoi in the Museo di Villa Giulia brought together by Beazley, two show women attempting to extinguish the fire of a funerary pyre with water-laden hydriai. Two stamnoi, however, depict women bearing vases, not necessarily hydriai, in the presence of a youthful Dionysos. Regardless of the presence of Dionysos, I believe that these last two red-figure vases (one of which is illustrated in fig. 4)[13] could just as well illustrate the Danaids (daughters of Danaus) in Hades performing an eternal punishment for their heinous crime (i.e., the never-ending ordeal of filling a leaky jar [pithos] with water). A scene depicted on an Etruscan red-figure stamnos in Florence, which may be dated to the second half of the fourth century B.C.,[14] leaves no doubt that the three women (two with vases) filling a pithos are Danaids. Because so little is preserved of Getty panel No. 2, which must have originally been decorated with a complex scene that possibly carried over to adjoining panels, neither of these two themes can take priority over the other. The hurrying woman with a vase on the Getty panel could readily serve either subject.

If my interpretation is correct or at least possesses some credibility, this last Getty panel would mark one of the earliest representations in Etruscan art—possibly earlier than an extant Greek representation—of one of two myths that are best known to us from Greek culture.[15] Hence, despite the limited and fragmentary nature of the two Getty painted terracotta panels, they are to be regarded as fraught with art historical and archaeological significance.

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11. J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (Oxford, 1947), 103, nos. 1–4.

12. Beazley, p. 146ff., and E. Keuls, *The Water Carriers in Hades* (Amsterdam, 1974).

13. Beazley, 103, no. 4. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia, inv. no. 43795 (from Vignanello); *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, fasc. 1, IV BR., pls. 2 and 5.

14. Florence, Museo Archaeologico, inv. no. 4128; E. Keuls, 84, no. 5 and pl. 15. The hand of the painter for this vase is known to me; cf. M. Del Chiaro, "An Etruscan Gigantomachy from Caere," *AA* 85 (1970), 346–353. This artist, whom I have named the "Akrathe Painter," is responsible for a considerable number of vases that I am presently studying for future publication.

15. See Keuls, 34, pl. 1, and 35, pl. 2 where reference is made to Attic black-figure vases dating to the end of the sixth century B.C.

A Bear Hunt Mosaic

David Ball

The large mosaic with a scene of a bear hunt was acquired by the Getty Museum in 1972.[1] In the *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Norman Neuerburg suggests that the mosaic may have originated in North Africa, assigning it a third-century date on stylistic grounds.[2] Neuerburg also notes the unusual pictorial unity of the scene—a feature rare in hunt mosaics—and suggests that the mosaicist may have relied on a wall or panel painting executed in the manner of Hellenistic emblema as a source for visual inspiration.[3] The anti-heroic genre elements of the Getty hunt, however, place it outside of the Hellenistic tradition, just as its spatial unity makes it an anomaly in the corpus of large-scale genre hunts.

THE CONCEPTION OF SPACE IN HUNTING MOSAICS

It is the unified treatment of narrative space that makes the Getty hunt so unusual. The surviving portion of the mosaic represents a single event occurring at a specific moment in time; this action is depicted within a narrow and continuous landscape setting (figs. 1a–h). The presence of a groundline roots the action firmly along the picture plane, and recession into depth is contained—as are the bears—within the net. The hunters, the animals, and the trees all force the viewer to accept their spatial reality. There is really only one viewpoint, however, from which the Getty hunt makes sense: the spectator must be placed at a slight distance from the action, as if looking across at it from a position atop a hill or a tree. Thus, in respect to its spatial organization the mosaic is not successful as a floor, because to walk over the scene or to view it from above negates the picture's defined limits. It is this awkwardness in particular that suggests a transference from other media. Although the use of the classic emblema on a small scale was common through the end of the third century, the emergence of large-scale genre hunts (which did not have a long-standing pictorial tradition behind them) as a preferred subject matter allowed for experimentation and innovation in the treatment of pictorial space.[4] This change occurred in North Africa from the Severan period onward.

Of the numerous spatial solutions adopted by artists, two of the most common were the free distribution of figures over a neutral background and the use of registers that anchored the figures to a series of logical ground planes and allowed for the display of different, sometimes consecutive, episodes from the same event. By alternating solid groundlines with areas of blank space over which landscape elements were scattered, the artist was able to prevent the problems of recession and perspective from becoming unwieldy. This became a preferred means for depicting the genre hunt. After the early third century, the unified, single orientation emblema technique is rarely used and certainly not on the major scale of the Getty mosaic.

The earliest surviving example of the use of registers employed in a hunting context appears on a mosaic from Carthage dated circa 210–230 (fig. 2).[5] It depicts a boar hunt whose action is divided into three distinct planes. In the lowest of these, the boar is roused from a thicket; in the central register he is chased into a net; and in the upper scene two men carry the dead animal on a pole. Three locations

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1. The mosaic was taken up in twenty-three sections and has been badly restored. For instance, the right foot of the bearded hunter is echoed by an ill-defined mass, which is neither shadow nor limb. Also, other sections do not join. Two additional sections of the border, not displayed, are in the possession of the Museum.

2. C. Vermeule, and N. Neuerburg, *Catalogue Of The Ancient Art In The J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1973), 53–54, no. 113.

3. Vermeule and Neuerburg, 54, n. 12.

4. This transition is treated at length by I. Lavin, "The Hunting Mosaics of Antioch and Their Sources: A Study of Compositional Principles in the Development of Early Mediaeval Style," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963), 179–286. He traces the development of late antique mosaics away from a single viewpoint presentation in the classical tradition toward a series of unrealistic, multiple-view alternatives that "recognize, indeed emphasize, the integrity of the floor as a surface" (p. 188). More recently, K. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (Oxford, 1978), has applied Lavin's theories specifically to North African mosaics. She emphasizes the role of the patron in instigating compositional changes; see esp. 46–64.

5. In the Bardo, Tunis. L. Poinssot, *Revue Tunisienne* 43–44 (1940), 226–227, n. 28; Dunbabin, 48–49, n. 9, with bibliography.

are shown, three separate moments involving a single animal protagonist. The Carthage hunt appears to be without fully developed prototypes.[6] Katherine Dunbabin notes the innovation of the composition but sees as no less remarkable the unheroic, contemporary quality of the subject—a real, rather than a mythological, hunt. She attributes the piece to an adventurous artisan working for a patron unconcerned with conventional modes.[7] Although the Carthage mosaic is heavily restored, the costumes, the trees, the use of an acanthus scroll border, and especially the narrow treatment of space and landscape in the individual registers, all support a strong link to the Getty hunt in terms of time and place of execution.

The bear hunt appears as an isolated register, thematically akin to the boar hunt but spatially more restricted or, in the terms put forth by Lavin, conservative. The Getty mosaic's juxtaposition of traditional spatial principles with innovative subject matter might indicate that it is an early experiment in genre, executed before the varied decorative possibilities of the subject were fully realized. The third-century tendency to overcome conventional space and time is not present, even though the businesslike hunt is typical of the age. The Getty hunt presents a scene from contemporary life; the men and animals are not engaged in a heroic life-or-death struggle. It is obviously the intent of the hunters to capture the bears alive, assuredly for display in the *venationes* of the amphitheater. An account of just such an event is found in the *Cynegetica* of Oppian.

AN ILLUSTRATED *CYNEGETICA* AS A POSSIBLE SOURCE

The *Cynegetica* is a poetic treatise on hunting with dogs, dedicated to the emperor Caracalla and probably composed in Syria around A.D. 215. Its author is frequently referred to as Pseudo-Oppian to distinguish him from the writer of the *Halieutica*, a tract on fishing, whom he imitates.[8] The *Cynegetica* (4.354–424) describes bear hunting as it was supposedly practiced in Syria and Armenia in some detail. The object of such hunts was the live capture of beasts for various uses in the arena. After employing dogs to locate the bears' den, the hunters prepared a run with nets at the end, which were strung between trees and on stakes. Using noise and visual scares (4.385–392), the men drove the terrified bears the run until they were trapped within the nets, where they "greatly rage with jaws and terrible paws, and many a time they straightway evade the hunters and escape from the nets and make the hunting vain" (4.414–418). If the nets held, the captured bears were placed in wooden cages for transport. Oppian says no more about their fate.

From a narrative standpoint the Getty hunt parallels that described in the *Cynegetica*. It is impossible to say what the missing portion of the mosaic might have contained, but a larger group of hunters and perhaps dogs and equipment seem likely. Although no wealth of specific detail is shown, every aspect of the hunt depicted in the Getty mosaic is mentioned in the poem. The two bears in the lower left appear to be avoiding entrapment to the dismay of the hunter, whose name, Lucius, appears on the mosaic. All the animals are frightened, but no weapons are used against them. Although the initial tracking was done with dogs, Oppian does not say that they participated in this part of the hunt, which accounts for their absence within the net. Oppian was describing hunting in the East, but similar methods would have been employed throughout the empire, as the bear was one of the most common of wild animals.[9] The demand for animal displays in amphitheaters throughout the Roman world was enormous, and professional traders in live beasts played an important role in the North African economy. As a result, it is not difficult to imagine a source of patronage for scenes like the Getty hunt.

The *Cynegetica* was written either close to or just before the time when genre hunting scenes emerged in mosaic art. Oppian apparently borrowed from earlier works on hunting for his poem, and presumably, third-century illuminators could have done the same.[10] This prompts us to consider the possibility that illustrated versions of such didactic treatises might have been responsible for the change in patrons' visual taste and perhaps served as models for craftsmen working without artistic precedents. In the Getty hunt, the reduction of the pictorial elements to the most essential details—the trees, the net, the hunters, and the bears, all placed against a shallow, sketchy landscape—suggests that the mosaicist may have been working from a small model. Copies of an illustrated *Cynegetica* written and decorated in Syria in the early third century could have quickly traveled to North Africa. Certainly a portable object like a scroll or a codex would have

6. See Dunbabin, 48; she discusses the possible origin of the register technique in the Nilotic landscape tradition. An apsidal mosaic from Utica, now in the British Museum, dated to the late second or early third century may be the earliest North African example of a genre hunt. See M. Alexander et al., *Corpus des Mosaïques de Tunisie*, vol. 1, fasc. 3 (Tunis, 1976), 31–33, no. 279, pl. 39. The Utica hunt displays a hesitant quality with none of the confidence of the Carthage boar hunt and should be viewed as a stage in the evolutionary process.

7. Dunbabin, 49.

8. A. W. Mair, *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus* (New York, 1928), esp. xxii–xxiii.

9. For an excellent history of the bear in the Roman world, see J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (Ithaca, 1973), esp. 93–100. She lists ancient sources which specifically mention North African bears.

10. K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1951), 94–95.

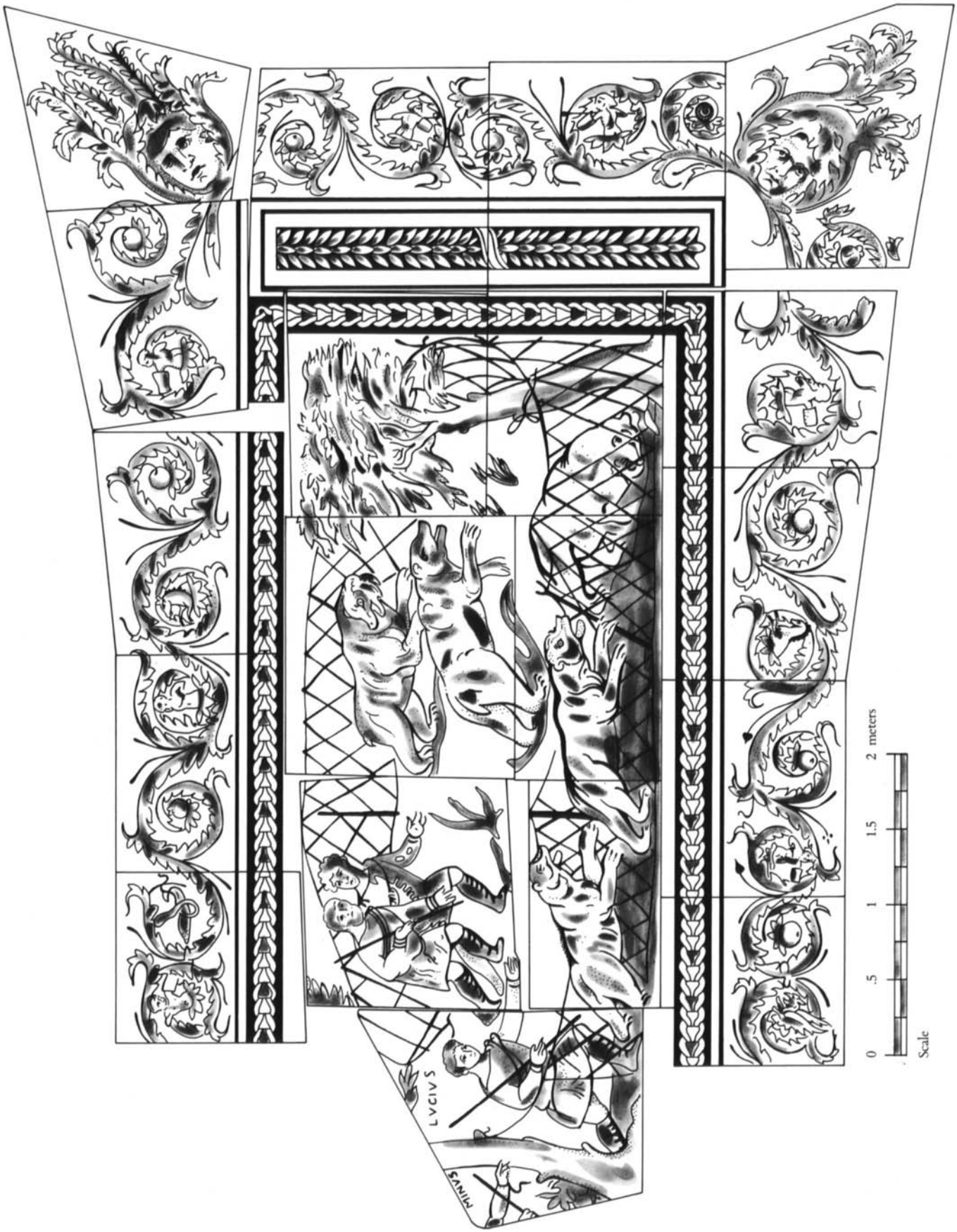


Figure 1a. Bear hunt mosaic. Circa 220–250. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 72.AH.76. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.

Figure 1b. Detail of figure 1a.

Figure 1c. Detail of figure 1a.

had a more immediate impact on the tastes of patrons and artists than a large, immovable painted original, and those wealthy enough to commission mosaics could also afford books. Editions of the *Cynegetica* or similar treatises with descriptions and representations of everyday hunting could have been circulating in North Africa just before the appearance of genre hunting mosaics. The books could have provided patrons with new ideas and demands and the mosaicists with new visual modes. The Getty hunt may represent an early response to changing tastes, executed before mosaicists had become familiar with the subject and its spatial needs. An artisan transferring a subject from a book illustration to a large-scale work would have retained many of the spare features of the smaller medium while infusing more familiar objects, such as trees, with a well-practiced Hellenistic pictorialism.

An illustrated *Cynegetica* exists (figs. 3a–c), an eleventh-century Byzantine version that Kurt Weitzmann believes directly imitates a third-century archetype.[11] Weitzmann sees this Medieval Oppian manuscript as reflecting the survival of the "papyrus style," a classical method of placing sketches in columns adjacent to the textual passages they illustrate.[12] Some pictures are separated from each other only by short lines of text (fig. 3a), and in cases where the described action could not be shown in a single pictorial frieze, several related pictures follow atop each other without textual interruption (fig. 3b). This certainly provides a precedent for the use of registers, as well as for the continuous friezelike narrative found in the Getty hunt.[13] In the illustrated Oppian, the columns of text dictate the strict vertical alignment and perhaps the frequent movement from left to right that causes one to read the pictures like a written line. The action takes place along a narrow groundline, and there is a limited recession into space. Landscape is suggested through the use of occasional trees, bushes, or sometimes a low hill (figs. 3a–c). The gestures of the human figures are broad and demonstrate a theatrical stiffness, but the animals are depicted in a lively fashion.[14]

The close analogy between Oppian's written description of bear hunting and the Getty floor suggests a connection that is supported by the visual evidence. In fact, the development of the genre hunting mode, of which the Getty mosaic is presumably an early example, may be tied to the influence of illustrated texts such as the *Cynegetica* in the early third century. By implication this development, which has been ascribed almost exclusively to mosaic workshops in the West, may be seen as owing much to prototypes originating in the illuminating ateliers of the Syrian East.

THE INFLUENCE OF CARTHAGE AND UTICA

In assigning a provenance to the Getty hunt, there are numerous factors that point to Africa Proconsularis. The

11. In the Marciana Library, Venice, cod. gr. 479. In addition to the reference cited in note 10 above, Weitzmann discusses the Marciana Oppian in *Ancient Book Illumination* (Cambridge, 1959), esp. 26ff.; *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (Princeton, 1970); *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H. Wessler (Chicago, 1971), esp. 129ff.

12. Weitzmann, 1970, 98.

13. Cf., for instance, folio 54v with the mosaic of a hare hunt from El Djem, Tunisia, dated circa 240 in Dunbabin, 49 and pl. 22.

14. A papyrus fragment from Egypt that is variously dated between the third and sixth centuries A.D. gives an idea of the vibrancy of original Roman illustrations. It depicts a performing bear in the arena, whose pose is remarkably similar to several of the animals on the Getty mosaic. See K. Weitzmann, ed., *The Age of Spirituality* (New York, 1979), 95–96, no. 86, with plate and bibliography.

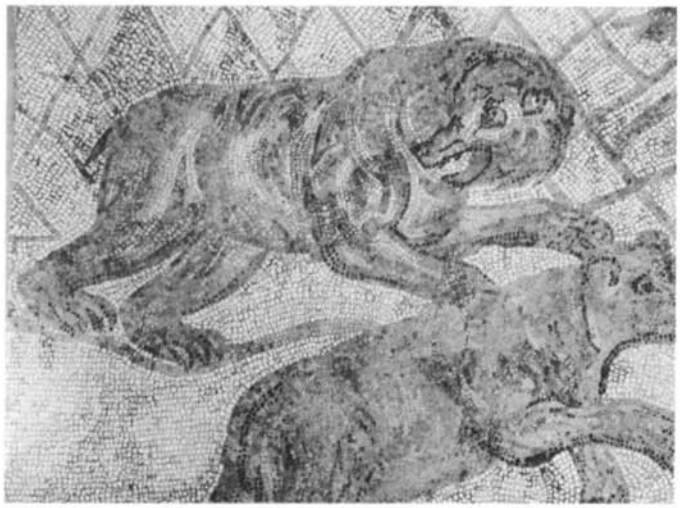


Figure 1d. Detail of figure 1a.

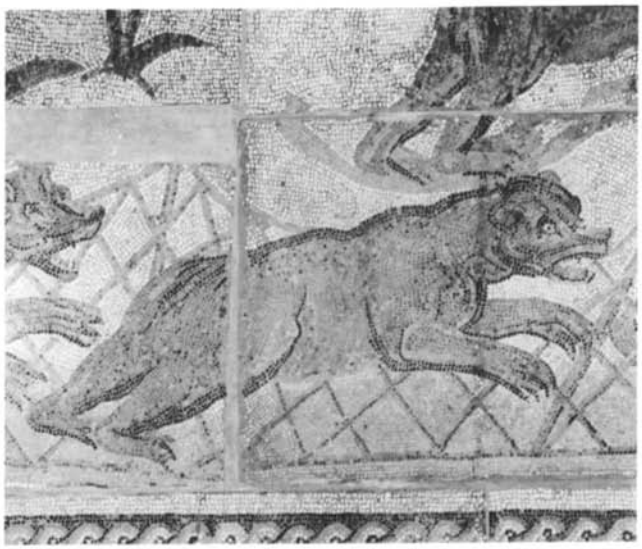


Figure 1e. Detail of figure 1a.

Figure 1f. Detail of figure 1a.

Figure 1g. Detail of border of figure 1a.

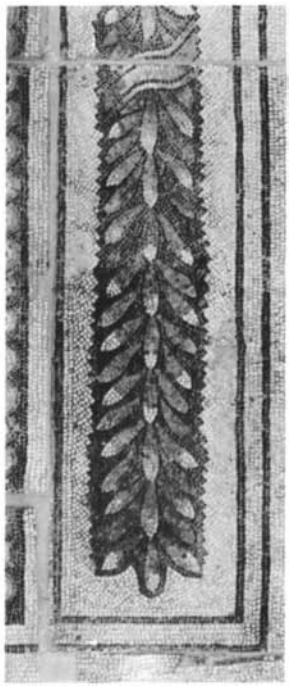


Figure 1h. Detail of border of figure 1a.

Figure 2. Boar hunt mosaic. Carthage, Tunisia, circa 210–230. Tunis, Bardo. Photo: DAI Rome.

Figure 3a. Manuscript of the *Cynegetica* of Pseudo-Oppian. Eleventh-century copy after a third-century original. Venice, Marciana cod. gr. 479, fol. 20r. Photo from Kurt Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art,* Studies in Manuscript Illumination 4 (Princeton, 1951), pl. xxxvi, fig. 129.

Figure 3b. Manuscript of the *Cynegetica* of Pseudo-Oppian (see fig. 3a), fol. 54v. Photo from Kurt Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* (Chicago, 1971), 130, fig. 105.

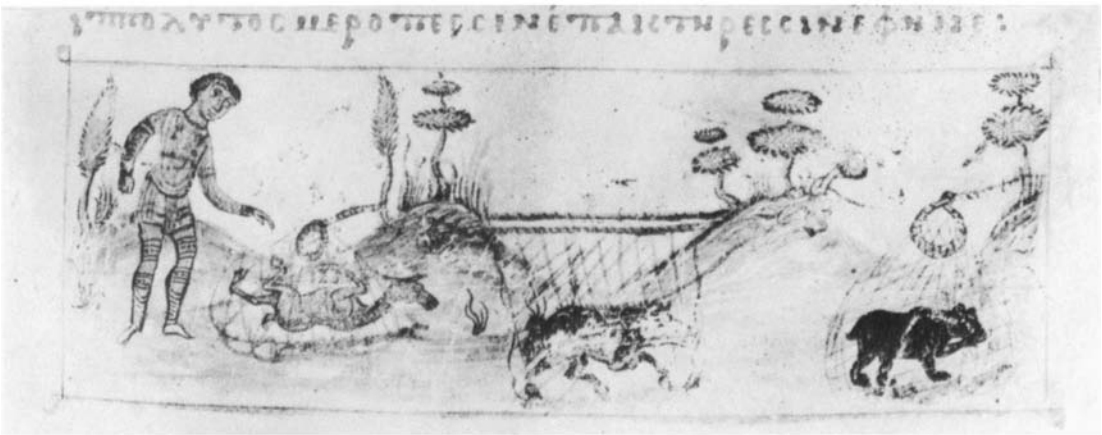


Figure 3c. Manuscript of the *Cynegetica* of Pseudo-Oppian (see fig. 3a), fol. 20r. Photo from Kurt Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art,* Studies in Manuscript Illumination 4 (Princeton, 1951), pl. xxxvi, fig. 130.

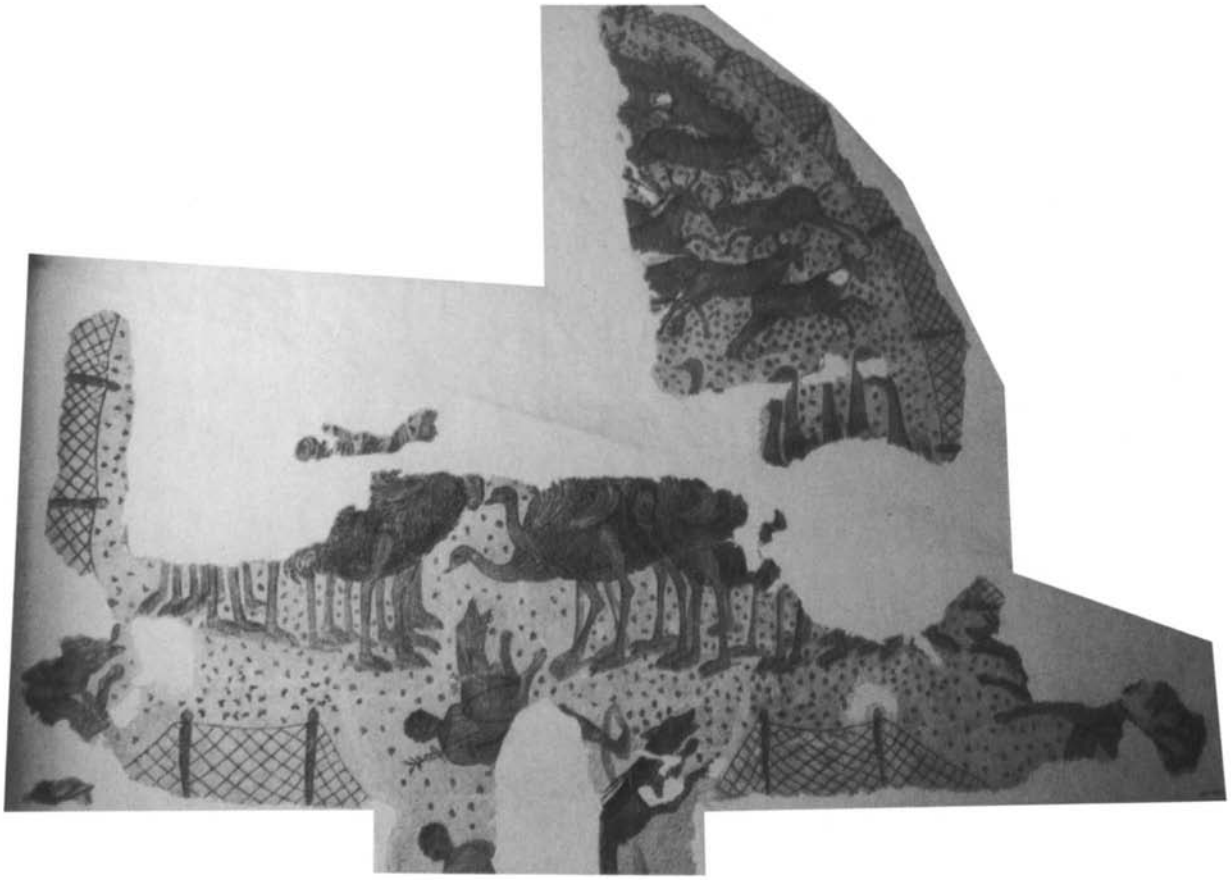


Figure 4. Amphitheater hunt mosaic. Le Kef, Tunisia, circa 235. Tunis, Bardo. Photo: Elizabeth Reid.

chief among these considerations is that the genre hunting mode in mosaics seems to have originated there under the influence of workshops operating out of Carthage and Utica.[15] This development began in the first half of the third century and continued strongly through the end of the fourth. The majority of surviving hunting mosaics come from Pronconsularis, where there was a steady market for them and where the artistic climate—the cooperation between artist and patron—fostered a willingness to try new modes. Certainly by A.D. 300 the preference was for spatially unrealistic scenes incorporating varied anecdotes, some of them fantastic, as in the hunting mosaics from Carthage (Dermech)[16] and those from the Maison des Chevaux, also in Carthage.[17] If one accepts the Getty hunt as an early attempt to satisfy shifts in patrons' tastes, then it fits well into the pattern of experimentation and innovation that the proven remains demonstrate.

North African mosaics that deal with the business of animal hunts—the live capture of beasts for the amphitheater—almost all come from Proconsularis and date from the mid-third century onward. The early ones treat space in different but consistently unconventional ways. Probably the earliest of these is the oddly shaped floor from Le Kef, Tunisia, for which Dunbabin's dating of late Severan or beyond seems plausible (fig. 4).[18] This must be an arena scene, for there is no reason to think that ostriches and gazelles could otherwise be captured in the same hunt. The trappings—the dogs and net—as well as the lack of violence or spectacle, however, make it an amalgamation of three modes: the animal catalogue, the amphitheater scene, and the hunt.

15. The majority of the surviving evidence comes from these urban regions, but it is not always known where the itinerant craftsmen who set the occasional isolated rural floor may have trained.

16. A. Mahjoubi, "Decouverte d'une nouvelle mosaïque de chasse à Carthage," *CRAI*, 1967, 264-277; Dunbabin, 53-54, pls. 26-28.

17. J. W. Salomonson, *La mosaïque aux chevaux de l'antiquarium de Carthage* (The Hague, 1965), 26-28, pls. 13-16.

18. Dunbabin, 69, n. 21, pl. 54. Dunbabin lists the Le Kef mosaic primarily as an amphitheater scene.

19. Dunbabin, 55, pl. 29. For the date, see Dunbabin, appendix 2.

20. L. Poinssot and P. Quoniam, "Betes d'amphitéatre sur trois mosaïques du Bardo," *Karthago* 3 (1952), 129-165; Dunbabin, 72ff.

21. On the use of names, see Dunbabin, 60-61. The earliest known example of such identification on a hunting scene is a mosaic from Althiburus, Tunisia, dated circa 280-290, Dunbabin, 50; Salomonson, 27, n. 1, and 81, n. 1, pl. 64. The Getty mosaic very likely dates earlier than this, which could make it the oldest surviving hunting mosaic with named participants.

Here, as in the Getty mosaic, the net dictates the limits of landscape, and the spectator is given a bird's-eye view. The integration of space and narrative is quite complex, although the transition between one group of figures and the next can be awkward. In the total use of irregular space, the Le Kef mosaic seems more advanced than the Getty hunt. It is clear that the artist was not copying directly from another medium but was developing the composition to suit the patron and the room. He seems more responsive to spatial paradoxes than the Getty artist and to be drawing on an already familiar repertoire of themes. For these reasons the Le Kef hunt should be placed later in time.

By the late third or early fourth century, an element of fantasy had begun to appear in hunt mosaics whose essential details were otherwise realistic. This mixture of mundane and exotic is found in the monumental hunt from Hippo Regius, Tunisia, which was apparently designed for a patron eager to commemorate the successful capture of wild beasts in nature, rather than the contrived spectacle of the arena.[19] The artist has integrated a number of smaller vignettes around a large central scene with a minimum of contrivance, but the variety of prey—both leopards and lions in the same hunt—shows that he is not observing nature but drawing on a pattern book repertoire. The assurance with which the theme and space are handled implies several generations of artistic progression beyond the Getty hunt.

A series of mosaics attributed to Carthaginian ateliers survive that depict bears in the context of the amphitheater.[20] Some employ the catalogue technique favored for mosaics commemorating specific events; the figures in these mosaics are placed in an ordered pattern against a blank field. Frequently the subjects are accompanied by names or numbers, the former probably indicating the presence of performing animals and the latter recording how many beasts were used in a certain game. The use of names, especially for slaves and animals, became fashionable in North African mosaics in the third century, because it gave patrons an opportunity to personalize an otherwise generic scene.[21] In these amphitheater mosaics there is little attempt to create organic unity, but the poses and the frequently large size of the bears link them to a common tradition with the Getty hunt. Stylistically, however, they appear to be later in date.

In a mosaic from Radès, near Tunis, a troupe of bears, all named, are arranged formally on a white background with other animals, mostly unnamed boars and bulls (fig. 5).[22] Although the attitudes of the bears are lively, the figure style is rather linear and crude in comparison to the more painterly Getty mosaic. The Radès floor is usually dated to the latter half of the third century or later on stylistic grounds. A similar linearity pervades the fragmented mosaic from Kourba (fig. 6), which Dunbabin connects stylistically to a floor from the Maison du Paon in Carthage.[23] She dates both to the mid-fourth century. In the Kourba mosaic, registers are used to separate groups of bears, some of which interact with each other, although there is no unified narrative treatment. Most of the Kourba bears are named, as are two from the Maison du Paon; this indicates that these animals belonged to professional troupes and were trained to perform for the amusement of spectators. The popularity of performing bears in and around Carthage, as well as the more bloodthirsty uses to which they were put in the amphitheater, implies the existence of professional hunters to capture them, as described in the *Cynegetica*. It is this practice that is witnessed in the Getty mosaic, where the handling of space and narrative favors a stronger link to the hunting mode than to that of the amphitheater.[24]

In support of Neuerburg's theory concerning the influence of monumental painting, there are the frescoes from the Hunting Baths of Leptis Magna, which show armed men confronting leopards and lions.[25] In the better-preserved leopard hunt, many of the participants, both men and beasts, are named. It has been suggested that the Leptis baths were the property of an association of hunters or *venatores* (professionals in the amphitheater), who wished to give the decoration a personal reference.[26] A similar explanation seems plausible for the Getty hunt. Certainly the use of names implies a private, rather than a public, commission. The odd shape of the Getty floor, especially the octagonal outline of the missing architecture, which could have been space for a pool, raises the possibility that the mosaic comes from a bath complex.[27] The date of the Leptis frescoes is uncertain, but most evidence points to the third century. Both the hunters of the Leptis baths and those on the Getty mosaic are somewhat stocky; their movements are a little stiff, their gestures very broad (figs. 1a–c, 7). This could certainly indicate that the frescoes and the mosaic are roughly contemporary, as a

22. Poinssot and Quoniam, 156, n. 118; Lavin, 236, n. 233; Dunbabin, 72–73.

23. Dunbabin, 73–74.

24. From an early point in their development, amphitheater mosaics adopted a more flexible approach to space, distributing objects in varied directions over the surface without using continuous groundlines or landscape to give specific orientation to the scene. See, for instance, the gladiator mosaic from Zliten, Tripolitania, dated as early as the first century by S. Aurigemma, *I Mosaici di Zliten* (Rome, 1926), and the amphitheater scenes from the Sollertiana Domus in El Djem, Tunisia, dated circa 180 by L. Foucher, *Découvertes archéologiques à Thysdrus en 1961* (Tunis, 1961), 19–21, pls. 21–22.

25. J. B. Ward Perkins and J. M. C. Toynbee, "The Hunting Baths at Leptis Magna," *Archaeologia* 93 (1949), 165–195.

26. Ward Perkins and Toynbee, 191ff.

27. See, for instance, the floor plan of the Leptis baths, which indicates hexagonal rooms, illustrated in Ward Perkins and Toynbee, 168, fig. 1.

Figure 5. Animals of the amphitheater. Radès, Tunisia, circa 300. Tunis, Bardo. Photo: DAI Rome.

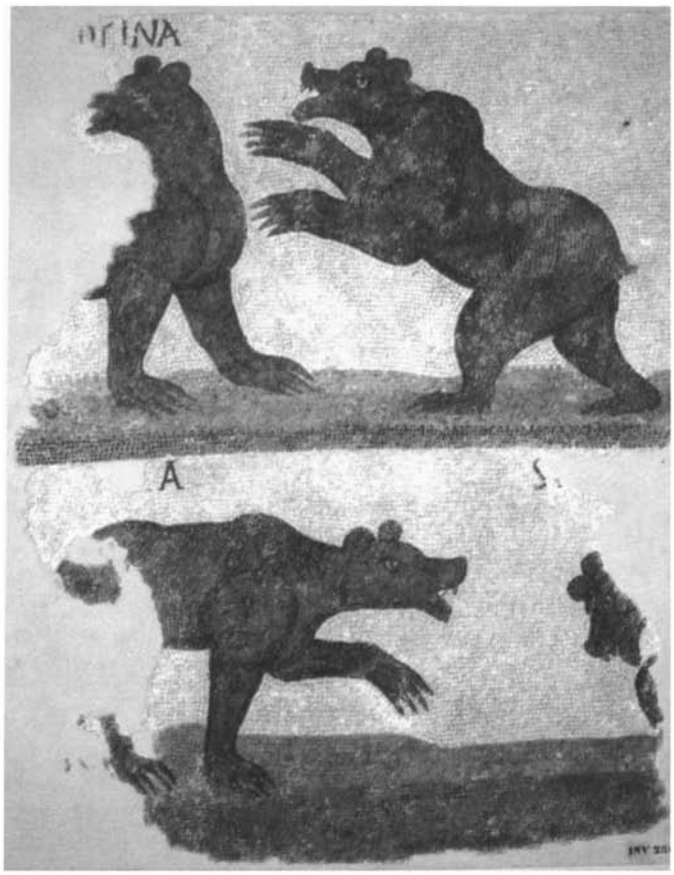


Figure 6. Catalogue of bears. Kourba, Tunisia, circa 350. Tunis, Bardo. Photo: Elizabeth Reid.

mosaicist would borrow much stylistically from large-scale paintings. It is the vast difference in intent, however, which causes one to search for a provenance outside of Tripolitania. Thematically, the Leptis frescoes recall the older Hellenistic tradition. The confrontation between men and beasts is heroic; death and danger are definite factors, and there is a boastful implication, a victorious sentiment that is missing in the Getty hunt.[28]

The Getty mosaic finds its closest thematic parallel in a portion of the large floor from the Esquiline Hill in Rome, which is usually dated to the early fourth century (fig. 8).[29] The influence of North African mosaics on this piece has been noted by scholars, as it seems atypical of the Italian tradition.[30] In the surviving sections, three independent hunts take place. Two of these show bears and gazelles being chased into nets and appear to be in the pure genre mode. The third, a boar hunt, is in the more heroic vein. The objective of the bear hunt is the live capture of animals, as emphasized by the presence of a transport cage. No weapons are used, but large dogs help the hunters pursue the bears and head them into the traps. Landscape is sketchily suggested by trees and rocks, and there are hardly any defined groundlines or shadows except for the geometric frame. A few narrow bands and a half-hidden figure in the gazelle hunt imply receding landscape, but in the bear hunt the various elements are ambiguously placed against a neutral ground. Recession into depth is limited, and there is an obvious lack of proportion between figures. Aymard suggests that the Esquiline floor was the commission of a high-ranking Constantinian official responsible for procuring animals for the games and that the mosaicist was relying on various large-scale paintings for models.[31] Because of the sparse interpretation of setting and the awkwardness of proportion, however, one could as easily imagine miniature painting as a source. Certainly in terms of narrative, Oppian's *Cynegetica* could be the original inspiration for the Esquiline mosaic, as well as for the Getty

28. Perhaps the nearest analogy for the Leptis frescoes is the mosaic of Magerius from Smirat, Tunisia, dated circa 240–250, which shows leopards being killed in the arena. See Dunbabin, 67–69, pls. 52–53.

29. J. Aymard, "Quelques Scènes de Chasse sur une Mosaï de l'Antiquarium," *Melanges d'Archèologie et d'Histoire* 54 (1937), 42–66, esp. fig. 1, for a reconstruction of the original floor plan.

30. Lavin, 258; Dunbabin, 213.

31. Aymard, 64–66.

Figure 7. Detail of leopard hunt from Hunting Baths. Leptis Magna, Libya, third century. Watercolor by N. Calabrò from J. B. Ward Perkins and Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, "The Hunting Baths at Leptis Magna," *Archaeologia* 93 (1949), pl. xlii.

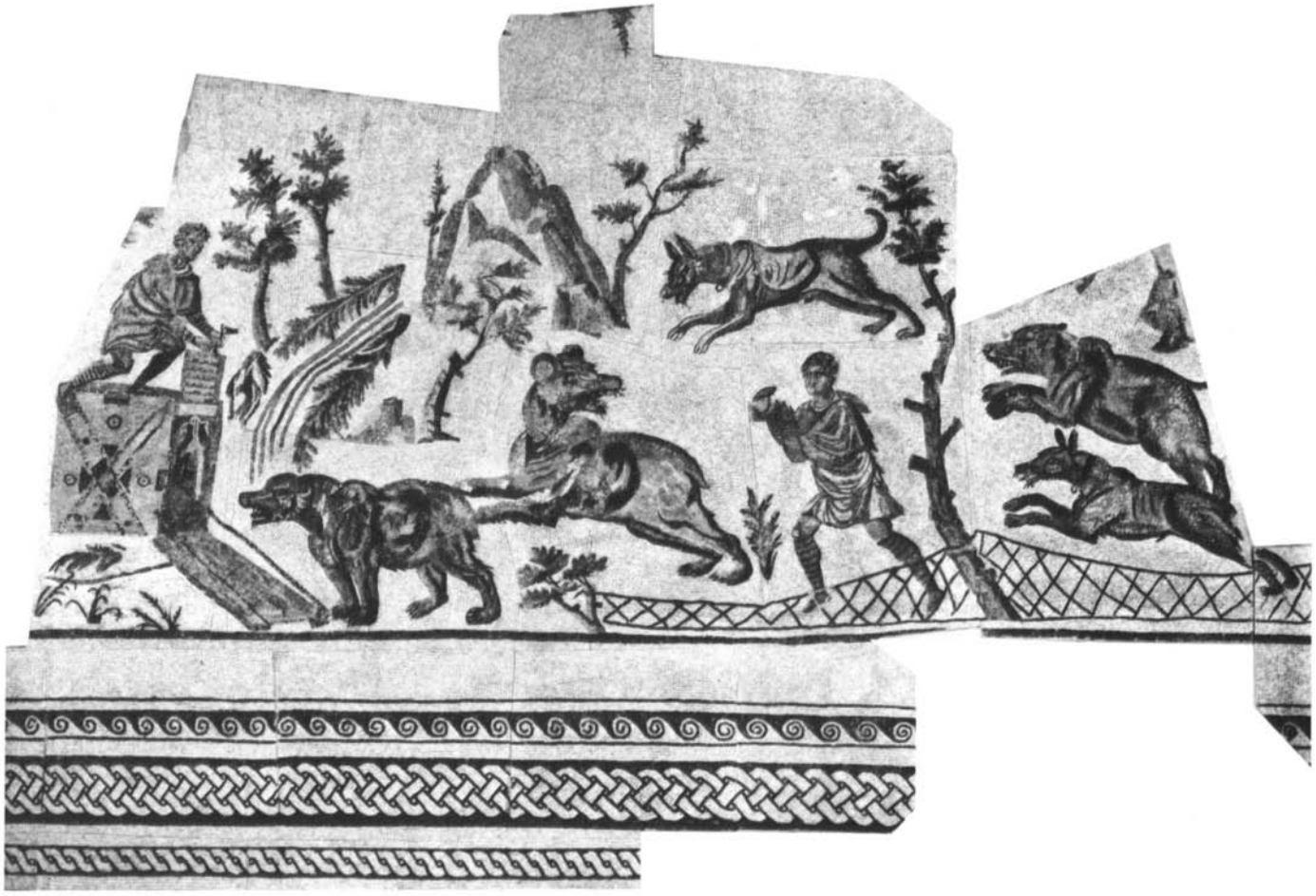


Figure 8. Bear hunt mosaic. Esquiline Hill, Rome, circa 300–320. Rome, Museo Capitolino. Photo: Anderson.

piece. The use of a literal groundline in the Getty hunt, however, places it firmly in the compositional tradition of North Africa and most likely at an earlier date than the Esquiline mosaic, which borrows from an already well-established pictorial mode and creates its own spatial solutions.

Perhaps the strongest evidence in support of a provenance in Africa Proconsularis for the Getty hunt comes from the purely ornamental features—the double guilloche, the acanthus rinceaux (fig. 1g), and the laurel festoon (fig. 1h). Since such decorative motifs tend to survive longer than an individual figure style, they offer less reliable criteria for dating than they do for determining geographic origin. There is a definite resemblance between the decorative features on the Getty hunt and motifs in use around Carthage and Utica from the early third century through the beginning of the fifth. A similarity has already been noted between the Getty acanthus rinceaux and those framing the Carthage boar hunt dated circa 210–230. A corresponding border, although somewhat less intricate, is found in the peristyle of the Maison de la Chasse in Utica framing a badly damaged group of emblema; it is dated after 350.[32] This wide division of dates shows the difficulties in establishing a firm chronology by means of decorative elements, but it does prove that acanthus scrolls were a part of the Proconsularian repertory at an early date. The same is true for the guilloche border. The one that surrounds the Getty hunt finds close analogies in two mosaics from Utica, one of which is now in the Louvre,[33] the other in the Bardo in Tunis.[34] The two, with firm provenances, are dated to the first half of the third century. All three borders appear as if they could have been set by the same craftsman or, at least, the same atelier.

The stylized laurel border was a preferred motif among workshops in Africa Proconsularis, especially those from Carthage. Numerous examples exist in which festoons are employed to frame figures and scenes or to segregate individual subjects or small vignettes. In the Maison des Autruches in Sousse, Tunisia, festoons interspersed with fruit and flowers surround three rectangular mosaics dated circa 250.[35] Other later examples dated circa 300 are to be found in the Maison des Chevaux from Carthage; in these mosaics, stylized laurel garlands create patterns that enclose individual figures from the amphitheater.[36] In the fourth-century Maison de la Chasse in Utica, a simple laurel grid frames small hunting vignettes that seem to be drawn from the pattern book without any attempt to create a unified picture.[37] One of the closest stylistic parallels for the Getty hunt festoon comes from the Great Peristyle of Piazza Armerina. There, circular wreaths tied with ribbons surround wild animal heads.[38] The execution and shading of both leaves and ribbons are enough alike to indicate that the same atelier is responsible, but this still makes accurate dating impossible, since pattern books and techniques of craftsmanship could be passed from master to pupil over several generations. What is most important to note is that all of the decorative motifs on the Getty hunt find precedents or analogies in Proconsularis from the first half of the third century. While this does not necessarily prove an early dating, it does not negate the evidence in favor of such a theory.

CONCLUSION

The Getty mosaic may be seen as an early example of the genre hunt, one which reflects the origins of that mode in manuscript illustrations and their accompanying texts. The mosaic's narrative resemblance to passages in the *Cynegetica* of Pseudo-Oppian, dating to the first quarter of the third century, and to surviving copies after the original third-century illustrations suggests that similar treatises were the ultimate source of inspiration. Certainly the popularity of works like the *Cynegetica* coincided with a marked shift in mosaic subject matter to a more ordinary hunting vernacular. The unified, single viewpoint approach to space in the Getty hunt may be taken as a sign of early dating, reflecting the artist's insecurity about his subject and an adaptation from other media. Freed by the lack of an existing pictorial tradition, mosaicists quickly began to experiment with less axiomatic alternatives to the demands of subject and surface. The surviving evidence suggests that genre hunt mosaics developed in North Africa from the early third century under the artistic hegemony of workshops in Carthage and Utica. Analogies to works of established provenance and date place the Getty hunt logically within that tradition, and it should be dated perhaps between 220 and 250. Under any circumstances the Getty hunt is unique and should be accorded its rightful place among the corpus of important hunting mosaics.

The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities
Santa Monica

32. M. Alexander and M. Ennaifer, *Corpus des Mosaïques de Tunisie*, vol. 1, fasc. 1 (Tunis, 1973), 74–75, no. 85, pl. 34.
33. Alexander et al., 53, no. 306, pl. 32.
34. Alexander et al., 27, no. 275, pl. 17.
35. Dunbabin, 31, 74–75, pls. 60–64.
36. Salomonson, 24–26, pl. 12.
37. Alexander and Ennaifer, 75–78, no. 86, pls. 36–37; Dunbabin, 57, 62, pls. K.32–33.
38. For a good reproduction see Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome: The Late Empire* (London, 1971), pl. 224.

Ein Silberstreifen

Frank Brommer

Das J. Paul Getty Museum hat im Jahr 1983 einen vergoldeten, getriebenen archaischen Silberstreifen erworben (Abb. 1a–c), der im Folgenden besprochen werden soll.[1]

Der Streifen besteht aus sechs Feldern oder Teilen davon und dem winzigen Rest eines siebenten. Die Felder waren ursprünglich 5,8 cm hoch und ebenso breit. Um jedes Feld zieht sich ein Band von etwa 35 plastisch erhabenen Punkten an jeder Seite. Die Rahmenleiste ist am Ende jeden Feldes abgeplattet. Unten und oben ist der Fries durch einen Streif von etwa 19 Stäben je Feld abgeschlossen. Mit diesen Streifen hat der Fries eine Gesamthöhe von 8,2 cm. Die Länge beträgt vom rechten Ellbogen der ersten Gorgo bis zum Arm des Perseus 29 cm.

Die Vergoldung findet sich nicht auf der Rückseite. Dort erscheint das Silber und am unteren, wie oberen zum Teil umgeschlagenen Rand Grünspan. Die Vergoldung ist auch auf der Vorderseite gelegentlich abgegangen, so vor allem am rechten Arm der ersten Gorgo, am linken Arm des Typhon, am rechten Arm der Klytaemnestra, am rechten Arm der Gorgo im vierten Feld, am rechten Unterarm der Athena. Das erste Feld (Abb. 1b) enthält eine nach rechts laufende Gorgo mit Punkten am Gewandrand unten, deren Kopf, linker Oberarm, rechter Fuss und beide Flügel fehlen. Im besseren Erhaltungszustand kehrt diese Gorgo aus der gleichen Form im vierten Feld wieder.

Im zweiten Feld (Abb. 1b) ist Zeus dargestellt, der in seiner erhobenen Rechten einen Blitz gegen den ihm nach links zugewandten Typhon schwingt. Zeus hat ein waagrechtes Loch über dem Gürtel. Mit seiner linken Hand umfasst er den Kopf des Typhon. Dessen rechte Hand berührt den linken Arm des Zeus, die linke Hand berührt das linke Bein des Zeus. Über dem Hinterteil des schlangenfüssigen Wesens mit drei Locken, dessen untere Schlangenwindungen verloren sind—ein Schlangenschwanz ist erhalten—entspringen zwei kleinere Schlangen. Die Flügel, von denen man nur einen sieht, sind nach oben gerichtet. Zeus ist ebenso bärtig und ohne Schnurrbart dargestellt, wie alle männlichen Gestalten des Frieses. Er trägt ein kurzes, ärmelloses Gewand, das, wie bei allen Gestalten, mit Rhomben geziert ist. Mit dem linken Fuss muss er auf eine der Schlangenwindungen getreten sein.

Im dritten Feld (Abb. 1b) hat Orestes ohne Kopfbedeckung in kurzem ärmellosem Gewand den am Boden liegenden Aegisth in ebenfalls kurzem Gewand bereits erschlagen. Er tritt mit seinem linken Fuss auf den rechten Arm des Aegisth, dessen Bart, drei lange Haarsträhnen und Gesicht erhalten ist, dessen Oberkopf jedoch fehlt. In seinem Auge befindet sich ein Loch. Seine Füsse verschwinden hinter denen des Orest. Orest zieht sein Schwert mit der Rechten-eine Scheide ist nicht zu erkennen-gegen die barfüssige Klytaemnestra. Sie hat ihre rechte ärmellose Hand bittflehend vor seinem Kopf ausgestreckt. Ihre kurzärmelige Linke liegt vor ihrer Brust. Ihr rechter Arm entspringt unglücklich aus der Schulter. Ihr Gewand am Oberkörper fällt ohne Halt. Es findet unter ihrem rechten Arm nicht genau die Fortsetzung von oben, Orest fasst mit der Linken ihr Haar. Eine Haarsträhne fällt zu ihrer linken Hand, zwei weitere in ihren Rücken.

Das vierte Feld ist (Abb. 1c), wie das erste, von einer laufenden Gorgo gefüllt. Ihr bärtiger Kopf ist frontal wiedergegeben. Ihr Maul zeigt rechts und links je zwei Zähne und in der Mitte eine heraushängende Zunge. Sie trägt Laschenschuhe. Aus der Mitte ihres Leibes entspringen zwei Schlangen nach entgegengesetzten Richtungen unter ihren Armen. An ihren vor der Brust angebrachten Flügeln finden sich senkrechte Striche. Am Unterkörper hat sie ein rhombenförmiges Muster auf dem Gewand. Der Gewandrand ist senkrecht gestrichelt zum Unterschied von der Gorgo in Feld eins. Sie trägt rechts und links vom Kopf je drei herabhängende Haarsträhnen. Ihre linke Hand ist ausgestreckt und fasst im Obergriff mit dem Daumen nach oben eine Schlange. Zwischen den beiden Händen sind die Schlangenleiber miteinander verknotet.

Die senkrechten Striche am Gewandrand, die sich auch bei Athena und Klytaemnestra wiederfinden, können nicht aus der Form kommen, da sie bei der Gorgo in Feld eins fehlen. Sie müssen von Hand gemacht worden sein. Ein weiterer Unterschied zwischen den beiden Gorgonen ist der Winkel, in dem die Schlange am Gürtel der rechten Körperseite entspringt: Bei Gorgo 1 waagrecht, bei Gorgo 4 steil nach unten.

1. Nr. 83.AM.343. Die Veröffentlichungserlaubnis und Fotos werden J. Frel verdankt.

Abb. 1a. Archaïscher Silberstreifen. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AM.343.

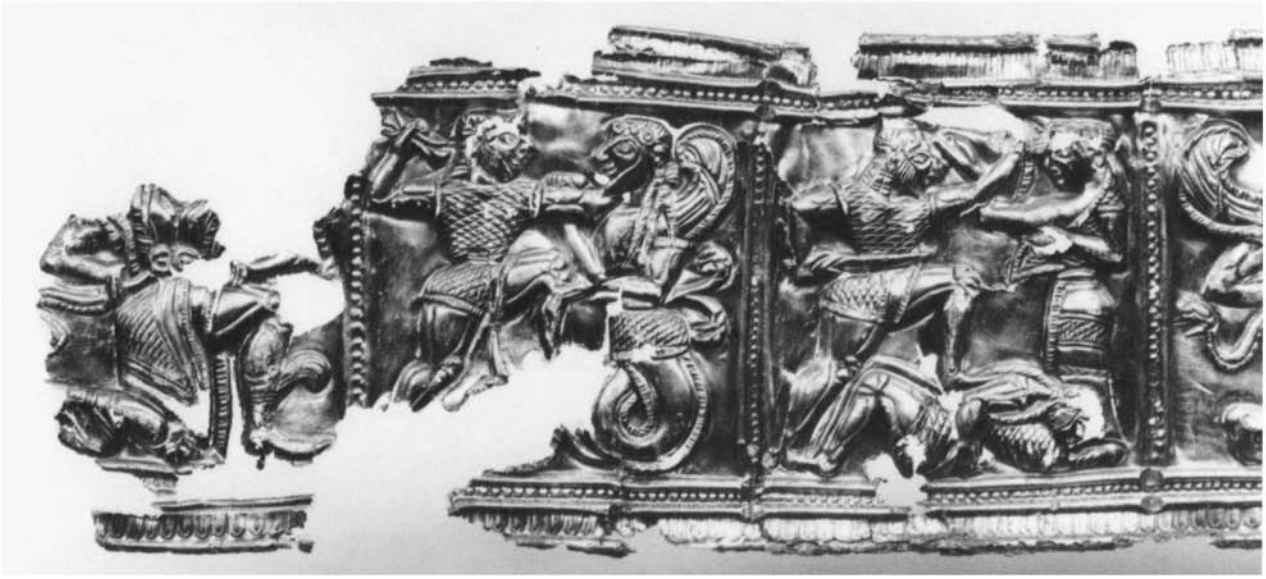


Abb. 1b. Archaïscher Silberstreifen. Linke Seite.

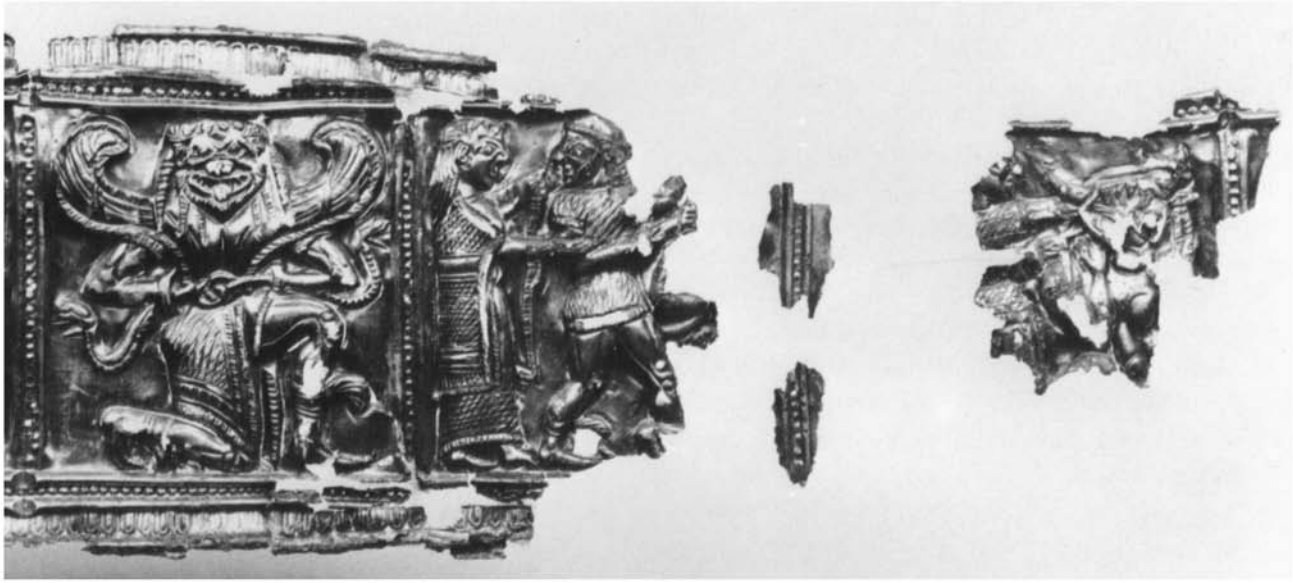


Abb. 1c. Archaïscher Silberstreifen. Rechte Seite.

Im fünften Feld (Abb. 1c) tötet Perseus mit langem Nackenhaar in Laschenschuhen und kurzärmeligen und kurzem Gewand und mit nach links abgewandten Kopf, um die Versteinerung zu vermeiden, die nicht erhaltene Medusa. Seine Rechte ist zur Faust geballt und senkrecht gehalten. Er trägt einen Pilos mit Randmuster. Für die Medusa standen 1,4 cm Breite, also nicht ganz ein Drittel der Breite, zur Verfügung. Hinter Perseus steht eine Frau, sicher die Göttin Athena, ohne Kopfbedeckung und Attribute, wie immer in der frühen Zeit. Sie hält mit der Linken das Gewand ihres Oberkörpers, das in Kniehöhe reicht. Ihre Rechte ist ausgestreckt und fasst den rechten Arm des Perseus, wobei ihr Daumen hinter dem Arm verschwindet. Fünf Haarsträhnen fallen in ihren Rücken. Auf dem unteren Rand des oberen Fragmentes vom rechten Rand, wenn es dorthin gehört, befindet sich ein Rest vom Kopfhaar der Gorgo, das demnach tiefer angebracht war, als die übrigen Köpfe, über denen es keinen Luftraum gibt. Weitere geringe Reste der Gorgo befinden sich vor dem linken Fuss des Perseus und rechts von seinem Oberschenkel.

Im sechsten Feld (Abb. 1c) greift der kurzärmelig bekleidete bärtige Theseus in kurzem Gewand ohne Kopfbedeckung mit der rechten Hand das linke Horn des, wie die Gorgonen, frontal mit drei Zickzackstirnhaaren wiedergegebenen Minotauros an. An seiner rechten Seite fällt eine Haarsträhne, die ebensowenig schraffiert ist, wie der Bart des Theseus. Beide Ohren des Minotauros verlaufen waagrecht. Minotauros fasst mit seiner rechten Hand an seinen Hals, als ob er dort verwundet wäre, oder weil des Theseus linke Hand dorthin fasst. Seine behaarte Brust ist erhalten, aber nicht mehr der Unterkörper. Es bleiben noch 1,8 cm, also ein Drittel, in der Breite Platz, ausreichend für eine dritte, verlorene Figur, vielleicht wieder Athena.

Vom siebenten Feld (Abb. 1c) ist gerade noch die linke obere Ecke erhalten, die bis auf ganz geringe Haarreste leer ist.

Ausserdem gibt es lose kleine Fragmente:

1. Unterkörper einer weiblichen, mit Rhomben gezierten und nach links gewandten Gestalt. Vor ihr befindet sich ein nackter Unterschenkel mit Knie. Das Ganze erinnert an die Gorgonen, aber das Gewand hat eine andere Form und der Rand ist rund. Das Randmuster ist anders und der Schenkel kommt mehr von oben.
2. Bartloser, also wohl weiblicher Kopf, denn alle männlichen sind bärtig, ohne Kopfbedeckung nach rechts, davor Finger von erhobener linker Hand, rechts Kopfhaare.
3. Linke Hand mit Unterarm, darunter Gewandfalten. Untere rechte Ecke? Die Fragmente können zu keinem der sechs beschriebenen Felder gehört haben.
4. Bein des Theseus.

   Diese mindestens sieben Felder fassen also eine (Feld eins, vier), zwei (Feld zwei) oder drei (Feld drei, fünf, sechs?) Gestalten. Am meisten ähnelt der Silberstreifen den Schildarmbändern, die ebenfalls in die archaische Zeit gehören und in der Grösse entsprechen. Nur das Material ist anders und die Anordnung ist horizontal, nicht vertikal. Der Rand ist prunkvoller, das Relief höher und die Muskulatur artikulierter. Wie dort ist kein zusammenhängender mythologischer Zyklus, sondern einzelne Taten in willkürlicher Folge wiedergegeben.

Der Verwendungszweck des Silberstreifens ist unbekannt. Es mag ein Gürtel gewesen sein, der einem Kultbild[2] oder einem Toten gedient hat, denn im täglichen Leben wird er kaum getragen worden sein. Wenn es ein Gürtel war, dann ist etwa die Hälfte erhalten. Der Streifen ist nach der Restaurierung gerade. Es ist keine Kurvatur zu erkennen. Aber er war vor der Restaurierung verbogen und mag ursprünglich eine gehabt haben. Er wird mit den umgeschlagenen Rändern auf Leder montiert gewesen sein, wie die Schildbänder.[3] Nählöcher sind nicht erhalten. Also war er wohl geklebt. Ebenfalls wie die Schildbänder war der Fries über Matrizen getrieben. Das ergibt sich aus der weitgehenden Übereinstimmung der Gorgonen in Feld eins und vier.

Alle sechs erkennbaren Themen der Helden- und Göttersage kehren auf den Schildbändern wieder. Man vermisst auf dem Silberstreifen ein Heraklesthema, wie den Kampf mit dem Löwen, Geryones, Nereus, den Kerkopen oder ein Aiasthema, wie dessen Selbstmord, die Tötung der Kassandra, das Tragen des Achilleus oder die Geburt der Athena. Solche Themen können auf dem verlorenen Teil dargestellt gewesen sein. Die Typologie weicht von der Schildbänder ab. Im Einzelnen ergeben sich Unterschiede zu den Schildbändern. Bei den folgenden Beschreibungen der Schildbanddarstellungen wird vor allem das hervorgehoben, was sie von den entsprechenden des Silberstreifens unterscheidet: Laufende Gorgo: kommt auf nicht weniger als achtzehn Varianten vor.[4] Bei II b fehlen die Schlangen, dafür füllen die Zähne gleichmässig, wie immer auf den Schildbändern, das Maul. Die herausragenden Zähnepaare fehlen also. Das Gewand ist kurz und reicht nur bis zum Gesässende. Die Flügel sitzen, wie immer auf den Schildbändern, auf dem Rücken an. VII e: Ausser den zwei nach oben gerichteten Flügeln gibt es noch zwei nach unten gerichtete. Hinzu kommen die Flügelschuhe. VIII a: Auch hier gibt es zwei nach unten gerichtete Flügel. Die Schlangen fehlen. XXIII β: Schlangen am Kopf.

2. Annahme von J. Frel. Etruskischer Silbergürtel mit Metopen: *AntK* 17 (1974) 25, Taf. 4.

3. Kunze, *Schildbänder* 2.

4. Kunze, *Schildbänder* 66 Anm. 2

XXIX bis: Die Schlangen fehlen, dafür gibtes vier Flügel und Schuhe. XXX: Anderes Gewandmuster, vier Flügel, Flügelschuhe. XXVIII γ: Bewegung nach links, keine Schlangen, vier Flügel. Die Hände sind nach aussen ausgestreckt. XVI c, XIX a, XX b, XXXI d, XLIV β, XXVIII x, XLVIII α, LII β nicht zu erkennen.

Zeus-Typhon: Das Thema ist in neun Fassungen bekannt.[5] I d: Zeus ist unbekleidet, ebenso VII c, XV c, XXVI y. I d: Typhon hat auch unteren Flügel. Er hat zwei Schlangenleiber. VII c: Typhon ist in die Tiefe gesunken, er hat unteren Flügel und zwei Schlangenleiber. XV c: Typhon hat unteren Flügel und zwei Schlangenleiber. XXXI γ: Typhon hat unteren Flügel. L β: Die Bewegung geht von rechts nach links. X b, XVI d, XLVII α: nicht zu erkennen.

Orest-Aegisth. I d: Aegisth sitzt noch auf seinem Thron. Orest kämpft von rechts mit der Lanze.

Perseus-Medusa. XXIX δ: Athena steht ganz rechts und greift ein. Perseus tötet mit dem Schwert, während er auf dem Silberrelief nach Ausweis der Haltung der rechten Hand wohl die Harpe führte. Perseus ist unbärtig und barfuss.

Theseus-Minotauros. Acht Varianten sind bekannt, auf allen ist Minotauros im Profil und bekleidet wiedergegeben. Bei VII d und dem Relief von Aegina (Furtwängler, *Aegina* Taf. 13,3) geht die Bewegung von rechts nach links. XXXV γ: nicht zu erkennen. Sonst: III d, IV e, V e, VI d.

Zu der Frage der landschaftlichen Bestimmung des zweifellos griechischen Silberstreifens verhelfen keine Inschriften,[6] wie bei den Schildbändern. Die Typologie weicht aber von diesen so ab, dass man sie nicht, wie diese, für argivisch halten wird. Ein frontal wiedergegebener Minotauros begegnet kaum auf den Hunderten mir zugänglichen attisch-schwarzfigurigen Bildern und kommt nur sehr selten auf späteren attisch-rotfigurigen Bildern vor. Man wird also den Silberstreifen auch nicht für attisch halten, zumal der Kampf des Orest gegen Aegisth völlig von der Typologie der attischen Vasenbilder abweicht.[7] Allerdings kommt der Gorgotyp mit Doppelzähnepaar, Bart und Flügeln auf der Brust dort ganz ähnlich vor.[8] Frontale Minotauroi begegnen in der etruskischen Kunst,[9] aber Etrurien hat mit dem Silberstreifen nichts zu tun.

Da die Minotaurossage in der kretischen Kunst nicht dargestellt wurde und auf der Kreta zugeschriebenen Mitra die auf Ermordung der Klytämnestra gedeutete Szene[10] von der des Silberstreifens völlig abweicht, kommt auch diese Landschaft als Heimat für den Silberstreifen nicht infrage. Da der Perseusmythos in Jonien fehlt,[11] kommt auch diese Landschaft nicht infrage. Die Doppelzähne auf beiden Seiten kommen zwar auch bei der Gorgo im Korinthischen öfter vor,[12] doch die Flügel wachsen in allen Fällen auf dem Rücken. Das Doppelzähnepaar kommt, wie die Bücher von E. D. van Buren, Th. G. Karagiorga und J. Floren[13] zeigen, ausser in Korinth und Athen auch in Sizilien und Unteritalien vor. Die Flügel vorn sind in Sparta bekannt.[14]

Aus typologischen, wenn auch jeweils verschiedenen Gründen, möchten wir also die Herkunft des Silberstreifens aus Jonien, Attika, Kreta, Argos und Korinth ausschliessen und an eine Herkunft aus dem griechischen Westen denken. Da sowohl die Perseussage, wie die von Orest in Unteritalien belegt sind und zwar in Metopen von Selinus und Foce del Sele, kommt Unteritalien und Sizilien durchaus als Heimat infrage. Dies würde auch die Nähe zur etruskischen Typologie des Minotauros erklären. Auf etruskischen Urnen ist auch die Tötung des Aegisth besonders häufig.[15]

Als einziger weiterer vergoldeter Silberstreifen, der in waagrechte Metopen mit mythologischen Themen eingeteilt wäre, ist mir nur der in New York[16] bekannt. Er ist allerdings etwas kleiner und älter. Er wurde von G. Richter als Kästchenbeschlag gedeutet, was bei den grösseren Ausmassen des Stückes in Malibu unwahrscheinlich ist. Das New Yorker Fragment wurde in Italien erworben und steht somit der vermuteten Herkunft des Stückes in Malibu nicht entgegen. Als Entstehungszeit möchte ich für den kostbaren hervorragenden Silberstreifen im J. Paul Getty Museum, der in seiner selbständigen Typologie ein kleiner Meisterwerk ist, das Jahrzehnt 540–30 v. Chr. vorschlagen.

Mainz

5. Kunze, *Schildbänder* 82.

6. Inschriften auf Schildbändern: Kunze, *Schildbänder* 212. Dazu kommt ein Schildbandstück im J. Paul Getty Museum, auf dem zum erstenmal eine Meisterinschrift und zwar, wie vermutet, eine argivische, erhalten ist.

7. VL³ 240,32.41.43.54; 241,78. Ausnahmsweise s.: VL³ 229, 21; 235ᵉ 13.

8. Nessosvase: Matz, *Geschichte* Taf. 231b und Bronzeblech von der Akropolis: Karagiorga, *Gorgeie Kephale* Taf. 4a.

9. Bronzeblech Florenz 93812, Opus nobile 54; Terrakottarelief *AA* 1937, 137 Abb. 9; Polledraravase London H 228.

10. Ol.Ber.8, 198ff. Taf. 102.

11. Besig, Gorgo und Gorgoneion 91; Gorgo mit Flügeln vorn: Teller aus Kamiros, Karagiorga, *Gorgeie Kephale* Taf. 6.

12. Payne, *NC* figg. 23 C,D,E; 24 A,B,C; 25 B,D,E; 27 C; 45 C; Taf. 18, 1; 43,2.

13. Figurative terracotta revetments. Karagiorga, *Gorgeie Kephale*. Studien zur Typologie des Gorgoneion.

14. Marangou, *Lakonische Elfenbein- und Beinarbeiten* Abb. 32, 33, 37, 56, 65, 75a.

15. DL III 322f.

16. *BMMA* 1929, 201f. G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook* 32 Taf. 20b. Bronzereliefs mit waagrecht angeordneten Metopenfeldern sind mehrfach bekannt, z.B.

1. Berlin aus Korinth. Von Furtwängler, *AA* 1894, 117 auf Diademe bezogen.

2. Eutresis. Von H. Goldman, *Eutresis* 243 Abb. 303 a auf Tiara bezogen.

3. Eleutherai. *JHS* 1892 Taf. 9. Payne, *NC* 226 fig. 104 G.

Ein kleines Bronzerhyton

Hille Kunckel

Im J. Paul Getty Museum befindet sich seit einigen Jahren ein wenig geschätztes Bronzerhyton (Abb. 1a–c), das die Verbindung eines Tierprotomengefässes mit einem Füllhorn darstellt (Inv. 71.AB.434. Herkunft: unbekannt. H. 4,5 cm; L. diagonal 7,4 cm Vollguss. Dunkelgrüne Patina. L. Bein ab Fussgelenk gebrochen). Die Protome besteht aus einem Ziegenbock, der die Vorderbeine wie zum Sprung nach vorn ausgestreckt hat. Die kräftigen, quer geriefelten Hörner sind zusammengewachsen bevor sie nach hinten ausschwingen. Unter der Schnauze und vor den hängenden spitzen Ohren sind Einkerbungen in der welligen Mähne angegeben, die bis zum Rücken laufen. Von den Früchten, die in den Gefässkörper gefüllt sind, lassen sich Trauben, Apfel, und Pinienzapfen unterscheiden.

Gleichartige Rhyta mit der Protome eines Ziegenbockes, die die Funktion dieses Gefässes als Spendegefäss ebensowenig ausfüllen können, weil sie wie ein Füllhorn von Früchten überquellen, befinden sich in Rabat[1] und Paris.[2]

Da diese Gefässe sicher nicht allein bestanden, stellt sich die Frage, in welchen Kontext sie gehören, wozu sie gedient haben, mit welcher Gottheit sie zu verbinden sind. Es bieten sich die Laren an, die in römischer Zeit häufig als Bronzestatuetten gestaltet werden und vielfach ein Rhyton in der erhobenen Hand halten und aus ihm in eine Patera Wein spenden. Larenstatuetten mit einem Rhyton, das in dem Vorderkörper eines Ziegenbockes mit quer geriefelten Hörnern ausläuft, sind einige[3] erhalten, doch keines dieser Gefässe ist mit Früchten gefüllt. Ein Lar in Trier[4] ist mit einem Rhyton mit Stierprotome in der Verbindung mit einem Füllhorn als Attribut ausgestattet.

Die Statuetten sind alle in das 1. Jh. n. Chr. zu datieren, zum Teil (Pompeji) noch in die erste Hälfte des Jahrhunderts. In dieser Zeitspanne ist auch das in Rede stehende Tierprotomengefäss des Getty Museums, das in der hellenistischen Tradition dieser Gefässe steht,[5] entstanden zu denken.

Es ist nun noch die Statuette eines Lar zu suchen, dem dieses Rhyton als Attribut gedient haben könnte. Zu denken ist beispielsweise an eine Bronzestatuette in Florenz,[6] die nach Grösse, Typus, und Qualität mit dem Tierprotomengefäss verbunden werden könnte.

Köln

1. Mus. de Rabat, Magazin, Inv. V215 aus Volubilis. C. Boube-Piccot, *Les Bronzes antiques du Maroc* I (1969) 208 Nr. 224 *o.Abb.*

2. Bibl. Nat., Paris, Nr. 1848. E. Babelon–J. A. Blanchet, *Bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (1895) Nr. 1848.

3. Chieti, Mus. Naz., Inv. 4286, V. S. M. Scrinari, *Schede del Museo Nazionale (Cianfarani) degli Abruzzi* 5 (1974); Paris, Louvre, Inv. Br. 688, A. De Ridder, *Bronzes antiques du Louvre* I (1913) Nr. 688; Paris, Bibl. Nat., Nr. 743; E. Babelon–J. A. Blanchet, *Bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (1895) Nr. 743; Pompeji, Antiquarium, Inv. 12840, unpubliziert; Sisteron, Slg. Pierre Colomb, H. Rolland, *Bronzes de Haute Provence* (1965) Nr. 128.

4. Trier, Rhein. Landesmus., Inv. 32, 160, H. Menzel, *Die römischen Bronzen aus Deutschland* II *Trier* (1966) 25, Nr. 53, Taf. 24.

5. K. Tuchelt, *Tiergefässe in Kopf- und Protomengestalt* (1962); ders. in *EAA* VI (1965) 675ff., vgl. auch *Gold der Thraker,* Ausst. Kat. Köln (1979) Nr. 363 etc. TC Rhyta dieser Art gibt es nicht: H. Hoffmann, *Tarentine Rhyta* (1966) 27, Nr. 128ff. Taf 14–15 = Rhyta mit Ziegenkopf.

6. Florenz, Mus. Arch., Inv. 2581, H. 20 cm, S. Reinach, *RSt* II 498,1.

Abb. 1a. Bronzerhyton. Linke Seite. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AB.434.

Abb. 1b. Bronzerhyton. Rechte Seite.

Abb. 1c. Bronzerhyton. Vorderseite.

An Egotistical Lamp Maker from El Djem

Anna Manzoni Macdonnell

An interesting aspect of the Roman lamp-making industry is revealed in the presence of the maker's name on the bases of many terracotta lamps. Potters sometimes scratched and more often stamped either a single or tripartite name on their wares prior to firing. This practice, which became common during the first century and continued throughout the first three quarters of the second, provides a viable means of sorting the lamps into workshops.[1]

In North Africa the words *ex officina* were occasionally scratched into lamps preceding the maker's name; this information usually appears on the bottom. Inscriptions on the tops of lamps are not common, and when they do occur (usually not earlier than the fifth century), they have nothing to do with the lamp makers but instead carry devotional messages, most often in Greek.

The terracotta lamp from El Djem, now in the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, is unusual both for the form and the unique placement of its inscription (fig. 1a).[2] Carved in the mold in the obverse (fig. 1b), the inscription reads: QVINTVS IVS[TVS] PICTOR ET CEMENS (Quintus Justus designer and lamp maker).[3]

The lamp itself is slightly ovoid with an unpierced double-grooved handle, flat double-ring base, and somewhat rounded nozzle. It is made of friable buff clay covered with a worn brown slip. There are traces of burning at the nozzle, and the rim is decorated with a relief herringbone pattern. In addition to the inscription, which surrounds its outer limits, the discus sports two gamboling hares; these are drawn in an animated fashion but with no great attention to anatomical accuracy, leading one to wonder at the boast inherent in Quintus' message. Considered as a whole, the lamp is far from sophisticated in design and far from excellent in execution.

The date of this lamp, circa the end of the third century, has been determined on the basis of its general clumsiness of workmanship, crumbly clay, border design, and stubby unpierced handle.[4] These features are characteristic of the quality of lamps made throughout the empire at this time.

The name of the maker, Quintus Justus, is significant because the Justus family was very well-known for its lamp making during the first and second centuries.[5] Two branches of the family are distinguishable based on the signatures of two of their respective members: the first of these signed his works IVSTI (Justus) (fig. 2); the second used the tripartite name form MNOVIVST (M. Novius Justus) (fig. 3). Although they are contemporary, it is unlikely that both signatures came from the same atelier. The similarity in names and products, however, points to two members of the same family engaged in similar, but separate, lamp-making operations. Neither workshop has to date been excavated, but both were probably located close to El Djem. The fact that a person of the same name, the Quintus Justus who made the Getty lamp, should also be engaged in the same industry in the same location suggests that the longevity of certain lamp-making establishments may have been greater than is usually recognized.

After about the third quarter of the second century, signatures on lamps are rarely found. No reason has yet been

1. The study of these workshops is still in its formative stages. Among the authors who have done pioneering studies in the field are: Jean Deneauve, *Lampes de Carthage* (Paris, 1969); Roman Haken, "Roman Lamps in the Prague National Museum," *Sbořnik Narodniho Musea v Praze* 12 (1958); Elda Joly, *Lucernes del Museo di Sabratha* (Rome, 1974); Judith Perlzweig, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 3 of *Lamps of the Roman Period* (Princeton, 1961).

2. The dimensions of the lamp are as follows: length: 11.9 cm, width: 8.6 cm, height (including handle): 5 cm. The lamp was excavated at El Djem and prior to coming to the museum was in a private collection in Santa Barbara.

3. *Cemens* is here taken to be an abbreviation of the masculine noun *caementarius, -ii,* meaning a stonecutter, a mason, a builder of walls or, in this case, a maker of lamps and their molds. There is an interesting parallel to this inscription in the words *έροιτην* and *έαραπσην* that appear on Attic pottery.

4. For a more detailed description of such late lamps see Deneauve, 220.

5. Until recently the workshop of MNOVIVSTI in particular was thought to be an Italian one that subsequently opened a branch in North Africa. The workshop produced lamps of excellent quality in close imitation of Italian originals. See Deneauve, 86. Donald Bailey also initially thought this workshop to be of Italian origin due to the large number of lamps with this signature found in Italy. He has, however, changed his mind. See *BMQ* 36 (1971–1972), 104; also D. M. Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum*, vol. 2 of *Roman Lamps Made in Italy* (London, 1980), 90. The numbers may be deceiving because many of the lamps made and excavated in North Africa are unpublished. Dispersal via the illegal market, which often results in sales through Italy, may also make it appear that more lamps originated in Italy than was actually the case.

Figure 1a. Lamp from El Djem. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AQ.377.4.

Figure 1b. Discus of figure 1a. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.

Figure 2. Lamp by the North African lamp maker Justus, base of figure 4 (left). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AQ.377.164.

Figure 3. Lamp by M. Novius Justus, base of figure 4 (center). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AQ.377.116.

Figure 4. *Left,* lamp by Justus (top of fig. 2). *Center,* lamp by M. Novius Justus (top of fig. 3). *Right,* lamp by M. Novius Justus; Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AQ.391.7.

determined for this, but to be sure, a decline in the quality of workmanship paralleled the demise of signatures. Signed lamps of the first and second centuries, although obviously mass-produced, were often of excellent quality and hence worthy of their makers' signatures (fig. 4). The lamp maker who stamped IVSTI so deeply and resolutely into his fine products seems to have been expressing great pride in his achievement.

Indeed, successful lamp makers had many reasons to be proud. Not only were their high quality products as good as any made in Rome itself, their own social and political status was often far from humble. It is known that at least one family of North African lamp makers, the Puellanaes, had two members in the senate during the reign of the Severans.[6] Since their products appear to have been more widely dispersed throughout the empire than those of the Puellanaes, it is likely that the Justus family also achieved an elevated financial and social status, although probably never attaining senatorial rank. It is small wonder then that their descendant Quintus should be so proud of advertising the family name.

One can only speculate upon Quintus' decision to revive the practice of signing lamps, but it is possible that the form of inscription he chose was influenced by the legends on contemporary coinage. A new imperial mint was established at Carthage at just about the same time that this lamp was manufactured. Although late, it was an active mint, undoubtedly employing many residents from the area. It would appear that the inscription on this lamp, encircling the discus as it does, was inspired by products of this mint. Certainly a relationship between artistic representations on lamps and coins does exist. The present example may establish a closer relationship between the two.

Los Angeles

6. Deneauve, 85–86.

Sacrifices à Thorikos

Georges Daux

La stèle de marbre—massive, et dépourvue de tout ornement (figs. 1a-c)—qui énumère, mois par mois, des sacrifices offerts par le dème attique de Thorikos à ses dieux, héros et héroïnes, est devenue en 1979 la propriété du musée J. Paul Getty à Malibu, sur la côte du Pacifique. Pendant deux décennies ou davantage elle avait été dissimulée par les inventeurs dans un poulailler. Aucun helléniste, aucun archéologue n'avait été admis à en copier le texte; celui-ci n'a commencé à être connu qu'à partir de 1975, à travers une puis deux copies maladroites mises en circulation à l'intention d'acheteurs éventuels;[1] malgré sa belle apparence l'inscription ne se lit pas aisément au bord des cassures, on le verra, et l'état de saleté dans lequel elle a été maintenue pendant des années avant de s'intégrer dans le commerce des antiquités, puis de prendre une place d'honneur dans un musée, est à l'origine de déchiffrements absurdes qui ont cruellement gêné et égaré les éditeurs successifs (ainsi que leurs conseillers).

Le support de ce texte est une dalle rectangulaire qui est devenue stèle (voir la ligne 63 du texte grec), après achèvement de la gravure, du fait de sa mise en place.[2] Elle mesure 1 m 32 de hauteur et 55 cm de largeur; l'épaisseur varie de 18 à 19,5 cm,[3] car le dos n'était pas destiné à être visible, et il a été inégalement ravalé.[4] Les 65 lignes du texte principal occupent presque toute la surface antérieure. Les marges vacantes se réduisent à 2 cm en haut et 4 cm en bas; le long des bords verticaux, à un centimètre, entre les files extrêmes et chacune des tranches latérales.

Les lettres sont gravées selon des files verticales, au nombre de 30; «stoichèdon» donc, comme disent depuis un siècle les épigraphistes. Les interlignes horizontaux sont de 5 à 6 mm en moyenne; ils varient selon la forme ou la place des lettres, de même que la hauteur de celles-ci, qui se situe autour de 1 cm. La date est donnée par la graphie[5] et par la forme des lettres: nous sommes au coeur de la première moitié du IVe siècle avant notre ère.

L'ensemble de ces données semble promettre bien des facilités à l'épigraphiste. On verra que les pièges restent nombreux. Mais d'abord une courte bibliographie et quelques indications pratiques sont indispensables.

La première publication du texte est due à Eugene Vanderpool, «A South Attic Miscellany», pp. 33-41, du compte rendu du Colloque [thoricien] de 1973 intitulé *Miscellanea Graeca*, fasc. I, *Thorikos and the Laurion in Archaic and Classical Times* (Gent, 1975). La copie très partielle publiée là avait été soumise à David F. Ogden, un jeune Américain, classiciste,[6] qui a essayé de la mettre au net. On la désigne comme *copie A* ou quelquefois *copie Ogden*, de même qu'on appelle *copie B* ou *copie Dunst* celle, presque complète, qui a servi aux publications dont il va être question. Mais il est essentiel de rappeler que les deux copies sont l'oeuvre d'illettrés, qui devant des caractères très lisibles—aussi lisibles que des affiches ou enseignes modernes—nourrissaient l'illusion de pouvoir les transcrire.[7]

Günter Dunst a été le premier à utiliser la copie B, qui couvrait presque tout le texte conservé, et son édition est en ce sens une editio princeps (*ZPE* 25 [1977], pp. 243-264). Jules Labarbe, qui préparait alors le recueil des textes littéraires et épigraphiques relatifs à Thorikos, a pu, en fin de parcours, insérer dans son *Thorikos, les Testimonia* (Gent, [fin] 1977) sous le n° 50, pp. 56 à 64, un texte qui repose exclusivement, comme celui de Dunst, sur les deux copies A et B; le décalage des dates lui a permis en outre de tenir compte—soit pour les accepter, soit pour les rejeter—des remarques et commentaires de Dunst.

1. Sur ce problème comparer le sort fait aux bronzes inscrits d'Entella, *BCH* 1982, pp. 307-308 et 527-528.

2. Le lieu exact de la trouvaille reste inconnu. Souhaitons que les langues enfin se délient.

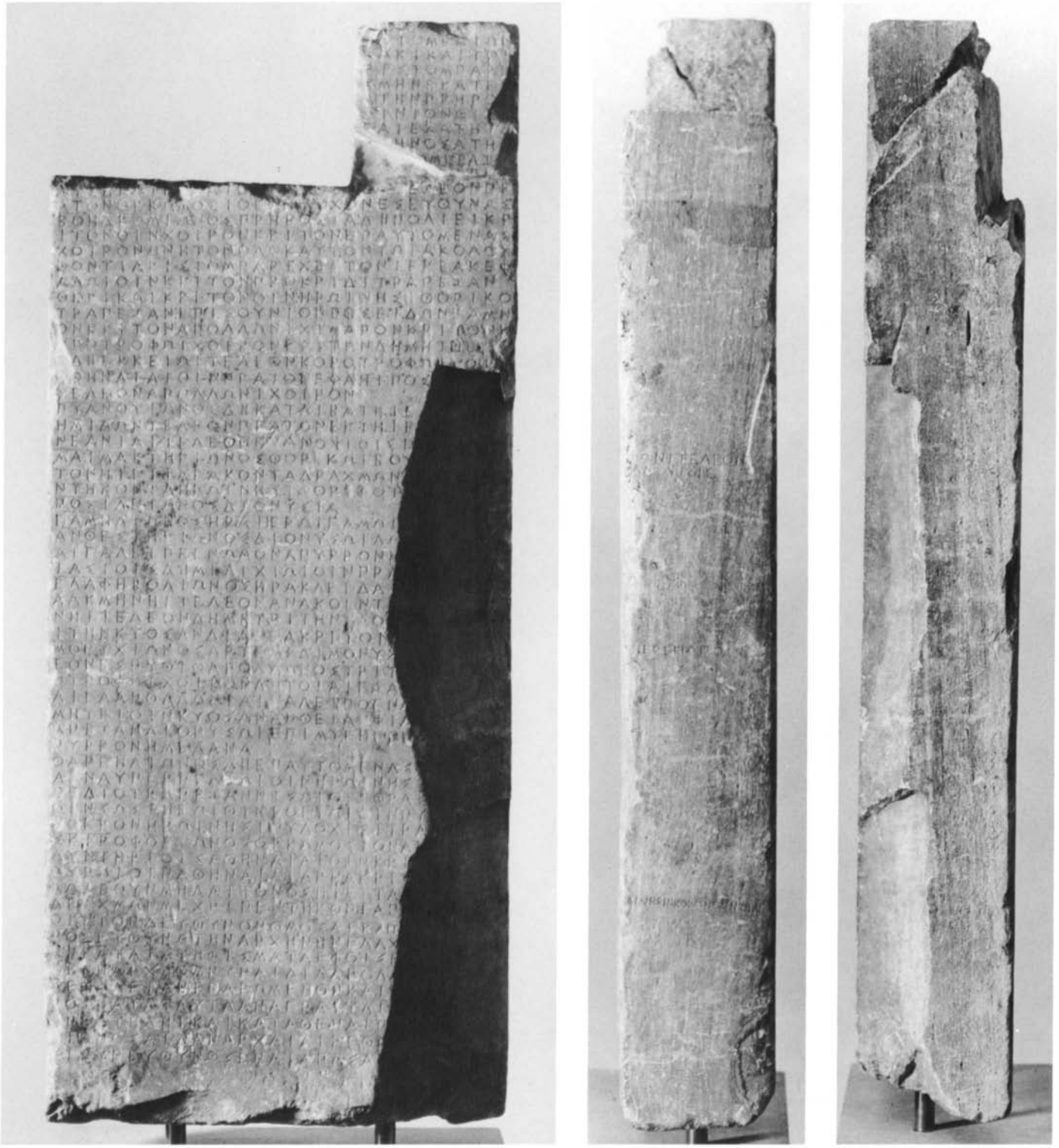
3. Les mesures m'ont été communiquées par le conservateur des antiques, J. Frel, avant même que la stèle fût exposée, à un moment où elle pouvait être aisément examinée sur toute l'étendue de ses six faces ou côtés. Je l'en remercie vivement, ainsi que de sa collaboration active pour un premier établissement du texte—d'un vrai texte—dans la période qui a précédé mon séjour à Malibu. Il m'est arrivé plus d'une fois de le consulter sur place, et encore en 1981, par correspondance, pour apaiser mes scrupules, tant je savais pouvoir faire confiance à son objectivité, à sa rigueur, et à l'acuité de son oeil d'archéologue.

4. Il serait important pour la topographie des cultes de connaître le lieu de trouvaille: la pierre est très lourde et il y a des chances qu'elle soit restée en place depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à sa découverte clandestine.

5. L'omicron vaut pour *ο* et pour la fausse diphtongue *ου*, l'epsilon pour *ε* et pour la fausse diphtongue *ει*.

6. Il a par la suite abandonné les études classiques.

7. Ni Ogden, ni Dunst n'ont la moindre responsabilité dans les copies elles-mêmes, et il vaudrait mieux s'en tenir aux indicatifs neutres (copie A, copie B), qui ne mettent pas en cause les utilisateurs.



Figures 1a–c. (a) La stèle des sacrifices à Thorikos, face principale. (b) Côté gauche de la stèle. (c) Côté droit de la stèle. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AA.113.

J'ai rendu hommage aux auteurs successifs (Vanderpool, Dunst, Labarbe) en 1980, dans une communication[8] qui modifiait quelques passages du texte grec; hommage d'autant plus sincère que j'avais sur presque tous les autres problèmes partagé leur embarras pendant des mois. Je me résignais alors à attendre que surgisse quelque part la stèle et que le texte soit enfin déchiffré.

Le texte intégral, tel qu'il était accessible en 1977 à travers les contributions de Vanderpool et de Dunst, a été reproduit *SEG 26, 1976-1977* (paru en 1979), n° 136, et quelques unes des variantes dues à J. Labarbe figurent sous le n° 111 dans le volume *SEG 28, 1978* (paru fin 1981) avec la mention: «a new edition is being prepared by G. Daux»; c'est l'édition publiée ci-dessous, et je la reprendrai ailleurs avec des commentaires appropriés.

Les lecteurs sensibles à l'aventure épigraphique se reporteront aux articles que nous venons de passer en revue (même s'ils sont largement dépassés), y compris mes *Recherches préliminaires* (voir la référence dans la note 8, ci-dessus). Toutefois ce serait un travail considérable et désormais inutile que d'établir un apparat critique qui tiendrait compte de toutes les variantes et de toutes les exégèses proposées par les trois éditeurs successifs. Je précise que j'ai préféré ne pas recourir moi-même à la copie B, qui est à l'origine d'une quantité de faux problèmes et d'erreurs encombrantes.[9]

M'étant intéressé de longue date à l'inscription publiée de 1975 à 1977, je n'ai eu aucune difficulté à l'identifier sur une photographie médiocre qui m'a été remise en 1978. La stèle était-elle déjà arrivée à New York, et quand? Je ne saurais le dire;[10] en 1980 elle a été fort bien nettoyée à Malibu, où elle est devenue lisible, peu à peu, mais je n'ai pas retrouvé pour autant la paix et la sérénité: ni les précieuses indications qui m'ont été procurées par J. Frel sous forme de ses lectures, et aussi de photographies et d'estampages, ni les examens directs que j'ai pu faire au long de mon séjour à Malibu, fin 1980, à un moment où la pierre était déjà exposée, ne m'ont permis d'établir le texte que je propose aujourd'hui. Il m'aura fallu plusieurs mois de réflexion intermittente pour aboutir à des solutions qui me satisfassent et pour considérer ma tâche d'éditeur comme quasi-terminée. Dès maintenant je renvoie globalement le lecteur à plusieurs articles complémentaires, à paraître dans des délais plus ou moins courts. Il était impossible de tout dire en une fois; c'est petit à petit que sera confirmé ou ébranlé, par d'autres ou par moi, le choix de telle ou telle restitution, et que l'intelligence du texte sera améliorée; il faudra beaucoup de réflexion encore et de place pour faire progresser l'analyse et pour mieux définir les problèmes de forme et du fond.

La transcription du texte grec a été simplifiée au maximum. Le toponyme Μυκηνος (ou -ον), qui est nouveau (ligne 45 et tranche droite), n'a pas été accentué. J'ai introduit à leur place les seuls signes de ponctuation utilisés—sans rigueur ni constance—par le graveur, à savoir deux ou trois points disposés verticalement entre deux groupes de mots. Et puis un trait horizontal, bien visible sur la photographie, marque la fin de chaque paragraphe, lequel correspond de bout en bout à un mois; il y en avait donc onze en tout, dont dix sont conservés; chacun coiffe sur une largeur de plusieurs lettres le nom du mois, qui est toujours en tête de ligne, avec une seule exception: le premier mois se présente à cheval sur la ligne 1 et la ligne 2, après un titre de 19 lettres qui est perdu;[11] d'autre part la pierre est cassée à l'endroit où commençait le paragraphe consacré au deuxième mois (ligne 10, restitution). Dix paragraphes donc, de dimension inégale (le plus long a quatorze lignes), commencent avec le nom d'un mois (lignes 13, 25, 28, 31, 32, 33, 36, 40, 47, 52), depuis le troisième jusqu'au douzième.

En fait de ponctuation moderne nous utilisons largement la virgule et, en fin de paragraphe, le point. C'est tout; il n'y a pas de «point et virgule» (ni «deux points» autres que ceux du lapicide). Les signes critiques sont ceux du *SEG* et des *IG*.

Je ne terminerai pas cette entrée en matière sans résumer en quelques mots l'évolution de mon état d'esprit au fur et à mesure que le temps passait et que je mesurais mieux les difficultés d'une tâche qui m'était apparue comme un jeu à partir du moment où l'accès à la stèle m'était assuré. L'optimisme dont j'ai fait preuve dans ma communication de 1980 (*Recherches préliminaires*), par exemple page 465, était imprudent, et j'en suis progressivement revenu. La nature du texte est telle que les restitutions ne peuvent que très exceptionnellement être suggérées par le mouvement de la phrase. Seul le dernier paragraphe, qui est aussi le plus long, échappe au

8. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 27 juin 1980. Elle est publiée sous le titre «Recherches préliminaires sur le calendrier sacrificiel de Thorikos», *CRAI* 1980, pp. 463-470 (fascicule 3, avril-juin), distribué en octobre 1980. Mon point de vue sur l'un des passages commentés là a évolué, comme on peut le voir aux lignes 25-26 de notre texte grec. Dans une vue d'ensemble intitulée «Religion in the Attic Demes», publiée *AJPh* 98 (1977), pp. 424-435, Jon D. Mikalson n'a pu utiliser que la contribution de Vanderpool, en ce qui concerne Thorikos.

9. L'apparat critique des *Testimonia* est plus commode à consulter que celui de la *ZPE*. Dans un cas difficile Dunst a omis de signaler (et de souligner) que dans le groupe Επαυτομενας la cinquième lettre figure avec constance (trois fois) sous la forme T, copie A (ligne 14) et copie B (ligne 14 et ligne 47); dès lors la «correction» en Επαυξο- se justifiait d'autant moins qu'elle ne donnait pas un sens satisfaisant.

10. Les itinéraires et les étapes des antiquités clandestinisées sont entourées de mystère.

11. La donnée «19 lettres» ne suffit pas pour le restituer. Comment oublier que la stèle d'Erchia portait en titre une expression parfaitement conservée, mais qui n'a pas été expliquée de façon convaincante: «La grande démarchie» (cf. le 3ème volume de Sokolowski, 1969, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, n° 18, pp. 36sqq.)? Cette partie de la pierre d'Erchia eût-elle été perdue, il n'y avait aucune possibilité de retrouver la bonne leçon. Mieux vaut ne pas combler la lacune.

pointillisme de l'ensemble, qui a la précision et la sécheresse d'une liste ou de listes imbriquées.[12] Dans ces conditions les lacunes des lignes 1 à 9, puis de certaines lignes de 25 à la fin deviennent irrémédiables,[13] sauf quelques cas pour lesquels un recoupement précis, à l'intérieur de ces 65 lignes, impose ou suggère une restitution limitée. D'une façon générale les fautes semblent avoir été corrigées par le lapicide, mais les corrections ne sont pas toujours claires.

FACE PRINCIPALE

[_ _ _ _ _ 19/ _ _ _ _ _ Ἐκ]ατομβαιῶν-
[ος, _ _ _ _ _ 19/ _ _ _ _ _] ΑΚΙ καὶ τοῖ-
[ς _ _ _ _ _ 18/ _ _ _ _ _ ἄ]ριστομ παρέ-
[χεν _ _ _ _ 14/ _ _ _ _ δρα] χμὴν ἑκατε[ρ]-
5 [ο _ _ _ _ 19/ _ _ _ _] ΑΙ τὴν πρηρο[σ]-
[ίαν _ _ _ _ 14/ _ _ _ _ Δελ] φίνιον αἶγ[α]
[_ _ _ _ _ 20/ _ _ _ _ _] ΕΑΙ Ἑκάτηι[.]
[_ _ _ _ _ _ 22/ _ _ _ _ _] ΗΝΟΣΑΤΗ[.]
[_ _ _ _ _ 18/ _ _ _ _ _] τέλεομ πρατό[ν].
10 [Μεταγειτνιῶνος, Διὶ Κατ]αιβάτηι ἐν τ-
ῶι σηκῶι π[αρ]ὰ τὸ [Δελφίνι]ον τέλεον πρ-
ατόν: ὁρκωμόσιον πα[ρέ]χεν ἐς εὐθύνας.
Βοηδρομιῶνος, Πρηρόσια: Διὶ Πολιεῖ κρ-
ιτὸν οἶν: χοῖρον κριτόν, ἐπαϋτομένας,
15 χοῖρον ὠνητὸν ὁλόκαυτον, τῶι ἀκολου-
θοῦντι ἄριστομ παρέχεν τὸν ἱερέα: Κεφ-
άλωι οἶν κριτὸν: Πρόκριδι τράπεζαν, v
Θορίκωι κριτὸν οἶν: Ἡρωίνησι Θορίκο
τράπεζαν: ἐπὶ Σούνιον Ποσειδῶνι ἀμν-
20 ὸν κριτὸν: Ἀπόλλωνι χίμαρον κριτόν, Κ-
οροτρόφωι χοῖρον κριτήν: Δήμητρι τέλ[εο]-
[ν], Διὶ Ἑρκείωι τέλεον, Κοροτρόφωι χοῖρ[ον],
[[Ἀθηναίαι οἶν πρατὸν]] ἐφ' ἁλῆι: Ποσ[ειδῶνι]
τέλεον, Ἀπόλλωνι χοῖρον. *vacat*
25 Πυανοψιῶνος, Διὶ Καταιβάτηι ἐ[.....]-
ημιδῶν τέλεον πρατόν, ἕκτηι ἐ[πὶ δέκα],
Νεανίαι τέλεον, Πυανοψίοις, Π[οσειδῶ]-
Μαιμακτηριῶνος, Θορίκωι βοῦ[ν μῆλατ]-
τον ἢ τετταράκοντα δραχμῶν [μέχρι πε]-
30 ντήκοντα, Ἡρωίνησι Θορίκο τ[ράπεζαν].
Ποσιδειῶνος, Διονύσια. *vacat*
Γαμηλιῶνος, Ἥραι, Ἱερῶι Γάμωι [7/ max.]
Ἀνθεστηριῶνος, Διονύσωι, δω[δεκάτηι],
αἶγα λειπεγνώμονα πυρρὸν ἢ [μέλανα, Δ]-
35 ιασίοις, Διὶ Μιλιχίωι οἶν πρα[τόν. *vac.*]
Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος, Ἡρακλεῖ δά[μαλιν, οἶν],
Ἀλκμήνηι τέλεον, Ἀνάκοιν τ[έλεον, Ἑλέ]-
νηι τέλεον, Δήμητρι, τὴν χλο[ίαν, οἶν κρ]-
ιτὴν κυῶσαν, Δὶ ἄρνα κριτόν. *vacat*
40 Μουνυχιῶνος, Ἀρτέμιδι Μουνυχ[ίαι τέλε]-
{ε}ον, ἐς Πυθίο Ἀπόλλωνος τρίτ[τοαν, Κορ]-
οτρόφωι χοῖρον, Λητοῖ αἶγα, Ἀ[ρτέμιδι]
αἶγα, Ἀπόλλωνι αἶγα λειπογνώ[μονα, Δή]-
μητρι: οἶν κυῶσαν ἄνθειαν, Φιλ[ωνίδι τρ]-
45 άπεζαν, Διονύσωι, ἐπὶ Μυκηνον, [τράγον]
πυρρὸν ἢ μέλανα. *vacat*
Θαργηλιῶνος, Διὶ ἐπαϋτομένας, [κριτὸν]
ἄρνα, Ὑπερπεδίωι οἶν, Ἡρωίνησι[ν Ὑπερ]-
πεδίο τράπεζαν, Νίσωι οἶν, Θρασ[.....]
50 οἶν, Σωσινέωι οἶν, Ῥογίωι οἶν, Πυ[λόχωι]
χοῖρον, Ἡρωίνησι Πυλοχίσι τρά[πεζαν].
Σκιροφοριῶνος, ὁρκωμόσιον ⟨π⟩αρ[έχεν, Π]-
λυντηρίοις Ἀθηναίαι οἶν κρι[τόν, Ἀγλ]-
αύρωι οἶν, Ἀθηναίαι ἄρνα κριτ[όν, Κεφά]-
55 λωι βοῦν μηλάττονος ἢ τεττα[ράκοντα]
δραχμῶν μέχρι πεντήκοντα, Π[οσειδῶνι]
οἶ^Δ^ν: τὸν δ' εὔθυνον ὀμόσαι καὶ τ[ὸς παρέδ]-
ρος εὐθυνῶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν ἔλαχ[ον εὐθύν]-
εν κατὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα ἐφ' οἷς ἐ[γκαθέστ]-
60 [η]κεν ἡ ἀρχὴ, ὀμνύναι Δία, Ἀπόλλ[ω, Δήμητρ]-
α ἐξώλειαν ἐπαρώμενον, καὶ τ[ὸς παρέδ]-
ρος κατὰ ταὐτά, ἀναγρά{ι}ψαι [δὲ τὸν ὅρκ]-
[ο]ν ἐστήλαι καὶ καταθεῖναι π[αρὰ τὸ Δελ⟨φι⟩]-
[ν]ιον, ὅσαι δ' ἂν ἀρχαὶ αἱρεθῶ-
65 σιν ὑπευθύνος ἶναι ἁπάσα[ς].

TRADUCTION DE LA FACE PRINCIPALE

(Juillet-Août). Lignes 1-9:

«En Hécatombaiôn, ––– assurer le déjeuner du [gard]ien (?) et de tous les acolytes ––– une drachme ––– chacun des deux (ou: les uns et les autres) ––– dans la journée dite Prerosia ––– au Delphinion une chèvre –––, ––– pour *Hécate* –––, à Atènè (?) [pour] –––, une victime adulte à vendre».

(Août-Sept.). Lignes 10-12:

«[En Métageitniôn] pour *Zeus Kataibatès*, dans l'enclos sacré, au Delphinion, une victime adulte à vendre. Fournir une victime pour la prestation du serment par les commissaires-contrôleurs».

(Sept.-Oct.). Lignes 13-24:

«En Boèdromiôn, fête des Prerosia; pour *Zeus Polieus*, un mouton sélectionné, un porcelet sélectionné; des femmes acclamant le dieu, un porcelet acheté, à brûler entièrement; à l'acolyte le prêtre assurera le déjeuner; pour *Képhalos* un mouton sélectionné; pour *Procris* un plateau; pour *Thórikos* un mouton sélectionné; pour les *Héroïnes de Thórikos*, un plateau; à Sounion pour *Poseidon* un agneau sélectionné, pour *Apollon* un chevreau sélectionné; pour *Kourotrophos* un porcelet femelle

12. Dieux, lieux, dates, fêtes, victimes.

13. On mesurera l'étendue des dégâts matériels soit sur la fig. 1 soit sur la transcription. Le début des lignes 1 à 9 (la moitié et plus) a disparu. Les lignes suivantes (10 à 27) se restituent avec plus ou moins de certitude, mais la confiance de l'éditeur est mise à l'épreuve par les accidents survenus lignes 23 et 27. Ensuite, et jusqu'à la fin du texte, des questions continuent de se poser (lignes 36, 49, 52, etc.) sans parler de la surprise provoquée par la disposition des deux dernières lignes.

sélectionné; pour *Dèmèter* une victime adulte, pour *Zeus Herkeios* une victime adulte, pour *Kourotrophos* un porcelet [passage raturé: pour *Athèna* un mouton à vendre]; à la Saline, pour *Poseidon* une victime adulte, pour *Apollon* un porcelet».

(Oct.-Nov.). Lignes 25-27:

«En Pyanopsiôn, pour *Zeus Kataibatès*, dans le [district dit des Philomèl]idai (voir la restitution et la correction envisagées ci-après, côté gauche de la stèle, addition I), une victime adulte à vendre, le 16 du mois; pour *Néanias* une victime adulte, fête des Pyanopsia; pour *Poseidon* une victime adulte, fête des Pyanopsia (voir le commentaire de la ligne 27)».

(Nov.-Déc.). Lignes 28-30:

«En Maimaktèriôn, pour *Thórikos*, un boeuf de 40 (minimum) à 50 (maximum) drachmes; pour les *Héroïnes de Thórikos*, un plateau».

(Déc.-Janv.). Ligne 31:

«En Posideiôn, fête des Dionysia».

(Janv.-Fév.). Ligne 32:

«En Gamèliôn, pour *Héra*, fête du Hiéros Gamos, [une victime adulte (?)]».

(Fév.-Mars). Lignes 33-35:

«En Anthestèriôn, pour *Dionysos*, le douzième jour du mois, un jeune bouc avant la première dentition, roux ou noir; à la fête des Diasia, pour *Zeus Milichios* un mouton à vendre».

(Mars-Avril). Lignes 36-39:

«En Elaphèboliôn, pour *Héraclès* une génisse, [un mouton (?)]; pour *Alcmène* une victime adulte; pour les *Anakes* une victime adulte; pour *Hélène* une victime adulte; pour *Dèmèter*, dans la journée dite Chloïa, une [brebis] pleine sélectionnée, pour *Zeus* un agneau sélectionné.

(Avril-Mai). Lignes 40-46:

«En Mounychiôn, pour *Artémis Mounychia* une victime adulte; au sanctuaire d'*Apollon Pythios* une trittoa; pour *Kourotrophos* un porcelet, pour *Lèto* une chèvre, pour *Artémis* une chèvre; pour *Apollon* une jeune chèvre avant la première dentition; pour *Dèmèter* une brebis pleine présentée comme aux Antheia; pour *Philonis* un plateau, pour *Dionysos* au lieu-dit Mykènon (ou-nos) un bouc roux ou noir».

(Mai-Juin). Lignes 47-51:

«En Thargèliôn, pour *Zeus* des femmes acclamant le dieu, un agneau sélectionné; pour *Hyperpedios* un mouton; pour les *Héroïnes de Hyperpedios* un plateau; pour *Nisos* un mouton; pour *Thras*[———] un mouton, pour *Sôsinéôs* un mouton, pour *Rogios* un mouton, pour *Pylochos* un porcelet; pour les *Héroïnes de Pylochos* un plateau».

(Juin-Juillet). Lignes 52-65:

«En Skirophoriôn, on fournira une victime pour la prestation du serment; fête des Plynteria, pour *Athèna*, un mouton sélectionné, pour *Aglauros* un mouton, pour *Athèna* un agneau sélectionné; pour [*Képha*]*los* un boeuf de 40 (minimum) à 50 (maximum) drachmes, pour *Poseidon* un mouton de vingt drachmes (maximum). Le contrôleur et ses parèdres prononceront le serment suivant: «je contrôlerai la gestion de la magistrature pour laquelle le tirage au sort m'a désigné à cette fin et je le ferai en fonction des décrets par lesquels cette magistrature a été instituée». Il jurera par *Zeus*, *Apollon*, *Dèmèter*, en lançant une imprécation exterminatoire; ses parèdres en feront autant dans les mêmes termes. On inscrira le serment sur une stèle qui sera exposée au Delphinion. Toutes les magistratures élues seront soumises au contrôle, sans aucune exception».

Le stoichèdon est un cadre précieux et rigoureux, dans la mesure où il est appliqué. En fait il existe au moins une ligne de 29 lettres: c'est la ligne 17; la dernière file n'y a pas été utilisée, et il faut compter avec la possibilité qu'il y en ait eu d'autres exemples dans des passages à restituer, par exemple ligne 36 et ligne 49. A la ligne 62, le premier iota est fautif; or il occupe à lui seul une file; la ligne n'a en conséquence que 29 lettres valables.[14] A cheval sur les lignes 40-41, le mot *teleon*, partiellement restitué (mais sûr), implique une erreur: si le second e a été gravé déjà en fin de ligne 40, il a été répété à tort en tête de la ligne 41; si rien n'a été gravé dans la dernière file de la ligne 40, nous tenons un exemple de plus d'une ligne à 29 lettres.

Rappelons d'autre part que la dernière ligne de chaque paragraphe (de chaque mois donc) se termine selon les hasards de la rédaction, c'est à dire n'importe où dans la suite des 30 files (voir lignes 24, 31, 39, 46) ou en fin de ligne: il y a deux exemples sûrs de ce dernier cas, lignes 30 et 51; un troisième résulte de ma restitution, ligne 9.[15]

Il y a aussi des lignes de plus de 30 lettres. L'iota joue un rôle prépondérant dans ce type d'irrégularité. Dès la ligne 5, nous rencontrons un iota interfilé,[16] entre les files 21 (A) et 22 (T); cette ligne avait donc au moins 31 lettres. Mais comment savoir combien de fois l'insertion d'un iota, selon l'un des deux modes définis note 16, a pu jouer dans les parties restituées du texte? Et comment savoir si des resserrements de

14. C'est une indication, parmi d'autres, qui prouve que le graveur n'avait pas sous la main une répartition du texte, ligne par ligne, au moment de passer à l'action.

15. Une restitution que je ne crois pas moins sûre, mais qu'il m'a fallu justifier longuement dans un article parallèle et que je n'ai pas la place de reproduire ici.

16. Au sens propre du mot: il est situé exactement dans l'espace de la colonne vide qui sépare les deux files. Mais l'iota pouvait aussi être associé

lettres ne sont pas intervenus, dès l'origine ou à la suite d'une correction plus ou moins étendue (comme celle de la ligne 9), dans telle des lacunes que nous nous efforçons de combler en tenant compte du stoichèdon? Je suis presque sûr que la ligne 21 n'a pas moins de 33 lettres. Après le datif de déesse (files 22 à 27), où le groupe Π I n'occupe que la file 27, les cinq lettres ΤΕΛ[ΕΟ] sont rassemblées sur un espace correspondant à celui de trois files (28, 29, et 30).

Une longue familiarité avec le texte et un réflexion plusieurs fois recommencée de bout en bout m'ont convaincu que le secrétaire-rédacteur et le lapicide, et tous leurs collaborateurs éventuels, ont fait preuve de graves inattentions. D'autre part, à mesure qu'ils avancent vers le bas de la dalle-stèle, leur inquiétude sur le sort réservé aux dernières lignes n'a cessé de croître; la mise en page de ce texte important avait été mal calculée, ou du moins au plus juste, ce qui risquait d'être gênant, et l'a été en effet.

Puisque je ne puis donner, dans cet article de présentation, tous les éléments du commentaire qui justifient à mes yeux la transcription et les restitutions du texte principal, je me bornerai à mettre en valeur quelques remarques, mais il me faut d'abord publier le texte des compléments qui ont été gravés sur les deux tranches de la dalle-stèle, à des dates diverses.

CÔTÉ GAUCHE DE LA STÈLE

Les plus anciens compléments sont, semble-t-il, ceux qui figurent sur la tranche gauche, probablement mieux exposée et plus accessible pour les passants (et peut-être aussi pour le travail du graveur). Par la force des choses les compléments sont ici orientés *vers* le début des lignes. Il y en a trois.

I, à hauteur de la ligne 31 et de l'interligne 31-32 de la face principale:

-ωνι τέλεον Πυ- *ανοψίοις vacat*	pour [---]on, une victime adulte, aux Pyanopsia.

Même écriture que le texte principal. Voir ci-après, à propos de la ligne 27 de la face, dont nous avons ici le complément.[17]

II, à hauteur de la ligne 42 du texte principal:

-ί Ἑρκείωι: *οἶν*,	[pour Zeus] Herkeios un mouton.

Ce texte ne peut pas s'insérer dans la ligne 42, ni dans les deux lignes qui encadrent celle-ci. Voir ci-après le côté droit de la stèle, n° 3: c'est une nouvelle et choquante négligence! Même date que pour I.

III, à hauteur de la ligne 58:

-ωΐνησιν Κορωνέων: *οἶν*,	pour les Héroïnes de Coronée, un mouton.

Il faut conclure que le dème avait une relation spéciale avec la cité de Coronée, en Béotie. Mais on se demande à quoi rattacher ce texte et où se trouvent les deux premières lettres du premier mot. En tout cas ce sont les seules Héroïnes du document à recevoir autre chose et mieux qu'un plateau. L'erreur sur la place est considérable; faut-il remonter d'une dizaine de lignes?

CÔTÉ DROIT DE LA STÈLE

Ce côté est resté invisible jusqu'au nettoyage final de la pierre; il est donc inédit. Date: probablement assez postérieure au reste de la stèle (? et de combien?). Les lignes commencent ici au bord de l'arête verticale droite de la face antérieure et se dirigent vers la face postérieure.

I, en face des lignes 4, 5, et 6, dont je reproduis en tête les dernières lettre.

4 ---*ἑκατερ*	1 ΙΜΥΚΗΝΟ[Ν	Mykenos (ou-non), toponyme nouveau, se retrouve dans le texte principal, ligne 45, précédé de *ἐπὶ*.
5 ---*πρηροσ*	2 [.]ΑΝΟΙΝ---(?)	
6 ---*φίνιον αἶγα*	3 [.]ΙΣΟ?	

Les trois lignes complémentaires sont à revoir et à étudier sous des éclairages variés. On pourrait gagner des lettres. Les lectures successives et très différentes entre elles que j'ai pu faire ne me satisfont pas et elles n'ont pas place ici. Un raccord isolé pourrait se faire entre la ligne 5 (*πρηροσ-* du texte principal) et le groupe [*ι*?]*αν* du complément. Mais l'écheveau des possibilités est si embrouillé qu'il est vain de nourrir un espoir devant les mutilations de cet ensemble.

II, suite à la ligne 12, une addition parfaite:

Φοίνικι τέλ[*εον*].	Pour Phoinix une victime adulte.

à une autre lettre dans l'espace normal réservé aux files verticales; la chose était facile, non seulement avec un autre iota (ainsi *Διὶ* est le plus souvent réparti en deux files, l'une réservée à Δ et l'autre regroupant les deux I), mais avec la plupart des lettres; seules les lettres très larges dans cette écriture excluaient la combinaison: ainsi le M, le Φ, l'Ω, etc.

17. La place de ce complément, contemporain du texte principal, est donc erronée, à cinq lignes près: quelle négligence!

18. On a évité de procéder à la moindre rasura à cet endroit et de défigurer la belle ordonnance du document.

19. Pour Ἁλή (la Saline), cf. Ferguson, *Hesperia* 1938, textes 1 et 2.

20. Dans un cas tel les données sont suffisantes pour exclure le doute: toutes les lettres du nom du dieu doivent se caser en fin de ligne 23, avant la ligne 24. Mais le plus souvent comment savoir ce qu'il en est? Voir ci-dessus, à propos de la longueur des lignes.

21. Le groupe *τέλεον πρατόν* (substantif, suivi d'un adjectif) abonde dans le texte, mais *τέλεον* seul n'y est pas moins fréquent. Si la précision *πρατόν* est exprimée, elle se situe aussitôt après *τέλεον*.

22. C'est exactement le type d'erreur que l'on doit attendre de lui, d'après l'ensemble de ses bavures. Son regard ne colle pas au texte. Il n'a aucune notion des problèmes et des pièges que lui réserve son travail; il est désarmé. Il a vérifié, ligne 27, que le paragraphe se terminait bien avec le mot Pyanopsiois, dans le modèle comme sur la pierre, mais il a, au cours de cette vérification, oublié de vérifier l'ensemble des deux formules.

Mais ce sacrifice se rapporte-t-il aux responsabilités des magistrats? Et l'auteur de l'addition a-t-il fait preuve de plus d'exactitude dans l'exécution que son collègue de la tranche gauche? La réponse, on va le voir, sera positive pour la troisième et dernière addition de ce côté droit.

III, suite à la ligne 44.

[*Διὶ* 'E]*ρκείωι*: *οἶν* Pour Zeus Herkeios un mouton.

Ce complément serait à sa place avant l'offrande à Philonis. Mon hypothèse, celle du moment où je m'exprime (et de quelques autres depuis deux ans) est que, le n° II du côté gauche étant mal placé et comportant une inexactitude quant à la qualification de la victime, on l'a présenté ici une seconde fois, de façon plus claire et plus exacte, sans pour autant veiller à faire disparaître la première version.

Nous pouvons maintenant passer en revue les points les plus chauds de l'étourderie de l'équipe.

Ligne 23, les 17 premières lettres sont condamnées, avec une fermeté discrète,[18] d'un trait exécuté par le même graveur auquel sont dues les barres qui séparent les paragraphes mensuels, dans le texte principal. Le sens de ce repentir qui fait disparaître un sacrifice à Athèna m'échappe et je suis bien incapable d'imaginer un scénario vraisemblable des opérations successives, de l'insertion à la suppression. Aussitôt après, le graveur a, dans un premier temps, oublié le lambda de la Saline,[19] mais il l'a rétabli avec soin et clarté, en plaçant un Λ plus petit dans l'interfile, au sommet de la ligne. Ainsi dans les files restées valables (19 à 30), il y a non pas 12 lettres, mais 16: à cause de ce lambda d'une part, et d'autre part à cause du groupe EI qu'il faut restituer dans la file 26 (ou d'un groupe NI dans la file 30).[20]

La ligne 27, dans son état actuel de mutilation, m'a d'abord égaré. J'ai pensé devoir restituer p[raton] après le nom de la fête, en supposant que, trompé par l'initiale commune à la fête et à l'adjectif, le lapicide avait d'abord sauté l'adjectif et gravé *τέλεον* Π*υανοψίοις*, et qu'il avait ensuite essayé de rattraper sa bévue en introduisant *π*[*ρατόν*] aussitôt après.[21] C'était une conception imaginaire, qui donnait un texte cahoté. La première addition de la tranche gauche a contribué à m'ouvrir les yeux, et la négligence générale de l'équipe autorise une hypothèse beaucoup plus satisfaisante. Ce qui a troublé le graveur, c'est la répétition du groupe *τέλεον* Π*υανοψίοις* dans la rédaction qu'il avait à reproduire, et il est passé sans s'en apercevoir du premier groupe au second,[22] qui était identique. Il a en toute bonne foi arrêté sa ligne après le premier Pyanopsiois, c'est-à-dire que le texte gravé se terminait avec la file 23, laissant vides les files 24 à 30, comme il est normal en fin de paragraphe. Cette première version ne comportait donc pas le pi de la file 24 qui m'a tant gêné; la ligne se bournait aux trois mots:

N*εανίαι τέλεον*, Π*υανοψίοις*.

C'est la conscience tranquille que le graveur poursuivit sa tâche en passant à la ligne 28, pour un nouveau paragraphe, marqué par une ligne horizontale entre le début des deux lignes 27 et 28, et ligne 28 par le nom du mois suivant. Nous ignorons jusqu'où il reproduisit la suite du texte et peut-être avait-il déjà gravé plusieurs lignes quand un membre de l'équipe lui signala son erreur ou quand, par chance, il s'en aperçut lui-même. Il était de toute façon trop tard pour que la face antérieure de la stèle pût accueillir la fin du paragraphe consacré au mois Pyanopsion (lignes 25-29). Une nouvelle négligence de l'équipe (mauvaise localisation en hauteur du complément apporté à la ligne 27: il s'en faut de 4 lignes et même un peu plus) a empêché que le rapprochement s'impose plus vite à moi; aux trois mots cités quelques lignes plus haut est venu s'ajouter un ensemble qui commençait par le nom du dieu dont les sept premières lettres, [Π*οσειδω*], tenaient dans les files 24-30, ligne 27 du texte principal; la suite gravée sur la tranche gauche complète le nom du dieu et introduit successivement la victime et le nom de la fête:

ligne 27: Π[*οσειδῶ*]- tranche gauche: -*ῶνι τέλεον* Π*υανοψίοις*.[23]

Bien involontairement l'équipe faisait ainsi l'économie d'une ligne sur la face principale. Néanmoins le problème de la mise en place de la seconde moitié du texte va hanter les responsables, qui ont eu recours à deux palliatifs exceptionnels.[24]

Le premier a consisté à introduire dans le mot oïn, début ligne 57, deux petits deltas superposés (entre l'iota et le ny), pour indiquer le prix de la victime (le prix maximum évidemment, mais aussi le prix au dessous duquel on ne devait

23. Est-il besoin d'ajouter qu'au début, quand j'essayais de compléter le nom du dieu à partir du texte (déjà connu par la copie B) de la tranche gauche, j'hésitais nécessairement entre ['Α*πόλλ*]*ωνι* et [Π*οσειδ*]*ῶνι*. Je ne voyais pas alors où situer dans le texte principal cette addition. La solution m'est apparue grâce à deux facteurs associés. D'une part le pi devenait l'initiale du dieu, et il appartenait à la deuxième version. D'autre part le graveur a pris soin d'ajouter, en tête de la partie introduite sur la tranche, un omega de rappel, en écho à la dernière lettre de la ligne 27 (second état) et d'y renvoyer ainsi le lecteur. Nous sommes, pour une fois, en mesure de retracer les péripéties d'une étourderie lourde de conséquences, à partir de la confusion entre deux Pyanopsiois. Toutefois notre graveur s'est montré égal à lui-même, dans la dernière étape; la surface de la tranche gauche était alors vierge de gravure; or il n'a pas pris la peine de situer avec rigueur son addition, alors que cela lui était si facile; plusieurs centimètres de décalage, c'est trop.

24. Signalons brièvement au passage un accident de parcours qui témoigne à la fois de l'étourderie du graveur et de son ingéniosité lorsqu'il s'agit de maintenir la belle apparence de la face principale. L'èta du verbe qui est à cheval sur deux lignes 59-60 avait été d'abord omis, il a été retabli, au prix de retouches minutieuses, à sa place au début de la ligne 60, comme je l'explique ailleurs, en détail.

pas descendre trop). S'agissant de boeufs, lignes 28–29 et 55–56, on avait formulé de longues précisions (plus d'une ligne chaque fois). Le mouton est une bête plus modeste et l'on s'est contenté d'exprimer un bon prix en interfilant les 2 deltas (= 20 drachmes). En fait tout se passe comme si l'on avait éliminé une formulation, qui eût été plus conforme à l'esprit du calendrier.[25] Le graveur (ou l'équipe) a profité de l'existence d'un iota à la deuxième place pour caser les deux deltas sans troubler le moins du monde la régularité des files ni décaler aucune lettre.

La seconde décision est plus remarquable encore. Arrivée à la fin de la ligne 63, l'équipe a décidé de répartir sur deux lignes de 22 lettres (files 1 à 22) les 44 lettres qu'il fallait encore caser. La liaison est parfaite de 64 à 65 et il n'y a aucun moyen—du moins je n'en ai pas trouvé—de porter à trente lettres la ligne 64. Pourquoi l'équipe a-t-elle choisi ce parti? Essentiellement, à mon sens, parce qu'une dernière ligne 65 à 14 lettres seulement aurait été comme perdue au bas du texte, tout près de la limite inférieure de la stèle; le groupement des deux lignes finales sur une longueur différente les mettait en valeur, tout en maintenant l'alignement de départ à gauche, ce qui était essentiel pour l'unité du texte. Un accident de parcours, un de plus, a pu être réparé sans difficulté grâce à cette disposition. La chute d'une syllabe ΦΙ,[26] à la fin de la ligne 63, était plus que gênante, elle était mal réparable, car la lettre Φ est, dans l'écriture de la stèle, fort large et encombrante. L'espace libéré au-dessous du toponyme final de 63 permettait de graver aisément les deux lettres et de les mettre en valeur, sous les lettres ΕΛ (donc à la suite). C'est le seul cas—sur la face du texte principal, avec ses marges étroites—où une correction de cet ordre pouvait et a pu se faire, en toute clarté, sans recours à une rasura.

D'énigme en énigme nous sommes arrivés au terme de cet article. Le texte appellerait un commentaire continu et varié[27] (grammatical, religieux, juridique) auquel je travaille. Mais ce dont les hellénistes avaient besoin pour participer à toutes les formes de l'exégèse, c'était d'un texte qui ne fût pas aberrant. Relevons, pour finir et pour mémoire, deux formes nouvelles: le nom de héros Ῥόγιος (ligne 50), le toponyme Μυκηνος (ou -νον) deux fois (ligne 45 et côté droit). Quant à la translittération et à l'interprétation du groupe ΕΠΑΥΤΟΜΕΝΑΣ (deux fois, lignes 14 et 47) je les maintiens l'une et l'autre:[28] il s'agit de femmes qui font partie de la procession et qui participent à la cérémonie du sacrifice; elles acclament le dieu.

Les restitutions, cela va de soi, appellent rapprochements et justifications. La nécessité d'un apparat critique est évidente, car les photographies suggèrent souvent de fausses lectures, et beaucoup de cas particuliers doivent être commentés; tout n'est pas également sûr dans l'interprétation des lettres mutilées. Il convient alors de décrire avec rigueur et détail l'état de la pierre[29] et d'insister au besoin sur la relativité de certaines affirmations, formulées dans l'élan d'une recherche orientée. De plus la densité de la liste rend indispensable un index alphabétique exhaustif qui reprenne tous le mots grecs et peut-être un index pour les catégories (dieux, victimes, etc...); le chercheur découvrira mieux ce qui l'intéresse et fera—nous l'espérons—des observations nouvelles. Apparat et index seront publiés dans une revue spécialisée.

Paris

POSTSCRIPT

This text has also been discussed by Professor Daux in an article in *AntCl* 52 (1983) 150–174.—ed.

25. Je croirais volontiers que l'équipe a été effrayée par la longueur des indications accumulées lignes 55–56; la décision a dû être prise au dernier moment, celui où l'on abordait le mouton de Poseidon, lignes 56–57.

26. Décidément le graveur est imprévisible, et les fins de ligne—il faut le noter—ont été pour lui l'occasion de fautes variées.

27. Deux menus exemples de laxisme (ou d'erreur?): l'équipe a utilisé à quelques lignes de distance deux formes du même mot λειπε- (ligne 35) et λειπογνώμων (ligne 43); et dans une formulation de prix, elle hésite entre μηλάττονος et [μῆλατ]τον (ligne 55 et lignes 28–29).

28. L'autre exemple, que j'ai par chance découvert et qui confirme l'existence de la voix moyenne du verbe ἐπαϋτεῖν, sera présenté dans un autre article et dans une communication à l'Association pour l'encouragement aux études grecques (avant la fin de l'année 1983).

29. Prenons un exemple. Que faut-il écrire dans la transcription fin ligne 4? La restitution est sûre et l'on est en droit d'écrire [ρ]. Or, de cette lettre, on voit ou on devine, à la cassure, des traces d'une haste verticale, et, au sommet, une amorce que j'interprète comme le départ de la boucle. Mais cette construction repose sur le mot grec, dont fait partie la lettre mutilée. Suivant qu'on est plus sensible aux *restes* (qui ne sont pas, en eux-mêmes, décisifs, mais qui entrent au mieux dans l'hypothèse) ou à la *mutilation*, on écrira ρ ou [ρ]; et je trouve dans mes dossiers les deux transcriptions, selon les jours. La liste de ces hésitations légitimes serait longue, et ce n'est pas ici le lieu de la dresser.

A New *Tabula Iliaca*: The Vasek Polak Chronicle

Stanley M. Burstein

Among the least understood of all ancient artistic monuments are the so-called *Tabulae Iliacae*, monuments which their most recent editor, Anna Sadurska,[1] has defined as "Greco-Roman bas-reliefs in miniature provided with Greek inscriptions and which illustrate literary works...." In 1981 the J. Paul Getty Museum received as a donation from Mr. Vasek Polak of Hermosa Beach, California, a fragment of one such *Tabula Iliaca* (figs. 1a–b).

The Getty *Tabula Iliaca* is an opisthographic plaque of limestone (the so-called palombino), measuring 7.5 cm in height by 5.0 cm in width by 2.0 cm in thickness. Except for the lower edge and what appear to be the remains of a tenon, presumably for mounting the monument in a slotted stand, no original edge is preserved. The recto contains a sculptured scene 6.3 cm in height executed in a soft summary style. Three figures resting on an undulating groundline, originally part of a rustic scene, are preserved—a kneeling male figure holding an object in his left hand and looking into what may have been a grotto appears in the left foreground; one horse and part of a second with the yoke and part of the wheel of a cart are located in the center; and the head of a standing male figure, probably a servant holding the horses, can be seen in the background.[2] Below the groundline is a smooth beveled area, 1.2 cm in height, that bears an incomplete four-line inscription—hereafter referred to as inscription I—containing phrases from a prose literary text, possibly a letter, that somehow concerned the Persian king Xerxes (486–464). On the reverse is a second inscription consisting of the remains of three columns—hereafter referred to as IIA, IIB, and IIC[3]—which were carved by the same cutter who worked on the recto and contain excerpts from a brief chronicle of European and Asian history.

The Getty *Tabula Iliaca* is the work of Sadurska's Cutter d,[4] and as is true of the three other pieces ascribed to him—Sadurska 9D, 10K, and 18L (figs. 2a–b)—the quality of its workmanship is poor.[5] This is particularly true of inscriptions I and II. The lettering is small, uneven in height—.75 mm in IIB, 1 mm in I and IIA, and 2 mm in IIC—and displeasing in appearance and arrangement. In inscription IIB, where his work can best be examined, these flaws are particularly apparent. Lengths of lines vary widely from twelve to twenty-five letters, and the spacing of letters is irregular with crowding common. Mistakes in spelling and errors in the transcription of the text being inscribed are also common.[6]

The provenance and date of the Getty *Tabula Iliaca* are both unknown, but circumstantial evidence points to an origin in or near Rome and a date early in the reign of the emperor Tiberius (A.D. 14–37). This conclusion is based on the following three considerations: (1) two of the three other extant

I should like to acknowledge the help I have received from many people in preparing this article. First and foremost is my debt to Dr. Jiří Frel, Curator of Antiquities, the J. Paul Getty Museum, for asking me to publish this text and for his advice and assistance in its analysis. Thanks are also due to Professors A. T. Raubitschek of Stanford University and T. S. Brown, formerly of UCLA, for reading and commenting on earlier drafts of this paper and to Ms. M. True and Mssrs. R. Kotansky and David Jordan for their suggestions. Finally, I would also like to thank the Capitoline Museum in Rome for permission to publish the excellent photographs of Sadurska 18L provided to me by the museum's photographer. Unless otherwise noted, all dates are B.C.

Abbreviations

Clinton: Henry Tynes Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1841).

FGrH: *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, ed. F. Jacoby, 3 vols. in 15 parts (Leiden, 1922–1958).

Jacoby, *Apollodor*: Felix Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik*, Philologische Untersuchungen, 16 (Berlin, 1902).

Mosshammer: Alden A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg, 1979).

Sadurska: Anna Sadurska, *Les Tables Iliaque* (Warsaw, 1964).

1. Sadurska, 7. For comprehensive surveys of theories proposed to explain the nineteen *Tabulae Iliacae* known in 1964, see Sadurska, 17–19 and N. M. Horsfall, "Stesichorus at Bovillae?," *JHS* 99 (1979), 26–48, who argues that they were essentially "vehicles for elementary adult education" of the nouveaux riches in Julio-Claudian Rome. Dr. Horsfall has published an additional *Tabula Iliaca* in *JHS* 103 (1983), 144–147.

2. Cf. H. L. Lorimer, "The Country Cart of Ancient Greece," *JHS* 23 (1903), 132–151. For the details of this reconstruction, I am indebted to the suggestions of J. Frel and A. T. Raubitschek to whom I also owe the reference to Lorimer's excellent article.

3. The relationship of the scattered letters that constitute inscription IIC to inscriptions IIA and IIB is puzzling. Similarities in letter form, particularly in the case of sigma, indicate that it is part of the original composition. Possibly, as was suggested to me by A. T. Raubitschek, IIC is all that remains of an explanatory colophon.

4. In addition to the close similarity in format and lettering that exists between Sadurska 18L and the Getty *Tabula Iliaca* (cf. figs. 1a–b with 2a–b), there are similar orthographic peculiarities, see note 6 below.

5. Cf. Sadurska, 14.

6. See Adolph Michaelis, *Griechische Bilderchroniken*, ed. Otto Jahn (Bonn, 1873), 78, for similar phenomena in Sadurska 18L. Particularly noteworthy is the spelling τῆιs for τῆς in inscription I, line 4 and in *FGrH* 252 A12 (cf. *CIG* 4, p. 19, n. *ad loc.*).

Figure 1a. Tabula Iliaca, recto. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AA.113.

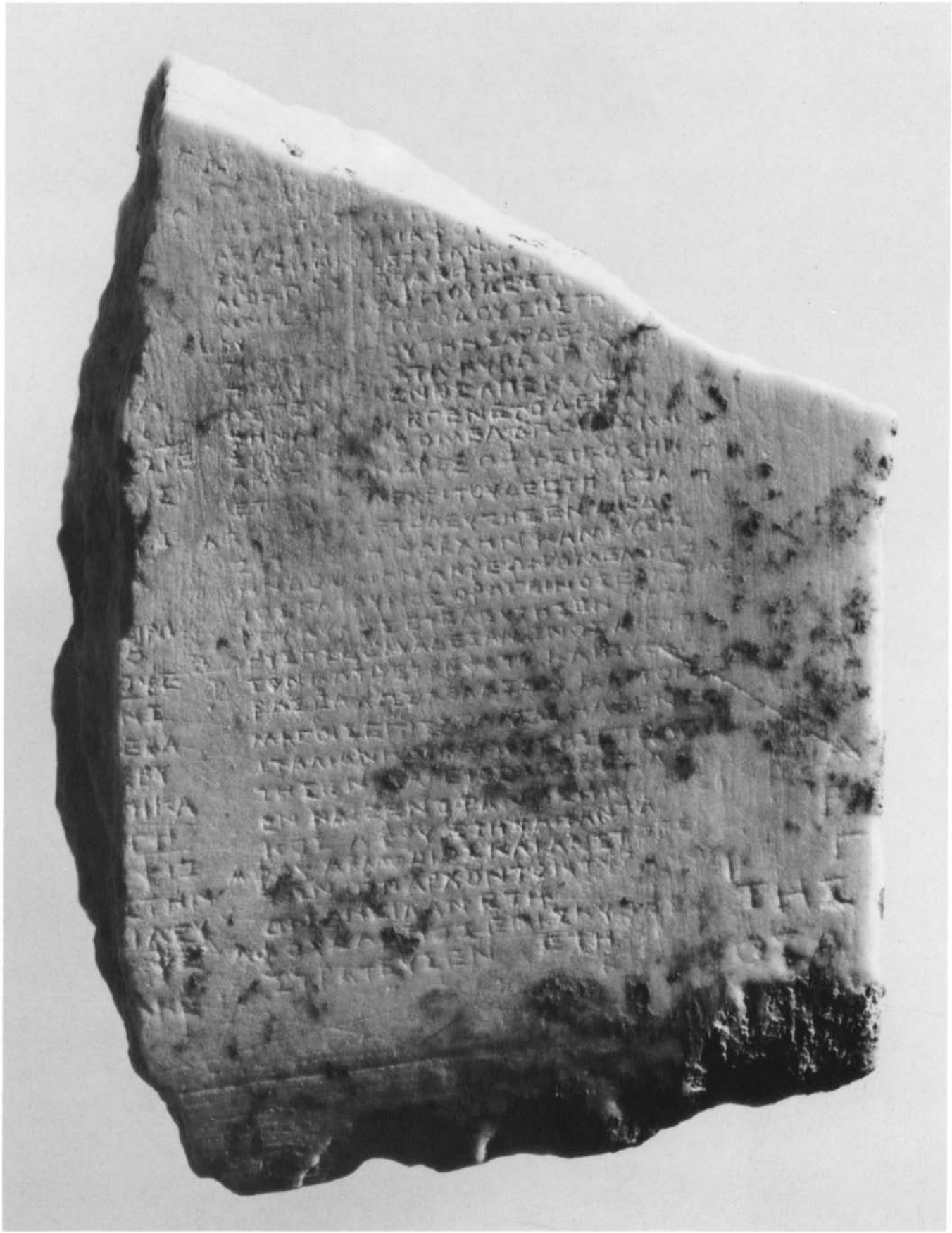


Figure 1b. Verso of figure 1a.

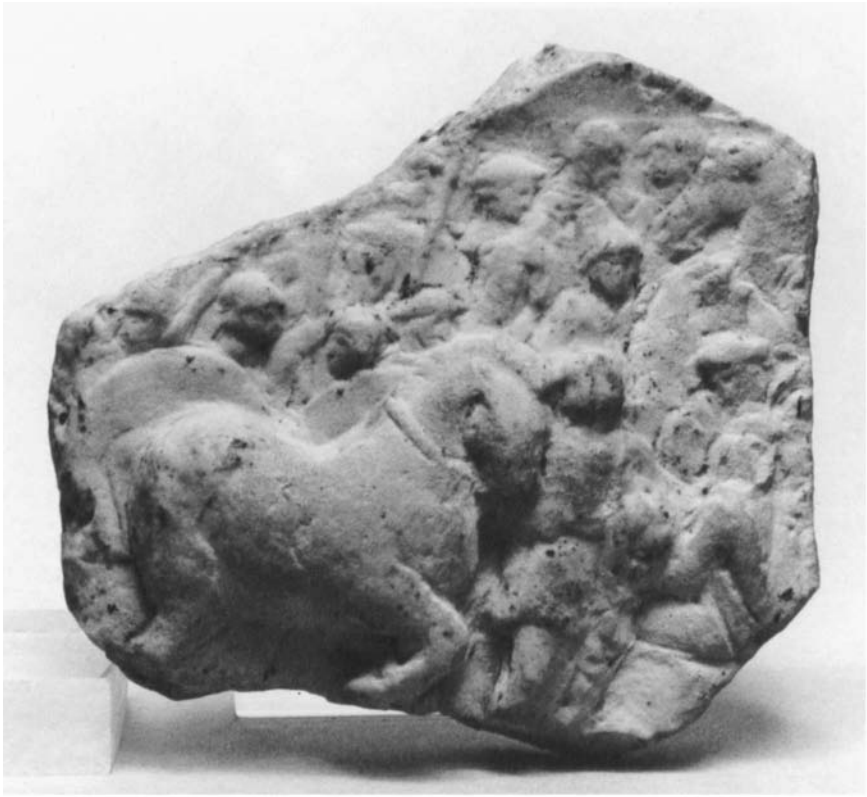


Figure 2a. Sadurska 18L, recto. Rome, the Museo Capitolino. Photo: Permission of the Museo Capitolino.

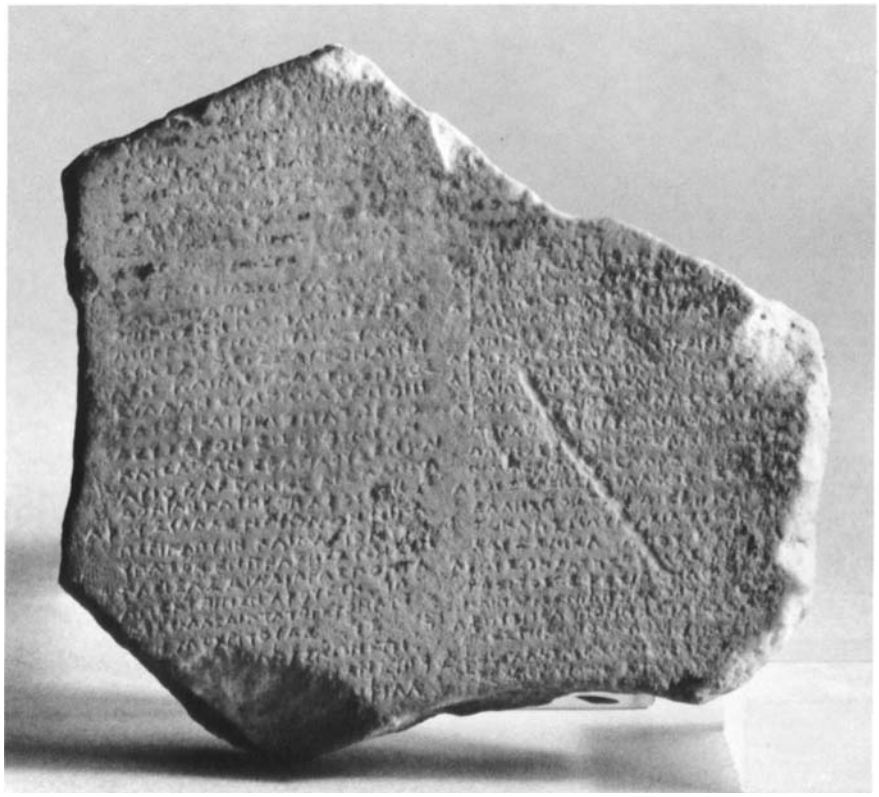


Figure 2b. Verso of figure 2a. Photo: Permission of the Museo Capitolino.

examples of the work of Cutter d are from Rome itself or the Roman Campagna;[7] (2) the style of the sculpture on the recto suggests a date early in the Julio-Claudian period;[8] and (3) the chronicle excerpted on the reverse is the same as that found on Sadurska 18L, the so-called *Chronicon Romanum*, which was composed in A.D. 15/16. Taken together, these facts indicate that the Getty *Tabula Iliaca* was made in the same workshop and about the same time as Sadurska 18L, which is dated circa A.D. 16–20.[9]

Unfortunately, a complete reconstruction of the original composition, of which the Getty *Tabula Iliaca* is a fragment, is not possible. Particularly unfortunate is our inability to identify the subject of the sculpture on the recto. There are, however, several indications as to the general theme of the monument, and they suggest that it was historical in character, namely, some aspect of the reign of the Persian king Xerxes. Confirmation of this suggestion is provided both by the mention of Xerxes in inscription I and by the format and content of IIA and IIB. Particularly significant are the presence of a 1.3 cm high uninscribed space across the bottom of the reverse and a 1.5 cm wide uninscribed area to the right of inscription II. Combined with internal evidence provided by inscription II itself, these blank spaces indicate that the Getty fragment formed part of the lower portion of an originally square or rectangular monument and that column IIB formed the end of the chronicle portion of the inscription on the reverse of the original monument. The conclusion of the chronicle, therefore, dealt with the invasion of Europe by Darius I, circa 512, the first Persian intrusion into Europe and the ideal introduction to a composition dealing with the reign of Darius' son and successor Xerxes, the author of the great invasion of Europe in 480/79. Ultimately, however, given the speculative nature of this or any reconstruction of the original composition, the principal interest of the Getty *Tabula Iliaca* must be its inscriptions. Particularly intriguing is inscription IIB, which contains a fuller, though parallel, text of the sixth-century B.C. section of the *Chronicon Romanum* than that provided by Sadurska 18L. Inscription IIB also provides important new evidence concerning the organization and sources of the *Chronicon Romanum* itself.[10]

GREEK TEXT OF THE VASEK POLAK CHRONICLE

I

1 [—?—κ]αὶ γὰρ Ξέρξης ὁ τὸ φῶς μοὶ δοὺς ὑπὲρ Φ[—?—]
2 [_?_] ΔΗ οὐ κατανόησας καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος [—?—]
3 [_?_τοὺ]ς θησαυροὺς δείξειν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ΜΙΝΤΑ[—?—]
4 [_?_τα]ύτης δὲ τῆις ἐπιστολῆς ἐλθοῦσης Τ[_?_]

IIA

5 [———ca. 23———]ο
10
[———ca. 23———] Α
15 [———ca. 23———] Ρ
[———μέχρι τοῦδε, ἔτη] ϡκε.
['Αφ' οὗ———ca. 18———]ΟΥΣ
20
[———ca. 21———] ΙΡΩ
25 [———ca. 23———] Ο
[———ca. 21———] ΟΥΕ
[———μέχρι τοῦδε, ἔτ]η ψξ
['Αφ' οὗ———ca. 18———] ἐβα-
[σίλευσεν———ca. 13———].ΡΥ
30 [———ca. 20———]ΗΚΑ
[———ca. 22———] ΓΗ
[———μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτη] ψιϝ
['Αφ' οὗ———ca. 17———]ΕΤΗΝ
[———ca. 16 ———ἐβασ]ίλευ-
35 [σεν———μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτη] ψε
['Αφ' οὗ———ca. 18———]ΑΚΕ

IIB

Ν
'Αφ' οὗ [———ca. 21———]
ΩΝΚ [———ca. 21———]
ΓΙΝΟΜ [———ca. 19———]
5 'Αφ' οὗ Φάλαρ[ι]ς [ἐτυράννευσεν],
μέχ[ρι] τοῦδε, ἔτη. ['Αφ' οὗ οἱ σοφοὶ κ]-
α[ὶ] Γίλων ΝΩΠΙ. 'Αφ' οὗ [Πεισίστρατος]

7. Sadurska 9D comes from Rome (cf. Sadurska, 55). According to W. Henzen, "Eine neuendeckte griechische Zeittafel," *Rheinisches Museum* n.s. 9 (1854), 163, Sadurska 18L was found somewhere in the Roman Campagna.

8. As I have been informed by J. Frel.

9. Sadurska, 83.

10. Previous editions: Henzen, 161–178; *CIG* 4.6855d; Michaelis, 77–81; *IG* 12.1297; *FGrH* 252; Sadurska, 78–83; J. Balcer, "The Date of Herodotus IV.1 Darius' Scythian Expedition," *HSCP* 76 (1972), 99–111. Unless otherwise noted, all references to the text of Sadurska 18L are to the edition of F. Jacoby, *FGrH* 252.

ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐτυράννν[ευσεν, καὶ]
Αἴσ{ι}ωπος ὑπὸ Δε⟨λ⟩φῶν κα[τεκρη]-
μνίσθη, μέχρι τοῦδε, ἔτη.
Ἀφ' οὗ Κροῖσος, προδοὺς ΗΣΤΗΙ
. ◠ . . . Σ αὐτοῦ τὴν Σάρδεων ἀκ[ρό]-
πολιν, ΔΙΕ..ΤΑ Κύρῳ ὑποχείρι-
ος γενόμενος, ἀπέβαλεν
τὴν ἄρχην, ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ
Σιμόνιδης ὁ μηλοποιὸς, καὶ
Ἀναξίμανδρος ὁ φυσικὸς ἦν
ἐτῶν ξ̄, μέχρι τοῦδε, ἔτη φξ̄α.
Ἀφ' οὗ Κύρος ἐτελεύτησεν, διεδέ-
ξατο δὲ τὴν ἄρχην Καμβύσης,
ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἀνάκρεων ὁ μηλοπο-
ιὸς κα⟨ι⟩ Ἴβυνος ὁ Ῥηγεῖνος, ἔτη φμ̄.
Ἀφ' οὗ Κύρος ἐτελεύτησεν, Καμ-
βύσης δὲ διαδεξάμενος, Αἴγυπ-
τον κατεστρέψατο, καὶ Πυθαγό-
ρας ἑάλω, σχολάζων καὶ τοῖς
Μάγοις ἐπισχολάσας, ἦλθεν εἰς
Ἰταλίαν, καὶ Καμβύσης ἐτελεύ-
τησεν, Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐβασίλευ⟨σ⟩-
εν, καὶ Ξενοφάνης ὁ φυσι-
κὸς. Ἀφ' οὗ ἔτη ν̄ ἅπαντα.
Ἀφ' οὗ Ἁρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογεί-
των Ἱππαρχον τὸν τύραννν-
ον ἀνεῖλαν, ἔτη.
Ἀφ' οὗ Δαρεῖος ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐ-
στρατεύσεν, ἔτη
κ

IIC

A
PH
Π
I
T H Σ
6 O ΣA

TRANSLATION

I

[–?–a]nd for Xerxes, the one who gave me the light [–?–]
[–?–] not having perceived and of the thought [–?–]
[–?–the] treasures to point out, the ones in the MINYA[–?–]
[–?–] and [th]is letter having come [–?–]

IIA

16. [–––years until the present,] 825. 810/9
17. [From the time––––––––]
27. [–––years until the present,] 760. 745/4
28. [From the time––––––] began to
29. [reign over––––––––––]
32. [––––years until the present,] 716. 701/0
33. [From the time––––––––––]
34. [––––––––––––began to] reign
35. [over–––, years until the present,] 705. 690/89

IIB

5. From the time Phalaris [became tyrant], years until the present. [From the time the Wise Men a]nd Chilon, ν[...]. From the the time [Pisistratus] became tyrant in Athens, [and] Aesop was hurled down a precipice by the Delphians,
10. years until the present.
From the time Croesus, having surrendered [...] the acropolis of Sardis, (and) having been taken prisoner by Cyrus,
15. lost his realm; and there was also born Simonides, the lyric poet, and Anaximander, the natural philosopher, was 60 years old, years until the present, 561. 546/5
20. From the time Cyrus died, Cambyses succeeded to the throne, and also Anacreon, the lyric poet, flourished and Ibycus of Rhegium, years, 540. 525/4
25. From the time Cyrus died, and Cambyses, having succeeded, conquered Egypt; and Pythagoras was captured, and studied with the Magi, (and) having completed his studies, came to Italy; and Cambyses died; and Darius began to reign; and
30. Xenophanes, the natural philosopher. From which time the total number of years, 50.
From the time Harmodius and Aristogiton killed Hipparchus, the tyrant, years.
35. From the time Darius campaigned against the Scythians, years, 20.

NOTES[11]

Lines I 1–4: Restoration of these lines is impossible since no estimate can be made of the number of letters missing at either the beginnings or the ends of the lines. A tentative general determination of the character of the passage, however, is possible. Thus, the phrase [κ]αὶ γὰρ Ξέρξης ὁ τὸ φῶς μοὶ δοὺς in line one and the reference to "this letter" in line four suggest that it is an excerpt from a narrative, possibly in epistolary form, by a second party concerning some event involving the narrator and the Persian king Xerxes. Similarly, the refer-

11. The following notes are intended solely to explicate the text and content of the Getty *Tabula Iliaca*. For the entries it shares with Sadurska 18L=*FGrH* 252, readers should consult the commentaries on that text by F. Jacoby, *FGrH*, 2d, pp. 827–829 and J. Balcer (*supra*, note 10) 103–110, whose analysis I follow.

12. It is not possible to determine with certainty the chronological beginning point of IIA. Considering, however, the discrepancy that exists between the scale of treatment in IIB, which covered only a part of the seventh and sixth centuries, and that indicated for IIA, it is not impossible that IIA began as early as the Trojan War, the event with which the author of its main source, Apollodorus, began his chronicle.

13. One date, 810/9, it is true, does have a possible Eusebian parallel. Under this year (anno Abraham 1208=809) Eusebius places the floruit of Hesiod, based on the authority of Porphyry (cf. *FGrH* 260 F 20), but the derivation of this date from Apollodorus is doubtful (cf. Mosshammer, 194–195). One other date, 745/4, has a close, but not exact, paral-

ence to [τοὺ]ς θησαυροὺς combined with the locative phrase ἐν τῇ MINT[———?] in line two suggests a connection with the famous treasury of Minyas at Orchomenus in Boeotia (cf. Pausanias 9.38.2). Taken together, these facts suggest that the lines are an excerpt from a history or romance that dealt with the Persian War of 480/79.

Line I 4: The crossbar of theta in *stoichos* 23 was omitted.

Lines IIA 1–36: Proposed restorations are suggestions only, based on column IIB. The dates preserved at the ends of lines 16, 27, 32, and 35 and the apparent references to beginnings of reigns in lines 28 and 34 indicate that (1) column IIA dealt with the events of a period beginning sometime before the late ninth century and ending in the early seventh century B.C.,[12] and (2) as in column IIB, the chronological framework was provided by entries marking the beginnings and endings of kings' reigns. No identifications are suggested here for the events to which the four preserved dates originally referred since there are no exact correlations between them and those found in Eusebius' *Chronicle* or other ancient chronographic sources.[13]

Line IIB 4: In line 4, TO was inscribed above the level of the other letters in the line.

Line IIB 5: Phalaris, tyrant of Acragas (circa 570–554). Restoration of ἐτυράννευσεν is required because of the placement of the entry prior to the first tyranny of Pisistratus since the chronographic tradition assigned Phalaris a sixteen-year reign beginning in Ol. 53,4=565 (Clinton, vol. 2, 4).

Lines IIB 6–7: Restoration based on *FGrH* 252 B4. Γίλων[14] is an error for Χίλων, traditionally ephor at Sparta in Ol. 55 or 56=560–555 (cf. Diogenes Laertius 1.68). The *Chronicon Romanum*'s low date for the Seven Wise Men (chronographic date Ol. 50=580/77; cf. Clinton, vol. 1, 229, 231; Mosshammer, 267–270)—implied by the placement of the entry concerning them after that for the accession of Croesus and before that for the death of Aesop (*FGrH* 252 B3–5)—probably reflects the influence of the tradition traceable to Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F 181; Diodorus 9.28) wherein Aesop was a contemporary of the Seven Wise Men, all of whom except Thales visited Croesus. Unfortunately, the remainder of the entry for the Seven Wise Men is corrupt since 'Αφ' οὗ in line 7, *stoichoi* 12–15, begins a new entry and, hence, should have been preceded by either a numeral or ἔτη and not ΩΠΙ.

Lines IIB 7–9: Restoration of the entry concerning Pisistratus and Aesop is based on *FGrH* 252 B5. The *Chronicon Romanum*'s synchronism of the death of Aesop and Pisistratus' first tyranny (historical and chronographic date: 561/0; cf. Balcer [note 10 below], 107) probably reflects the influence of Aesopic literature on its author, since it is paralleled elsewhere only in the work of the Augustan fabulist Phaedrus, one of whose fables (1.2) tells how Aesop chided the Athenians for complaining about Pisistratus' tyranny when it was their own laxity that made it possible. In line 9 there is an intrusive iota in *stoichos* 3 and the lambda of Δελφῶν has been omitted.

Line IIB 11: I have read προδούς instead of προδούσης because consistently in both the Getty *Tabula Iliaca* and *FGrH* 252, circumstantial information is conveyed via nominative participial phrases attached to the subjects of the main clauses of entries and not by genitive absolute constructions. Sigma in *stoichos* 19 was inscribed over another letter.

Lines IIB 15–16: μηλοποιός here and in lines 21–22 is a spelling error for μελοποιός. For the meaning of the imperfect and aorist tenses in chronographic texts see Mosshammer, 162. Apollodorus dated Simonides of Ceos' birth to Ol. 56,1=556/5 (Jacoby, *Apollodor*, 201–203; *FGrH* 244 F 67; Mosshammer, 218–219). Its placement at the end instead of the beginning of Croesus' reign probably results from the author of the *Chronicon Romanum*'s rejection of the chronographic date for his accession, Ol. 54,4=561/0 (Clinton, vol. 2, 8; Mosshammer, 303; cf. *FGrH* 252 B3 which implies a date in the early or mid-560's[15]).

Lines IIB 17–18: The source for the *Chronicon Romanum* entry on Anaximander is clearly Apollodorus (*FGrH* 244 F 29=Diogenes Laertius 2.2): 'Απολλόδωρος ὁ 'Αθηναῖος ὃς καί φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὀγδόης 'Ολυμπίαδος ἐτῶν εἶναι ἑξήκοντα τεττάρων καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τελευτῆσαι ($\overline{\xi}$ [=60] is probably only an error for $\overline{\xi\delta}$ [=64]; cf. the note on lines 32–37 below for similar carelessness in the inscribing of a numeral).

lel—there is a discrepancy of one year—since Eusebius enters under Ol. 19,1=744/3 the floruit of Eumelus (cf. Mosshammer, 198, 201). This lack of correspondence between the dates in column IIA of the Getty *Tabula Iliaca* and the chronographic tradition in contrast to the close fit between the tradition and the dates in column IIB and *FGrH* 252 B is surprising.

14. J. Frel has brought to my attention that a similar spelling, ΓΕΙΛΩΝ, is attested on a mosaic now in Cologne (Gisela M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* [London, 1965], 91 with fig. 359).

15. Unfortunately, the impossibility of establishing whether the entry for the accession of Croesus (*FGrH* 252 B3) preceded or followed that for Phalaris precludes a closer determination of the *Chronicon Romanum*'s date for the beginning of the Lydian king's reign.

Line IIB 18: The establishment of the fact that the *Chronicon Romanum*'s date for the fall of Sardis was 546/5 is important for two reasons. First, *contra* Jacoby (*FGrH* 2d, p. 829), it proves that its author made no attempt to reconcile the date for the end of Croesus' reign with his upward revision of the date of the Lydian king's accession implied by *FGrH* 252 B3. Second, it provides the first explicit evidence supporting Jacoby's contention (*Apollodor*, 193; *FGrH* 244 F 66 with 2d, p. 748; cf. J. Mansfield, *Mnemosyne*, ser. 4, vol. 36 [1983], 205–206) that Apollodorus dated the fall of Sardis to 546/5, against Mosshammer's (pp. 258–262) claim that he placed it in 547/6 on the basis of Babylonian sources, a theory that had already been weakened significantly by J. Cargill's convincing demonstration (*AmJAncHist*, 2 [1977], 97–116) of the weakness of the cuneiform evidence adduced in support of that date.

Lines IIB 19–22: These lines are essentially a partial first draft of lines 23–31. Note the modification of **διαδέξατο** in lines 19–20 to **διαδεξάμενος** in line 24. The incoherence of these lines results from compressing into a single entry the death of Cyrus (historical date: 530) and the beginning of the reign of Cambyses (530–522) and the subsequent failure to distinguish clearly which items in the entry refer to the reign of the former and which to that of the latter. Thus, the date 525/4, already known from *FGrH* 252 B7, is that for Cambyses' conquest of Egypt (cf. lines IIB 24–25; Clinton, vol. 2, 14), while Anacreon (Ol. 61,1 or 2=536/5 or 535/4; cf. Clinton, vol. 2, 13; Mosshammer, 290–303) and Ibycus (Ol. 60,1=540/39; cf. Clinton, vol. 2, 11; Mosshammer, *ibid.*) belong to the reign of Cyrus.

Line IIB 22: The iota in **καί** was omitted and the name Ibycus misspelled.

Lines IIB 23–24: These lines are a slightly altered version of lines IIB 19–20.

Lines IIB 24–25: Apollodorus (Jacoby, *Apollodor* 215–222; *FGrH* 244 F 339; Mosshammer, 278) dated Pythagoras' move to Italy to 532, after his visits to Egypt and Babylon (cf. Strabo 14.1.16 C 638; Diogenes 1.3). The version found here and in *FGrH* 252 B7 is otherwise attested only in the fourth-century A.D. Neoplatonist Iamblichus (*Theologoumena Arithmeticae* 40, *De vita Pythagorica* 4). Its appearance in two such chronologically widely separated sources indicates that it represents a variant account of the life of Pythagoras that was accepted by the author of the *Chronicon Romanum* and not an invention of his.

Lines IIB 29–30: Two chronologies for the life of Xenophanes are attested in the sources: a low chronology ascribed to Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 133=Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 1.64.2), according to which Xenophanes was still alive during the reign of Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse from 477 to 466, and a high chronology credited to Apollodorus (*FGrH* 244 F 68C=Clement, *ibid.*) who, according to Clement, dated Xenophanes' birth to Ol. 40=620/17 and said that he lived until the reign of Darius I (522–486). Although Clement explicitly contrasted the two chronologies, and his report of Apollodorus' date for Xenophanes' birth is supported by Sextus Empiricus (*Adv. Math.* 1.257), Jacoby (*Apollodor*, 204–209; *FGrH* 2d, p. 749) argued that there was only one chronology, that of Timaeus, which Apollodorus accepted and that the discrepancy between the views attested in the sources was simply the result of an early corruption in the manuscripts of Apollodorus, namely, the change of the date of Xenophanes' birth from Ol. 40=580/77 to Ol. 50. The Getty *Tabula Iliaca*'s synchronism of Xenophanes with the accession of Darius I (522), however, strongly supports the version of Apollodorus' chronology found in the unemended text of Clement, *Stromateis* 1.64.2 against Jacoby's doubts.

Line IIB 31: If the period of fifty years referred to in this line was calculated from the accession of Darius I, then the reference would be to the years from 522 to 472, although the omission of both *termini* precludes any determination of the point the author of the *Chronicon Romanum* intended. Nevertheless, the entry is of great interest because it reveals that he did at least occasionally attempt to point out significant relationships between various entries in his chronicle.

Lines IIB 32–37: In *FGrH* 252 B8 the assassination of Hipparchus, the brother of the Athenian tyrant Hippias (514), and Darius I's Scythian campaign are both dated to the year 513/12. The Getty *Tabula Iliaca* proves that this puzzling entry (cf. Balcer [note 10 below], 103, for a review of the scholarly literature on this passage) is merely the result of Cutter d's arbitrary combination of two separate entries from his source, the original *Chronicon Romanum*. This discovery eliminates from the *Chronicon Romanum* one of the principal chronological errors ascribed to it on the basis of *FGrH* 252 B.[16] The

16. For two of the remaining three, namely, 578=563/2 for Pisistratus' first tyranny and 490=475/4 (*FGrH* 252 B9) for the battle of Salamis, see respectively the note to lines IIB, 7–9 and Balcer, 109, who points out that, in fact, the last digit of the *Chronicon Romanum*'s date has been lost so that when complete it may have been correct. For an attempt to explain the third, 401=386/5 for the capture of Rome by the Gauls, see Balcer, 104–105.

17. For examples of such reconstructions see Henzen, 166–167, and Sadurska, 82.

18. Comparison of the sixth-century B.C. entries of *FGrH* 252B with their parallels on the Getty *Tabula Iliaca* reveals that, except for *FGrH* 252 B8, the former consist of (1) the main declarative clauses of the

solitary kappa in line 37, which was cut directly under the eta of ἔτη in line 36, is all that Cutter d inscribed on the Getty *Tabula Iliaca* of what clearly was the *Chronicon Romanum*'s date for Darius I's Scythian expedition, ΦΚΗ=513/12.

CONCLUSION

The principles underlying the organization of the *Chronicon Romanum* have been known since the publication of the *editio princeps* of Sadurska 18L by W. Henzen in 1854. It was a synoptic chronicle of the political and cultural history of Europe and Asia in which, as in the *Marmor Parium*, events were dated retrospectively from the date of its composition in A.D. 15/16. Entries, therefore, took the form of brief paragraphs consisting of simple declarative statements which were introduced by the phrase 'Αφ' οὗ (From the time when) and followed by the resumptive phrase μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτη (years until the present) and a numeral. More detailed reconstructions and analyses were, however, hampered by the assumption that the peculiar organization and emphases of Sadurska 18L—in which column one dealt in detail with events of the first century B.C. and column two treated in summary and lacunary fashion events of the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries B.C.—faithfully reflected the structure of its source.[17] It is this key assumption and, therefore, all reconstructions based on it that the Getty *Tabula Iliaca* proves to be erroneous. In almost every case where Sadurska 18L and the Getty *Tabula Iliaca* can be compared, it is clear that the former's entry is little more than an abridged version[18] of the fuller text preserved by the latter. This fact, combined with the chronological arrangement of the Getty *Tabula Iliaca* and its consistent employment of the *Chronicon*'s dating formulae, points to the conclusion that the peculiarities of Sadurska 18L are to be ascribed to Cutter d's arbitrary treatment of his source, a characteristic of his work attested also on Sadurska 9D and 10K,[19] and not to the author of the *Chronicon Romanum*. The work of the latter, except for his idiosyncratic decision to date events retrospectively from A.D. 15/16, was a normally organized chronicle that began at some point before the ninth century B.C. and proceeded in chronological order and with gradually increasing detail down to, probably, the author's own time.

Equally important is the Getty *Tabula Iliaca*'s contribution to the resolution of the hitherto unsolved problem of the sources of the *Chronicon Romanum*. The close correspondence of inscription IIB, lines 13–19 and 29–31, with Apollodorus (*FGrH* 244), fragments 29 and 68c, allows no doubt that the ultimate source for the *Chronicon Romanum*'s information on the period before the first century B.C. was the *Chronika* of the second-century B.C. grammarian Apollodorus of Athens.[20] At the same time, it is clear from Sadurska 18L and the Getty *Tabula Iliaca* that the author of the *Chronicon Romanum* treated his source with a freedom that went far beyond such cosmetic changes as converting Apollodorus' verse into prose, abridging his text, and substituting a reckoning in terms of years prior to the date of composition for Apollodorus' Athenian archon dates. In particular, the basic principle of Apollodorus' cultural chronology was abandoned. Instead of treating political and cultural phenomena as of equal importance and, therefore, assigning exact year dates to both political events and the careers of writers and philosophers as Apollodorus had done, the author of the *Chronicon Romanum* subordinated cultural to political history. Authors contemporary with a given ruler were grouped together at the beginning or end of that ruler's reign, depending on which event was closer to the date Apollodorus had provided for the author in question. Equally important, the author of the *Chronicon Romanum* freely modified Apollodorus' chronology in the light of traditions rejected by or unknown to Apollodorus, as, for example, in the case of the former's redating of Pythagoras' migration to Italy. The Getty *Tabula Iliaca*, therefore, reveals the *Chronicon Romanum* to have been more than merely an epitome of Apollodorus' *Chronika* to which a brief continuation to the first century A.D. had been appended. Despite his close dependence on Apollodorus' book for his information, the author of the *Chronicon Romanum* still managed to compose a work, modest though it was, that had its own distinct approach and point of view.

APPENDIX 1: *FGrH* 252B

(1) ἀφ' [οὗ].....το * *

(2) ἀφ' οὗ Σ[όλων 'Αθηναίων ἦρξεν καὶ] νόμου[ς αὐτοῖς ἔθηκεν, καὶ] 'Ανάχαρσις ὁ Σκ[ύθης εἰς 'Αθήνας (?)] παρεγένετο, ἀφ' [οὗ ἔτη *].

(3) ἀφ' οὗ Κροῖσος Λυδῶν ἐβα[σίλευσεν, ἔτη *].

(4) ἀφ' οὗ οἱ σοφοὶ ὠνομάσθησαν, [ἔτη *].

(5) ἀφ' οὗ Πεισίστρατος ἐτυράννευσ[εν ἐν 'Αθή]- a. 564/3
ναις, καὶ Αἴσωπος ὑπὸ Δελφῶν [κατεκρη]μνίσθη, ἔτη $\overline{\text{φοθ}}$.

(6) ἀφ' οὗ Κροῖσος Κύρωι ὑποχείριος [ἐγένετο, ἔτη*].

(7) ἀφ' οὗ Καμβύσης Αἴγυπτον κατ[εστρέψατο] καὶ a. 525/4
Πυθαγόρας ἐάλω, ἔτη $\overline{\text{φμ}}$.

(8) ἀφ' οὗ 'Αρμόδιος καὶ 'Αριστογείτων Ἵππαρχον a. 513/2

Chronicon Romanum, minus all circumstantial participial phrases attached to the subjects of those clauses, and (2) abbreviated date formulae.

19. Cf. Sadurska 9D, lines c 11–15, and Sadurska 10K, lines b 1–5.

20. In particular it vindicates Jacoby's skepticism (*FGrH*, 2d, p. 828) concerning theories of an eastern source for the *Chronicon Romanum* (e.g., Egyptian: *CIG* 4, p. 18, and A. Schaefer in Michaelis, 78; Asia Minor: Sadurska, 81) that were based on the recurrent references to the accessions and deaths of eastern kings in both *FGrH* 252 A and B. Instead it is clear that those references indicate that kings' reigns provided the basic framework of the *Chronicon Romanum* for both those sections based on the *Chronika* of Apollodorus and those added to it in order to extend the chronicle to its author's own time.

τὸν τύραννον ἀνεῖλον, [καὶ] Δαρεῖος ἐπὶ Σκύθας διέβη,
35 *ζεύξα[ς τὸν] Κιμμέριον Βώσπορον, ἔτη* $\overline{\text{φκη}}$.
(9) *ἀφ' οὗ Ξέρξης κατὰ Ἄβυδον ζεύξας [τὸν] Ἑλλή-* a. 475/4
σποντον διέβη, καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ναυμαχίαι τοὺς βαρ- (?)
βάρους ἐνίκα, ἀφ' οὗ ἔτη $\overline{\text{υϛ}}$*.
(10) *ἀφ' οὗ Σωκράτης ὁ φιλόσοφος [καὶ Ἡρά]κλει-*
τος ὁ Ἐφέσιος καὶ Ἀναξα[γόρας] καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ
*Ζήνων, ἔτη**.
40 (11) *ἀφ' οὗ ὁ Πελοποννησιακὸς πόλ[εμος] ἐνέστη,*
*καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἦν, ἔτη**.
(12) *ἀφ' οὗ Γαλάται Ῥωμαίους νική[σαντες] ἔσχον* a. 386/5
Ῥώμην, ἔτη $\overline{\text{υα}}$.

Translation

1. From [the time when]————————————
—the———
2. From the time when S[olon was archon of the Athenians and made] law[s for them and] Anacharsis, the Sc[ythian] came [to Athens (?)], from [which time, years———].
3. From the time when Croesus began to r[eign] over the Lydians, [years———].
4. From the time when the Wise Men became famous, [years———].
5. From the time when Pisistratus became tyrant [in Athe]ns, and Aesop was hurled [down] a precipice by the Delphians, years 579 564/3
6. From the time when Croesus [became] subject to Cyrus, [years———].
7. From the time when Cambyses con[quered] Egypt, and Pythagoras was captured, years 540 525/4
8. From the time when Harmodius and Aristogeiton killed Hipparchus the tyrant, [and] Darius crossed against the Scythians, having bridged the Cimmerian Bosporus, years 528 513/2
9. From the time Xerxes, having bridged [the] Hellespont at Abydus, crossed, and Themistocles defeated the barbarians in a sea battle, from which time, years 490+ 475/4+
10. From the time Socrates, the philosopher, [and Hera]clitus, the Ephesian, and Anaxa[goras] and Parmenides and Zenon, years [———].
11. From the time when the Peloponnesian W[ar] began, and Thucydides flourished, years [———].
12. From the time when the Galatians, having defeat[ed] the Romans, seized Rome, years 401 386/5

APPENDIX 2:

The sixth century B.C. according to the *Chronicon Romanum*

Event	VP Chronicle	*FGrH* 252 B
Solon as lawgiver	———	?
Visit of Anacharsis	———	?
Accession of Croesus	———	564+
Accession of Phalaris	564+	———
Seven Wise Men and Chilon	564+	564+
Accession of Pisistratus	?	564/3
Death of Aesop	?	564/3
Capture of Croesus	546/5	?
Birth of Simonides	546/5	———
Anaximander sixty years old	546/5	———
Death of Cyrus	?	———
Floruit of Anacreon	?	———
Floruit of Ibycus	?	———
Cambyses' conquest of Egypt	525/4	525/4
Capture of Pythagoras	525/4	525/4
Accession of Darius I	?	———
Death (?) of Xenophanes	?	———
Death of Hipparchus	513/12+	513/12 (+)
Darius I Scythian expedition	513/12 (?)	513/12

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Etruscan Inscriptions at the J. Paul Getty Museum

Jaan Puhvel

In May 1983, at the request of Dr. J. Frel, I viewed the Etruscan texts on five objects at the Getty Museum. In order to facilitate their inclusion in future Etruscological compendia and collections, the following record and comments are provided.

1. BRONZE MIRROR (figs. 1a–b)
   Beazley's "Class z," third century B.C.E.
   Diameter: 12.3 cm; Length (with handle): 24.2 cm
   Accession number 77.AC.100
   Edited by L. Bonfante, *GettyMusJ* 8 (1980), 147–153.

A frontal male nude, labeled *talmiϑe*, wearing high-thonged sandals and carrying a pair of spears, appears with a left-profiled, helmeted and robed female, *me*[.]*r*[.]*a*., who stands behind him to the left. On each side of the circular picture is an inward-facing, nearly nude male shown sitting or leaning and wearing sandals and a Phrygian cap (normally a Trojan or Dioscuric accoutrement); the figure on the right is labeled *menle*, while the name of the one on the left seems to read *pru*[.]*ạ*[.]*ϑe*. All names are inscribed in right-to-left script above the figures on the somewhat abraded rim (outside of the decorative border of garlanded leaves that encircles the composition), hence the obliteration of certain letters.

Of the names, *me*[*n*]*r*[*v*]*a* is commonplace for Minerva-Athena, and *menle*=Menelaos is found on at least fourteen other mirrors. The name *talmiϑe* is more controversial, for the condition of the initial letter and the similarity of *t* and *p* (T versus 1) may permit an alternative reading, *palmiϑe* =Palamedes. Both forms are otherwise attested (*talmiϑe* on two mirrors and a scarab, *talmite* on a gem, *palmiϑe* on two mirrors).[1] In the Greek literary tradition, Palamedes is the familiar Trojan saga figure (e.g., grouped with *menle* and *ziumiϑe*=Diomedes on the Tuscania mirror *ES* 382.2); but in Etruscan, *talmiϑe* is actually somewhat better attested. Conversely, Ταλαμήδης is excessively rare in Greek[2] but makes linguistically better sense (cf., e.g., ταλα[σ]ίφρων 'patient of mind'), whereas Παλαμήδης was conventionally tied in with παλάμη 'palm of the hand' in the metonymic sense 'sleight or cunning', perhaps as a folk-etymological adjustment for a trickster character (cf. ταλασίφρων as epitheton ornans of the equally wily Odysseus, who was, however, once outwitted by Palamedes).[3]

Talmiϑe may well have been the more current, perhaps ultimately more archaic and basic, variant of the name in the version of Greek saga current in Etruria, with some interference from Παλαμήδης of the standardized Greek literary tradition (including a tragedy by Euripides). That Etruria was capable of sustaining its own variations and elaborations of Greek saga is clear, for example, in the remarkable ascendancy of the Vil(a)e-Iolaos figure at the expense of his half-uncle Hercle-Herakles; this extended to making Vilae the character who strangled the snakes in his cradle.[4]

For *pru*[.]*ạ*[.]*ϑe*, Bonfante proposed *prumaϑe*, that is, Prometheus; this name is found on three mirrors, including the famous one from Bolsena in New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where the newly freed *prumaϑe* is supported by *menr*[*va*]=Minerva, while *esplace*=Asklepios on the left tends his wounds and *hercle*=Herakles rests on the right with the shot eagle at his feet. As opposed to such masterful compositions, Prometheus and Menelaus as Phrygian-capped random frame figures in a Greek Trojan-saga scene make strange bedfellows. The initial three letters in the name are quite clear, and *m* is possible for the first abrasion. But there is room for at least another abraded letter before the *ϑ*, where in *prumaϑe* there should be none. An *n* would fill the bill yielding **pru*[*m*]*a*[*n*]*ϑe*, which might represent Πρόμαντις 'Prophet',[5] perhaps an allonym[6] "for Κάλχας, who appears as *χalχas* on a Vulci mirror in the Vatican Museum (*ES* 223) and as *χaluχasu* on a Chiusi one in the British Museum (*ES*

1. Cf. C. de Simone, *Die griechischen Entlehnungen im Etruskischen*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1968), 113, 96.

2. Found as Ταλαμῑδῑς on a red-figure krater in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; cf. J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (Oxford, 1947), 127.

3. E. Fiesel (*Namen des griechischen Mythos im Etruskischen* [Göttingen, 1928], 40–45) suggested a proto-form *Πταλαμηδης, yielding Etruscan *talmiϑe* (cf. Νεοπτόλεμος > *nevtlane*) but Greek Παλαμήδης, in terms of the πτ-: π– variation seen especially in π(τ)όλις and π(τ)όλεμος. The actual attestation of Ταλαμήδης has rendered her proposal moot.

4. Cf., for example, J. Heurgon, *ArchCl* 10 (1958), 155, and the Indiana University Art Museum mirror depicted in *StEt* 45 (1977), pl. 22.

5. For treatment of *-i-* stem, cf. *artume* from Ἄρταμις. For the aspirate representation of *t* in a cluster, cf. *urusϑe*=Orestes or *aϑrpa*=Atropos.

6. Herakles' epicletic allonym *calanic(e)*=Καλλίνικος on two Etruscan mirrors and one scarab (cf. C. de Simone [*supra*, note 1], 38; J. D. Beazley, *JHS* 69 [1949], 4).

Figure 1a. Bronze mirror. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AC.100.

56.1). At least this way we have an assemblage of Greeks on Trojan soil, rather than postulating with Bonfante that makers of less than top-of-the-line Etruscan mass-produced mirrors stooped to appalling randomness of design and attribution.

2. BRONZE MIRROR (figs. 2a–b)
   Beazley's "Class Z," third century B.C.E.
   Diameter: 12.3 cm; Length (with handle): 25.1 cm
   The Molly and Walter Bareiss collection, on loan to the Getty Museum S.82.AC.11

From the left the inscribed (right-to-left) names are *aχle*, next to a seated male; *crisiϑa*, next to a standing female; and *turan*, next to another standing female. On the right is an attendant figure with no visible name. Transposed to Greek, the scene amounts to Achilles and Chryseis in the presence of Aphrodite. The name *turan*=Venus is commonplace in Etruscan inscriptions, and *aχle* is the most usual form of Achilles; of the thirty-four attestations (not including the present one) recorded by Carlo de Simone, twenty-two read *aχle* (as opposed to *aχile, aχele, aχilei, aχale, aciles, aχln, aχlei,* and *aχli*). Much rarer is *crisiϑa*, until now a dis legomenon. (It appears on one mirror from and at Palestrina [*ES* 378]

Figure 1b. Front of figure 1a.

and on another of unknown provenance in New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art; on the latter, *crisiϑa* likewise keeps company with *aχle.)* Unlike *prisis*=Βρῑσηΐς, who also appears on *ES* 378, *crisiϑa* reflects the Greek accusative case form Χρῡσηΐδα (as in *Iliad* 1:143, 182, 310, and 369 versus the nominative Χρῡσηΐς, *ibid.* 439), evidencing a certain insouciance about case forms in the borrowing process; in the same way, the vessel name that in Greek is **νάβλας** emerges in Etruscan as *naplan* and in Latin as *nablum,* and Greek **κρηπῖς** 'half-boot' appears as Latin *crepida* (from the accusative **κρηπῖδα**).[7]

7. Cf. the accusative case *diovem* for Jupiter on the Etrusco-Latin

Figures 2a–b. Left, back of bronze mirror. *Right,* front view. The Molly and Walter Bareiss collection, on loan to the J. Paul Getty Museum S.82.AC.11.

3. LID OF AN ALABASTER URN (fig. 3)
   Late second century B.C.E.
   Height: 31.5 cm; Width: 54 cm
   Accession number 71.AA.262
   First published by J. Frel, *Greek Portraits and Varia,* vol. 2 of *Antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum: A Checklist,* no. V22.

The right-to-left inscription reads: *versuls·* [.]*ei*[...]*i ril·* XXXIII *l.* The first two words are the name of the dead person, *versuls* being a hapax legomenon. The rest can be transcribed as *ril śas cealχls l(upu)* 'dead at the age of thirty-four'.

4. BASE OF A MISSING FUNERARY HEAD SCULPTURE FROM THE VULCI AREA (fig. 4)
   Accession number 82.AA.117.1

This block of tufa has an inscribed front of 15.2 cm in height and 17.8 cm in width. There are two lines of right-to-left script. The upper line reads *vaχni,* and the lower one reads xxśxx (x=uncertain squiggle); the nearest like-sounding sequence is the dis legomenon *vaχr* (Mummy Wrap VII:7, *arϑ vaχr*; Cippus Perusinus, line 2, *ame vaχr lautn velϑinás*).[8] The shapes of chi and *n* point to later Etruscan.

Praeneste mirror *ES* 325 (Louvre), next to *venos* and *prosepnai* (see Beazley [1949], 11).

8. Cf. for example M. Pallottino, *Testimonia Linguae Etruscae,* 2nd ed. (Florence, 1968), 18, 78.

Figure 3. Lid of an alabaster urn. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AA.262.

Figure 4. Base of a missing funerary head sculpture. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AA.117.1.

Figure 5. Base of a missing funerary head sculpture. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AA.117.2.

5. BASE OF A MISSING FUNERARY HEAD SCULPTURE (fig. 5)
Accession number 82.AA.117.2

This is the same type of base encountered in No. 4, but it is finer grained and more polished. The front is 14 cm high and 25.4 cm wide and has a slightly sunken rectangular inscribed area within a raised edge. Two lines of right-to-left script appear. The upper line reads *alpui* followed by a raised dot and an *i*, followed by another dot and a wedgelike symbol. The lower line may be *ma t* xx. The nearest comparisons are (..)*ecse·v·alpuialisa* (Volterra), *aθ·alpiu* (Chiusi), *larisal·alpiuś* (Populonia). The script once again points to later Etruscan.

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A Fourth- and Third-Century B.C. Hoard of Tarentine Silver

Marit Jentoft-Nilsen

The antiquities department of the Getty Museum recently acquired a hoard of thirty-five Greek silver coins.[1] All but one of the twenty-nine staters and six drachms are from Tarentum, representing the output of more than a century. The "odd man out," a single stater from Croton, dates some forty to sixty years before the earliest of the Tarentine pieces in the group.

Half a dozen periods in Evans' so-called "horseman" series of staters are represented, III–V and VII–IX; in this hoard the intervening period VI is represented solely by drachms.[2]

Aside from some wear, which in a few instances is relatively slight, the hoard is generally in fine to extremely fine condition. The surfaces of many of the coins retain a bright silver color, although some pieces have acquired a dark patina or suffered varying degrees of corrosion and/or wear. In a few cases, coins were struck unevenly or with dies that had seen considerable use. Of all thirty-five pieces, the last four staters are in the best condition, having relatively little or no wear; this is no doubt because they were the lastest issues and therefore had been in circulation the least amount of time before deposit.

The hoard includes only two instances of die linkage,[3] and except for one variant reverse, it is representative of hitherto known types and weights.

No reverse identical to No. 33, which bears a tripod in the right field and shows Taras holding a kantharos in his right hand and a trident in his left (instead of the usual cornucopiae), appears in Vlasto or in any of the catalogues available to me. An extensive search has not, however, been made in all the literature, and a parallel may well exist.[4]

The four earliest Tarentine staters were struck on the city's earlier standard and, except for No. 2, which weighs 6.8 gm, closely approach that standard's ideal weight of about 8 gm. In 281 Pyrrhus responded to the Tarentines' request for military aid against the Romans, and a reduced Tarentine standard, whether actually initiated prior to or during the war effort, was fully adopted.[5] From the hoard only a single stater represents the rather brief period introducing the lower weight.

The bulk of the hoard consists of twenty-three staters from the lengthy period VIII and the shorter period IX. Following the defeat of Pyrrhus in 275 and the retreat of the garrison from Tarentum in 272, the city capitulated to Rome. Under the privileges of the subsequent alliance with Rome, Tarentum was able to continue minting its own coinage, maintaining the same traditional types, the horseman for the obverse and Taras on the dolphin for the reverse.[6] During period VIII symbols as well as signatures of magistrates abound on the coinage.[7] In period IX the staters seem to differ from the previous issues under Rome by reason of size, style, and execution, as well as the use of elaborate monograms in the field,[8] and it is with this period that the hoard

1. 82.NB.118, anonymous donation. Said to be from Tarentum. I wish to thank Dr. J. Frel for permission to publish this hoard and am grateful to Dr. A. Walker for his helpful comments and suggestions for revisions and improvements to the text.

2. A. J. Evans, "The Horsemen of Tarentum," *NC*, 1889, 1ff. Cataloguing references (i.e., Vlasto numbers) for the Getty hoard are according to O. E. Ravel, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Tarentine Coins Formed by M. P. Vlasto* (London, 1947; reprint Chicago, 1977), a more comprehensive catalogue of types and varieties. For the dates of periods IV through IX, however, I have followed the revised chronology presented by A. Burnett, "The Coinage of Rome and Magna Graecia in the Late Fourth and Third Centuries B.C.," *SNR* 56 (1977), 92–121.

3. See Nos. 7 and 8, 9 and 10.

4. Consulted were *BMC; SNG ANS; SNG Copenhagen; SNG Aberdeen; SNG Oxford; SNG Cambridge;* S. W. Grose, *A Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins,* Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge, 1929); and L. Forrer, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Greek Coins Formed by Sir Hermann Weber, M.D.* (London, 1922).

5. Questions of chronology and weight standards have been considered not only by Evans and Burnett but also by, among others, B. V. Head, *Historia Nummorum* (London, 1911; reprint Chicago, 1967), 62–63, 68; H. Mattingly, "The Romano-Campanian Coinage and the Pyrrhic War," *NC*, 1924, 190; P. Wuilleumer, *Tarente, des origines à la conquête romaine* (Paris, 1939; reprint 1968), 200–201, 385ff. Wuilleumer also presents a summary description of Tarentine coinage (pp. 375–391); A. Stazio, "Aspetti e momenti della monetazione tarantina," in *Taranto nella civiltá della Magna Grecia: Atti del decimo convegno di studi sull Magna Grecia* (Naples, 1970); C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (Berkeley, 1976); G. K. Jenkins, "A Tarentine Footnote," *in Greek Numismatics and Archaeology, Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson* (Weltern, Belgium, 1979), 109–114.

6. Head, 54.

7. Head, 64–65.

8. Head, 65.

ends. It is thought that at this time, around 240, Rome withdrew from the Tarentines the right of independent coinage, and the city did not again strike coins until its occupation by Hannibal.[9]

Thus, since the hoard contains no coins dating from the time of renewed minting, one can infer that it was buried sometime between 240 and 212. The minimal wear on the latest pieces would, in fact, suggest a burial date of circa 235.

CATALOGUE

CROTON

440–420 B.C.

Obv.: Eagle standing r., head raised and wings spread; linear border.

Rev.: Tripod; to l., laurel leaf; to r., ϘPO; linear border.

1. Stater. ↖ 7.5 gm. S. W. Grose, *Catalogue of the McLean Collection of Greek Coins, Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 1929), 1702.

TARENTUM

PERIOD III—380–335 B.C.[10]

Obv.: Nude ephebe on horse standing r. with l. foreleg raised; below, Θ.

Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., r. arm extended.

2. Stater. ↘ 6.8 gm. Vlasto 449.

PERIOD IV—335–320 B.C.

Obv.: Nude ephebe astride and crowning his horse, which stands r. with l. foreleg raised; to l., Nike, wreath in outstretched hands; below horse, ΣΙΜ.

Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., holding trident in l. hand, r. arm extended; below, TH and curling waves.

3. Stater. ↓ 7.8 gm. Vlasto 506.

PERIOD V—320–300 B.C.

Obv.: Nude horseman lancing downwards to r.; to r., letter (?); below horse, ΣΛ.

Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., holding distaff in l. hand, r. arm extended; below, pellet; below dolphin, prow of a ship.

4. Stater. ↘ 7.9 gm. Vlasto 587.

Obv.: As No. 4; below horse, ΣΑ.

Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., holding a shield with hippocamp on it in l. hand, in r. hand, a trident; to r., murex shell; to l. above, ΦΙ.

5. Stater. ↖ 7.9 gm. Vlasto 598.

PERIOD VI—300–280 B.C.

Obv.: Head of Athena r., wearing pearl necklace, earring, and crested helmet.

Rev.: ΤΑΡ owl with closed wings standing r. on an olive spray; to r., IO[P] upwards.

6. Drachm. ↑ 3.1 gm. Vlasto 1047.

Obv.: As No. 6.

Rev.: As No. 6, but IOP off flan.

7. Drachm. ↖ 3.0 gm. Vlasto 1050.

Obv.: Die of No. 7.

Rev.: As No. 6, but IOP downwards.

8. Drachm. ↖ 3.2 gm. Vlasto 1053.

Obv.: As No. 6.

Rev.: As No. 8.

9. Drachm. ↓ 3.1 gm. Vlasto 1053.

Obv.: Die of No. 9.

Rev.: As No. 8, but to r., club.

10. Drachm. ↖ 3.1 gm. Vlasto 1054.

Obv.: As No. 6.

Rev.: As No. 6, but to r., club; IOP below.

11. Drachm. ↑ 3.1 gm. Vlasto 1054.

PERIOD VII—280–270 B.C.

Obv.: Nude boy rider crowning himself on horse standing r. with l. foreleg raised; to l., IΩ; below, ΙΑΛΟ and Ionic capital.

Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., distaff in l. hand, akrostolion in r.; to r., AN.

12. Stater. ↘ 5.9 gm. Vlasto 803.

PERIOD VIII—270–250 B.C.

Obv.: Nude boy rider astride and crowning his horse, which stands l. with r. foreleg raised; to r., cornucopiae; below, [⊢A]ΓΕΑC.

Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., trident in l. hand, kantharos in r.; to r., ΓΟΛΥ.

13. Stater. ← 6.3 gm. Vlasto 822.

Obv.: As No. 13, but to r., ΣΥ, and below, ΛΥΚΙ·ΝΟΣ in two lines.

Rev.: As No. 13, but chlamys on l. arm, trident in r. hand; to r., owl with closed wings.

14. Stater. → 6.2 gm. Vlasto 836.

Obv.: As No. 13, but to r., ΣΥ, and below, ΛΥΚΙ [ΝΟΣ] in two lines.

Rev.: As No. 14.

15. Stater. ↖ 6.4 gm. Vlasto 836.

Obv.: As No. 13, but to r., ΔΙ, and below, ⊢ΙΛΩ·ΤΑC in two lines.

9. Head, 65–66.

10. Chronology according to Burnett (see *supra*, note 2).

Rev.: As No. 13, but distaff in r. hand, kantharos in l.; to r., rooster.

16. Stater. ← 6.4 gm. Vlasto 846.

Obv.: Nude boy rider astride and crowning his horse, which stands l. with r. foreleg raised; below, ΗΙΛΟΚΡ·ΑΤΗΣ in two lines.

Rev.: As No. 16, but to r., owl with closed wings.

17. Stater. ↖ 6.4 gm. Vlasto 850.

Obv.: As No. 17, but to l., Ꝑ ; below, bearded mask; and beneath foreleg of horse, ΚΙ [ΝΩΝ] in two lines.

Rev.: As No. 13, but empty l. hand on dolphin, kantharos in r.

18. Stater. ↘ 6.3 gm. Vlasto 859.

Obv.: Nude horseman on prancing horse to r., lancing downwards; behind him, large shield and reserve of two lances; to l., ΔΙ; below horse, ΑΡΙΣΤ[Ο] ΚΛ[ΗΣ] in two lines.

Rev.: ΤΑΡ[ΑΣ] as No. 13, but to r., head of nymph.

19. Stater. → 6.0 gm. Vlasto 877.

Obv.: As No. 19, but below horse, [ΑΡΙΣΤΟ] ΚΛΗΣ in two lines.

Rev.: As No. 19.

20. Stater. ↖ 6.3 gm. Vlasto 877.

Obv.: As No. 19, but below horse, ΑΡΙΣΤΟ ΚΛΗΣ in two lines.

Rev.: As No. 19.

21. Stater. ↙ 6.5 gm. Vlasto 877.

Obv.: Partially draped youth, raising his left hand, on stationary horse to r.; below horse, ΦΙΛΙCΚΟC.

Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., trident in l. hand, kantharos in r.; below dolphin, tripod.

22. Stater. ← 6.4 gm. Vlasto 888.

Obv.: Warrior wearing lorica and helmet, lance in l. hand and shield behind him, on horse standing r. with l. foreleg raised; to r., ΦΙ; below horse, ΗΡΑΚ ΛΗΤΟΣ in two lines.

Rev.: As No. 22, but cornucopiae in l. hand, flower in r.; to r., Ε and thymiaterion.

23. Stater. ← 6.3 gm. Vlasto 891.

Obv.: As No. 23, but on horse cantering r.; to l., ΔΙ; below horse, ΑΓΟΛ [ΛΩΝΙΟΣ] in two lines.

Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., half-turned towards spectator, with chlamys around l. arm, trident in l. hand; small Nike flies towards him with crown; below dolphin, waves.

24. Stater. ← 6.2 gm. Vlasto 894.

Obv.: As No. 24, but below horse, Α[ΓΟΛ ΛΩΝΙΟΣ] in two lines.

Rev.: As No. 24, but ΤΑ[ΡΑΣ]; waves off flan.

25. Stater. → 6.3 gm. Vlasto 894.

Obv.: As No. 24, but to l; ΘΙ , and below horse, ΑΡΙΣ [ΤΟΚ].

Rev.: As No. 24, but ΤΑ[ΡΑΣ]; below dolphin, a rudder.

26. Stater. ↖ 6.3 gm. Vlasto 899.

Obv.: Warrior wearing thorax, holding javelin in r. hand and reins in l., on horse galloping r.; below horse, ΗΙΠΠΟΔΑ.

Rev.: [ΤΑΡΑΣ] Taras astride dolphin to l., holding distaff in l. hand, kantharos in r.; to r., ΔΙ and amphora.

27. Stater ↗ 6.3 gm. Vlasto 904.

Obv.: Nude rider astride and crowning his horse, which steps r. while a small Nike flies forward to crown the rider from behind; before horse, ΦΙ; beneath, ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔ.

Rev.: As No. 27, but trident in l. hand, corn spike in r.; to r., ΗΡ only.

28. Stater. ↗ 6.3 gm. Vlasto 910.

Obv.: As No. 28, but before horse, ΕΥ; below, ΔΑΜΟΚ[ΡΙΤΟΣ].

Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to r., holding cornucopiae in r. hand, trident in l.; to l., Ϫ .

29. Stater. ↘ 6.2 gm. Vlasto 913.

Obv.: As No. 29, but before horse, Ε[ΥΡ]; below, [ΔΑΜΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ].

Rev.: As No. 29.

30. Stater. ↖ 6.3 gm. Vlasto 922.

Obv.: Warrior in crested helmet, holding shield, on horse standing l.; to l., ΕΥΗ ; below horse, ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ

Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., holding trident and hippocamp; to r., ΙΩΠ.

31. Stater. ↖ 6.3 gm. Vlasto 928.

PERIOD IX—250–240 B.C.

Obv.: Warrior in lorica, hurling javelin on horse galloping r.; to l., wreath; below horse, ΟΛΥΜΠΙΣ.

Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., holding cornucopiae in l. hand, kantharos in r.; to r., tripod.

32. Stater. ↘ 6.3 gm. Vlasto 943.

Obv.: As No. 32.

Rev.: As No. 32, but Taras holding a trident in l. hand.

33. Stater. ↘ 6.4 gm. Vlasto 943 v.

Obv.: Nude boy rider, holding palm bound with fillet, on horse cantering r.; to l., Ꝑ ; below horse, ΑΡΙCΤΙΙΙΠ[ΟC].

Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras, crowned with wreath, astride dolphin to l., l. hand resting on dolphin's back, kantharos in r.; to r., Μ.

34. Stater. ↙ 6.6 gm. Vlasto 947.

Obv.: Dioskouros in short tunic and chlamys, with short

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sword in scabbard under l. arm, raising r. arm, on horse standing l. with r. foreleg raised; to r., ⊤ and pileus; below horse, ΞENO [K]PATHC in two lines.

Rev.: TAPAΣ Taras wearing leafy crown on dolphin to l., raising chlamys in l. hand, trident in r.; to r., ⋚ ; below dolphin, cuttlefish and waves.

35. Stater. ↙ 6.4 gm. Vlasto 958.

Malibu

Acquisitions Made by the Department of Decorative Arts in 1983

Gillian Wilson, Adrian Sassoon, Charissa Bremer-David

1. SET OF FIVE TAPESTRIES
French (Beauvais), circa 1690–1705
No. 336: *The Collation*
Height: 13′ 10 ½″ (422.9 cm); Width: 10′ 2″ (309.8 cm)
No. 337: *The Harvesting of Pineapples*
Height: 13′ 7 ½″ (415.2 cm); Width: 8′ 5 ½″ (257.8 cm)
No. 338: *The Astronomers*
Height: 13′ 9″ (419.1 cm); Width: 10′ 5 ½″ (318.7 cm)
No. 339: *The Emperor on a Journey*
Height: 13′ 7 ½″ (415.2 cm); Width: 8′ 4″ (254.0 cm)
No. 340: *The Return from the Hunt*
Height: 13′ 8 ½″ (417.8 cm); Width: 9′ 6″ (289.5 cm)
Accession numbers 83.DD. 336–340 (figs. 1–5)

These five tapestries are from the series known as *The Story of the Emperor of China*, woven at the Beauvais Manufactory. The records surviving from the manufactory regarding this early weaving are few, but the subject has been researched and published by the scholars Adolph S. Cavallo and Edith Standen.[1]

The set of five tapestries acquired by the Museum portrays scenes from the life of a Chinese emperor (thought to be the contemporary Kang Xi, who reigned 1661–1721) and empress.[2] The subject of the first tapestry, *The Collation*, is a scene profuse in detail (fig. 1). The emperor sits at a low table holding out a cup. The empress is the woman opposite who holds a fan in her left hand. Several attendants are present to entertain and serve; one arranges large plates and vases on a buffet to the left. Carpets that appear to be Near Eastern cover both the table and the platform. Above is a shingled baldachin with carved dragons surmounting the four corners. The scene of *The Harvesting of Pineapples* depicts the empress presiding over the gathering of this tropical fruit (fig. 2). In the middle distance another group of figures gathers outside a temple setting, and in the background a city appears. The scene of *The Astronomers* includes the mustached emperor conferring with the historical personage Father Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591–1661), who is seated and wears the emblem of the winged dragon (fig. 3).[3] Father Schall, a German Jesuit, had very successful relations with the Chinese based upon his knowledge of astronomy. Also seen in this tapestry are two astronomical instruments designed from European instructions; the instruments are thought to exist today in Peking.[4] Sheltering the figures is a roof of ribbed and spiraling form. In the tapestry entitled *The Emperor on a Journey* the mustached emperor is carried on a palanquin covered with oriental fabrics (fig. 4). He is shielded by an umbrella of unusual form, decorated with carved dragons. A mounted and armed escort follows. In the last tapestry, *The Return from the Hunt*, the emperor and the empress are portrayed together (fig. 5). They stand on a raised platform covered by a carpet of Near Eastern pattern in front of an ornately carved and upholstered throne. Above is a fantastic arched covering.

The popular series included other scenes: *The Audience of the Emperor, The Emperor Sailing, The Empress Sailing,* and *The Empress's Tea.* The best-known example is perhaps *The Audience of the Emperor* (fig. 6). It is always a wide panel showing the emperor enthroned and attended by both his empress, who arrives in a ceremonial cart at the left, and his entourage. Behind the throne is a prancing elephant, restrained by his trainer. Above are the same fantastic archways that are seen in *The Return from the Hunt.*

Two of the Museum's tapestries are signed (the signature woven in *The Harvesting of Pineapples* that reads BEHAGLE appears to have been added later). Woven at the bottom right of *The Return from the Hunt* is BEHAGLE and at the bottom center of *The Collation* is VERNANSAL. INT.ET.PU.[5] Philippe Behagle was director of the Beauvais Manufactory from 1684 until his death in 1705, the period when it is thought that *The Story of the Emperor of China* series was designed. A memorandum written by Behagle and an inventory of the

1. Adolph S. Cavallo, "The Emperor on a Journey, from the Series: The Story of the Emperor of China," *Tapestries of Europe and of Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1967), vol. 1, 170ff., and Edith Standen, "The Story of the Emperor of China: A Beauvais Tapestry Series," *MMAJ* 2 (1976), 103ff.

2. Cavallo, 173, and Standen, 109.

3. Standen, 106.

4. Standen, 108.

5. Two other examples of *The Collation* are woven with this signature. See Standen, 115.

Figure 1. The Collation, from the series *The Story of the Emperor of China.* French (Beauvais), circa 1690–1705 (the left border of the photograph is cropped to exclude the photographer's clamp). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DD.336.

Figure 2. The Harvesting of Pineapples, from the series *The Story of the Emperor of China.* French (Beauvais), circa 1690–1705 (the right border of the photograph is cropped to exclude the photographer's clamp). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DD.337.

Figure 3. The Astronomers, from the series *The Story of the Emperor of China.* French (Beauvais), circa 1690–1705. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DD.338.

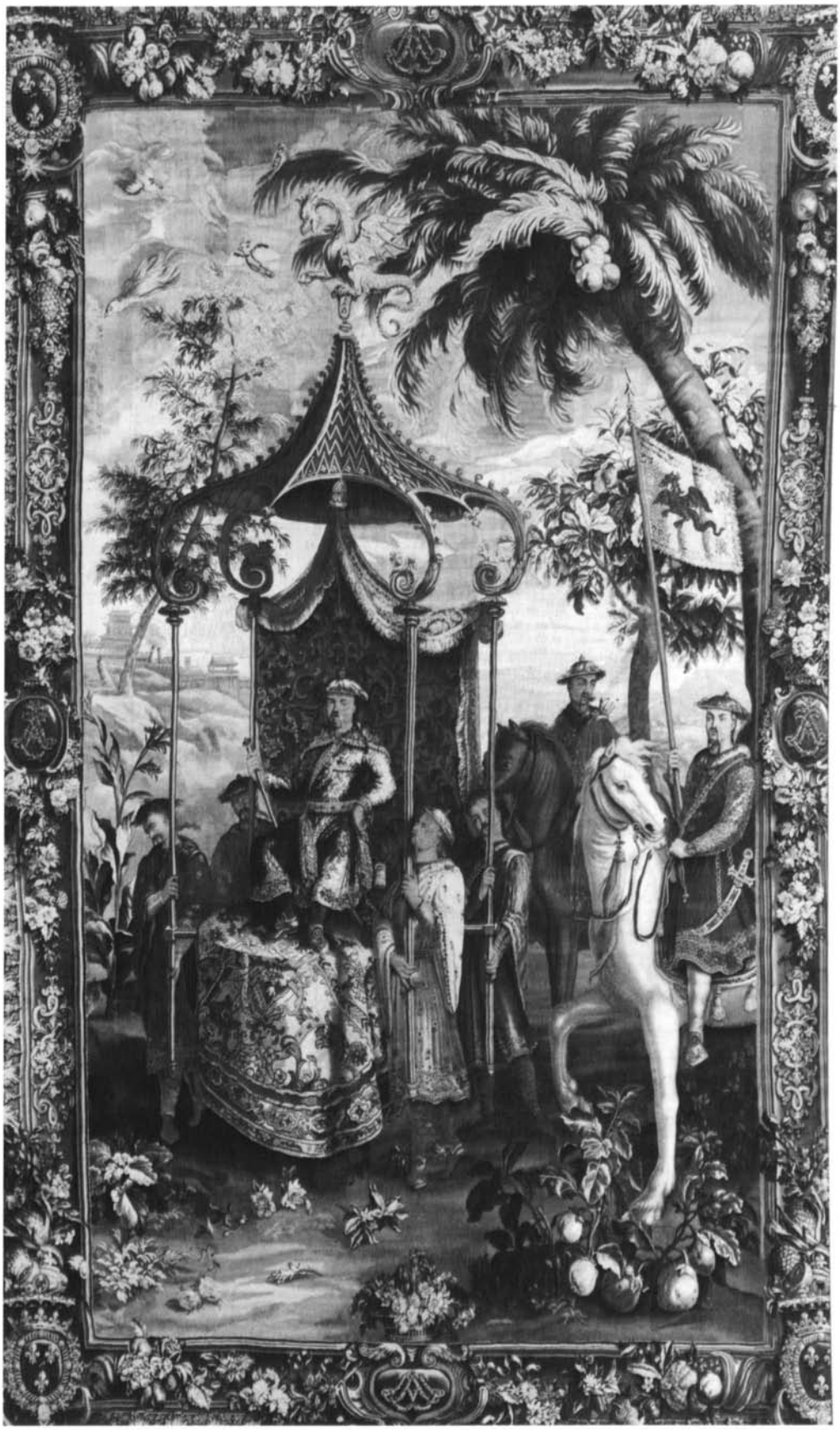

Figure 4. The Emperor on a Journey, from the series *The Story of the Emperor of China.* French (Beauvais), circa 1690–1705. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DD.339.

Figure 5. The Return from the Hunt, from the series *The Story of the Emperor of China.* French (Beauvais), circa 1690–1705. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DD.340.

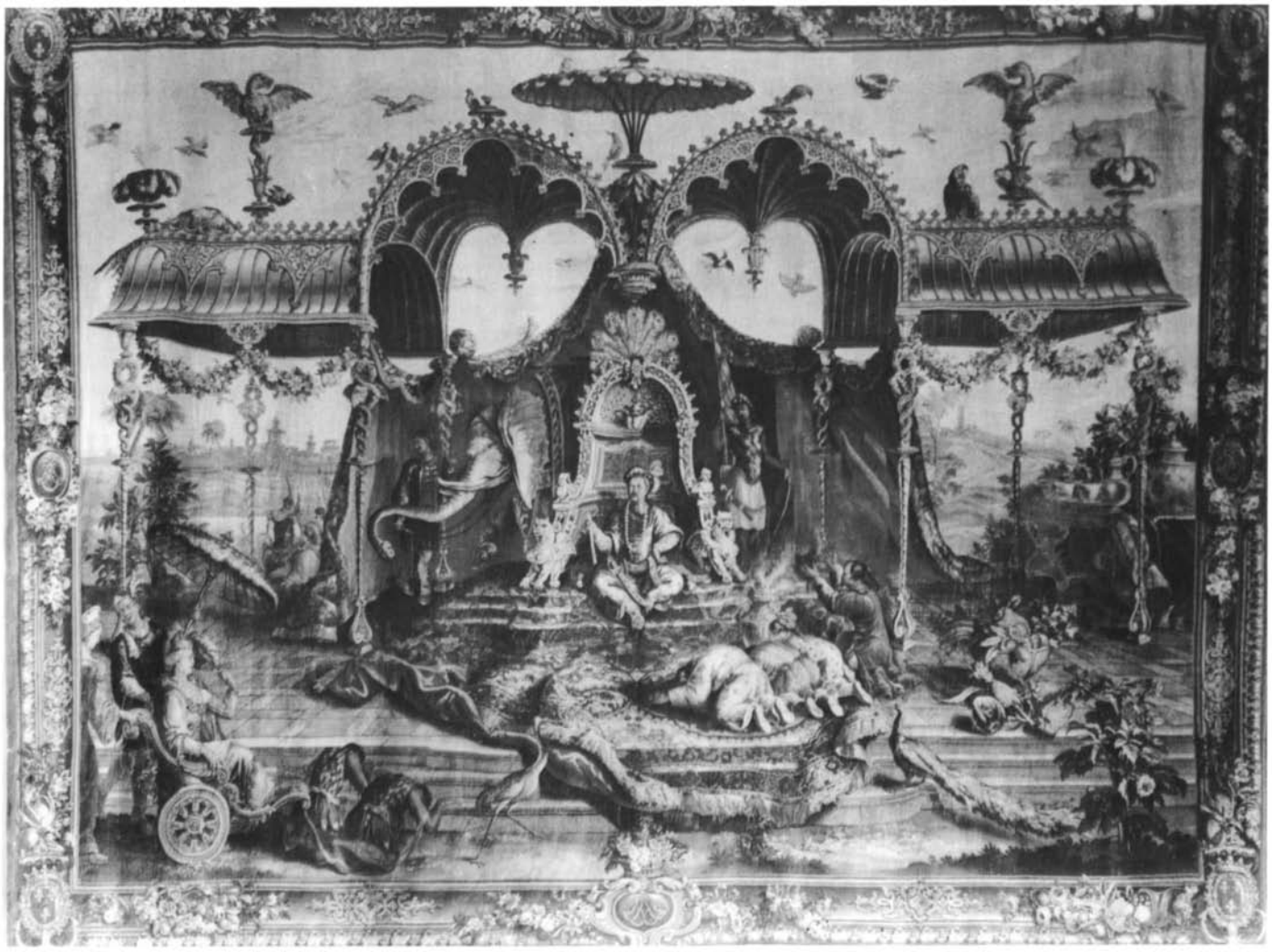

Figure 6. The Audience of the Emperor, from the series of *The Story of the Emperor of China.* Compiègne, Palais de Compiègne (ex-collection Empress Eugénie) T.24. Photo: Hutin.

manufactory's possessions in 1731[6] survive and provide information that is interpreted by scholars as naming three of the four painters of the cartoons: Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer (1636–1699), Jean-Baptiste Belin de Fontenay (1653–1715), and Guy-Louis Vernansal (1648–1729).[7] The fourth artist remains unknown.

The borders of this set (figs. 7a–b) bear the arms and cipher of the comte de Toulouse, Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon (1678–1737). An illegitimate son of King Louis XIV and Mme de Montespan, the comte de Toulouse became admiral of the navy at the age of three. The memorandum of Philippe Behagle, mentioned above, also records "autre de mesme dessin de *Chinoise*, faicte pour Monseigneur le comte de Toulouse, monte a 10.565 livres."[8] The 1718 inventory of the comte's Château de Rambouillet describes the tapestries as "l'histoire du roi de la Chine, sur trois aunes et demi de haut, manufacture de Beauvais, faite par Behagle."[9] It also states that six pieces were in the *antichambre du roi*, three in the *chambre du roi*, and one in a storeroom above the stables. The commission made by the comte de Toulouse therefore included ten tapestries in all. Eight passed by descent to King Louis Philippe (1773–1850) and appear in the 1852 sale of his property in two lots.[10] The coats of arms are incorrectly identified in the catalogue as those of the duc de Penthièvre (1725–1793), the son of the comte de Toulouse. Lot number eight lists six tapestries, including the five acquired by the

6. Jules Badin, *La Manufacture de Tapisseries de Beauvais* (Paris, 1909), 13 and 21.
7. Cavallo, 170, and Standen, 115ff.
8. Badin, 13.
9. Montié and de Dion, "Quelques documents sur le Duchépairie de Rambouillet," *Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société archéologique de Rambouillet* 7 (1886), 208, 227.
10. Maison d'Orléans, Paris, January 28, 1852, lots 8 and 13.

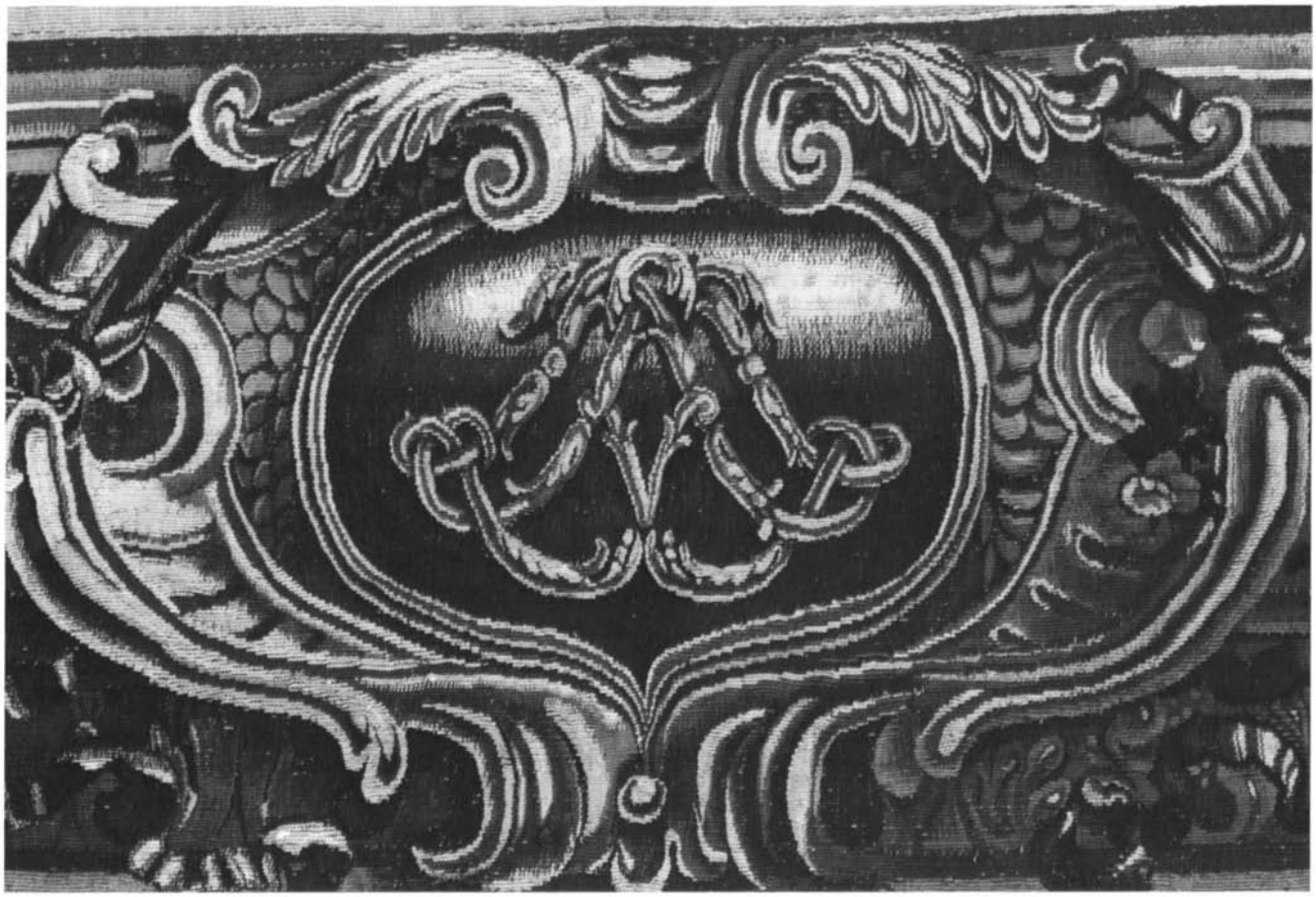

Figure 7a. Detail of the border of *The Astronomers* (see fig. 3) showing the woven cipher of Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon, the comte de Toulouse. The monogram consists of crossed L's enclosing the initial A.

Museum and one more entitled *The Empress's Tea*, and lot number thirteen lists two, *The Emperor Sailing* and *The Empress Sailing*. The remaining two tapestries, *The Audience of the Emperor* and another *The Emperor on a Journey*, belonged to the Empress Eugénie (1826–1920) who placed them in the Palais de Compiègne, where they are today (fig. 6).

There is evidence in the borders that the tapestries acquired by the Museum were cut in width at some date.[11] The scene of *The Return from the Hunt* in particular was always woven as a wide version, similar to *The Audience of the Emperor*. The reduction of the tapestries must have occurred before 1852, for the measurements given in the sale catalogue of Louis Philippe equal the present measurements. The pair of tapestries belonging to the Palais de Compiègne, however, are the same width as other examples of the subjects in other collections and do not appear to have been cut.

The two tapestries sold as lot thirteen have not been traced. Those six sold as lot number eight, however, are known to have belonged to the duchesse d'Uzès who brought them to the United States in 1926.[12] The set later passed into the family collection of John T. Dorrance, Jr., Newport, Rhode Island. One tapestry, *The Empress's Tea*, apparently remains in that collection. The Museum acquired these tapestries from the dealers Rosenberg and Stiebel of New York.

C. B.-D.

2. PAIR OF THREE-LEAF SCREENS
French (Savonnerie), circa 1714–1740
Height: 8′ 11 ½″ (273.05 cm); Width (total): 6′ 4 ½″ (194.3 cm); Width (each leaf): 2′ 1″ (63.5 cm)
Accession numbers 83.DD.260.1–2 (figs. 8a–b)

11. Visual examination of the borders leads one to the conclusion that the tapestries have been cut. This is supported by a comparison between the borders of those tapestries belonging to the Museum and of the two tapestries conserved at the Palais de Compiègne. The latter appear to have their borders intact. The upper and lower borders of the Museum's tapestries have lost the scrolls between the wreaths of flowers and fruit; see figures 1–6.

12. Dr. Szkolny, "Vom amerikanischen Kunstmarkt," *Cicerone* 18 (1926), 271–272.

13. Pierre Verlet, *The Savonnerie*, The James A. de Rothschild Collec-

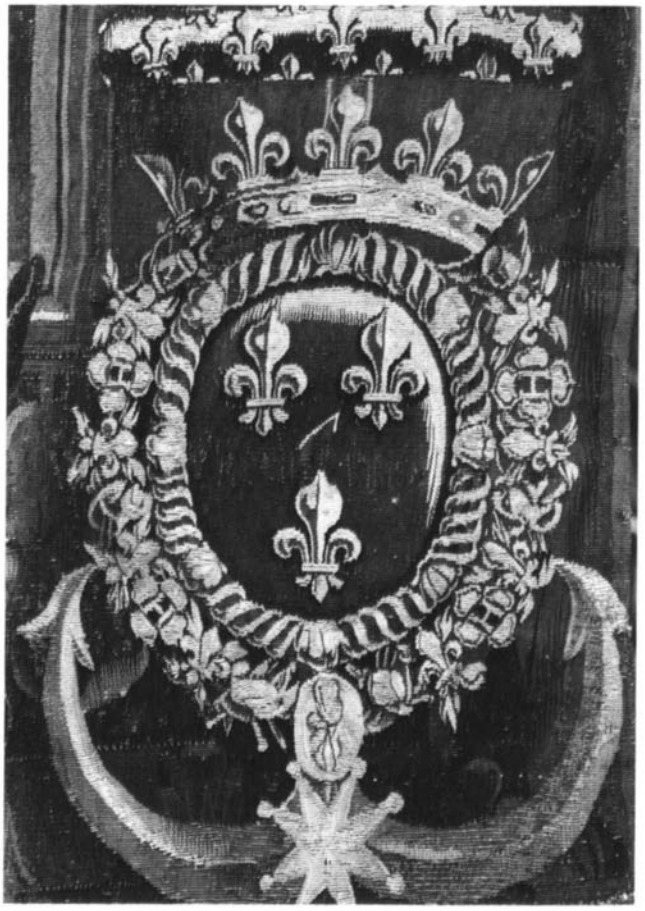

Figure 7b. Detail of the border of *The Collation* (see fig. 1) showing the woven coat of arms of Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon, the comte de Toulouse. Beneath the coat of arms (three fleur-de-lys and a bar sinister) is an anchor, referring to the comte's position as admiral of the navy.

The two screens, each of three leaves, were made of knotted wools at the Manufacture Royal de Savonnerie. The cartoons were designed by Jean-Baptiste Belin de Fontenay (1653–1715), and it is likely that the designs for the pairs of birds were provided by François Desportes (1661–1743), though there is no documentary evidence to prove this.

The panels have yellow grounds, and the same three cartoons were used for each screen. At the base, each panel shows a vase of flowers and leaves standing on a blue and yellow pedestal in front of a flower-strewn lawn. Above is an arched pergola entwined with leafy branches, to which a double swag of flowers and fruit is attached. Each panel has in its center a cartouche composed of pink acanthus scrolls and flowers against cream and gold diapers. One cartouche contains two parrots perched on a bar against a blue ground, while above, a trophy, composed of a scythe, a basket of wheat and flowers, and a wind instrument, is suspended by a blue ribbon tied with a bow. A second cartouche contains an oriole and a woodpecker perched in a tree against a blue ground. Above, a trophy, composed of grapes, a ewer, and a thyrsus entwined with vine leaves, is suspended by a blue ribbon tied with a bow. The third design shows a cartouche containing a jay perched on branches and a magpie in flight. Above are a flaming torch, a sheaf of arrows, and a laurel wreath, all suspended by a blue ribbon tied above and below with a bow.

Pierre Verlet has recently published his phenomenal history of the Savonnerie, and the following paragraphs contain information gleaned from his book.[13] The first panels for screens were woven at the Savonnerie in 1707, and between that year and 1791, seven hundred and fifty panels were produced. This figure includes both large and small panels, and considering that some of the screens were double-sided, this would amount to about one hundred screens, of which fifty that are more or less complete can now be traced.

Eight different designs were produced for *paravents*, and all included animals, birds, and flowers. The Getty screens are examples of the largest; one hundred and thirty-eight panels of this design were made between 1714 and 1740. The screens were for the use of the king and queen and the princes of the blood; they were usually placed in the dining rooms or the anterooms of the palaces. They were rarely given away as diplomatic gifts or lent to courtiers. As a result many were left in storage, and between 1730 and 1740, eighty-two screens of this model were stored in the Garde Meuble Royale, while twelve were sent to La Muette, eighteen to Choisy (six for the king's dining room), and eighteen were used at Versailles. At the time of the Revolution, fourteen panels remained in storage and were sold after 1795.

It is not possible to date the Museum's panels precisely. Until 1714–1715 the center of each cartoon bore the arms of Queen Marie-Thérèse; these were replaced with the pairs of birds after that date. Other small changes were made to the cartoons from time to time, one of the most significant being the replacement of a large central wreath of flowers with one composed of volutes on a mosaic ground as in the Museum's example, but it is not known when this change was made.

These panels are remarkably unfaded in comparison with other surviving screens.[14] A book box containing two

tion at Waddesdon Manor (Fribourg, 1982), 298–306.

14. Similar screens may be seen at the Château de Versailles (inventory numbers V-4733, V-4008, and V-4551); the Mobilier Nationale, Paris; the Musée Jacquemart André, Paris; the Royal Palace, Stockholm; the Fondacion Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon (inventory number 30); and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inventory number 58.75.128).

Figure 8a. One of a pair of three-leaf screens. French (Savonnerie), circa 1714–1740. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DD.260. 1–2.

Figure 8b. Detail of a panel from the pair of three-leaf screens.

hundred and seventy-nine samples of dyed wools, showing various tones of twenty-two colors, has survived; and it appears to be of mid-eighteenth-century date. Never having been exposed to light, the samples give some idea of the brilliance of the colors used at Savonnerie, and they compare well to those on the Museum's screens.[15]

The panels are reputed to have been formerly in the collection of Mme d'Yvon and were probably acquired by Jacques Seligmann at the sale of the collection in 1891.[16] They were sold in the *Liquidation de l'ancienne Société Seligmann* in 1914.[17] In 1960 when the screens were shown in the exhibition *Louis XIV, Faste et Decors* in Paris,[18] they again belonged to the Seligmann family, and they were sold by François-Gerard Seligmann at Sotheby's, Monte Carlo, in 1981.[19] They were bought at that sale by Dalva Brothers, New York, from whom the Museum acquired them.

G. W.

3. TAPESTRY
French (Gobelins), 1715/16
Height: 13′ 1″ (347.0 cm); Width: 8′ 9 ¼″ (267.0 cm)
Accession number 83.DD.20 (figs. 9a–b)

Known as the *Char de Triomphe,* this tapestry is an armorial *portière.* Within a guilloche border is a triumphal cart bearing the trophies of victory and a cartouche with the arms of Louis XIV, King of France and Navarre. Surrounding the arms are two collars of the orders of Saint Michel and Saint-Esprit. The cart advances over a serpent that represents the king's enemies. Above are the Sun King's symbol; his motto *Nec Pluribus Impar,* now faded, woven in the ribbon; the royal crown; and the scales of justice. Two putti holding globes recline on the cornice.

In 1658 the finance minister Nicolas Fouquet (1615–1680) established a tapestry workshop at Maincy, near his château, Vaux-le-Vicomte. In 1659 he commissioned the painter Charles Le Brun (1619–1690) to design five *portières* to carry his emblem, a squirrel. Five designs were made; the subjects were recorded as *Portières des Renommées, de Mars, du Char de Triomphe, de La Licorne,* and *du Lion.*[20]

Following the fall of Fouquet in 1661, the minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683) moved the Maincy tapestry works to the new royal manufactory of the Gobelins in Paris. Louis XIV had three of the cartoons designed by Le Brun and painted by Baudrain Yvart (1611–1690) adapted for his own use, substituting his own arms for Fouquet's emblem. These *portières* were among the first weavings made at the Gobelins Manufactory.[21]

A total of sixty-six *Char de Triomphe portières* were woven by 1724.[22] They were usually woven six at a time, simultaneously with six of the *Mars portières.* It is recorded that twelve *Char de Triomphe portières* were woven with gold thread to further glorify the Sun King.[23]

15. Known as the *boîte Duvivier,* the sample box is from the Archives Duvivier. See Verlet, 246; fig. 156 illustrates one card bearing wool patterns in tones of reds, browns, and yellows.

16. Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 30–June 4, 1891, lot 673. Ten leaves were sold, four of which were illustrated. None of those four, however, are of precisely the same model as the Museum's panels. It is possible that the remaining six unillustrated panels are those now in the Museum.

17. Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, March 9–12, 1914, lot 343.

18. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, *Louis XIV, Faste et Decors* (Paris, 1960), no. 774, 155, pl. 102. In the catalogue the earlier provenance is given as Mme d'Yvon.

19. Sotheby's, Monte Carlo, June 14–15, 1981, lot 54.

20. Maurice Fenaille, *Etat General de la Manufacture des Gobelins, 1600–1900* (Paris, 1904), vol. 2, 1.

21. Due to the widespread usage of *portières* in the royal residences, large numbers were woven exclusively for the crown. See Edith Standen, "Some Beauvais Tapestries Related to Berain," in *Acts of the Tapestry Symposium,* The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, November 1976, 218, n. 10. Miss Standen records correspondence by Cronström dated May 22, 1693, describing the use of *portières* at Versailles.

22. Fenaille, vol. 2, 16ff.

23. On June 10, 1797, four of these *portières* were burned by order of the Minister of the Interior in order to retrieve the gold. Jules Guiffrey, "Destruction des Plus Belles Tentures du Mobilier de la Couronne en 1797," *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de L'Ile-de-France* 14 (1887), 281–288.

Figure 9a. Char de Triomphe portière. French (Gobelins), circa 1715/16. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DD.20.

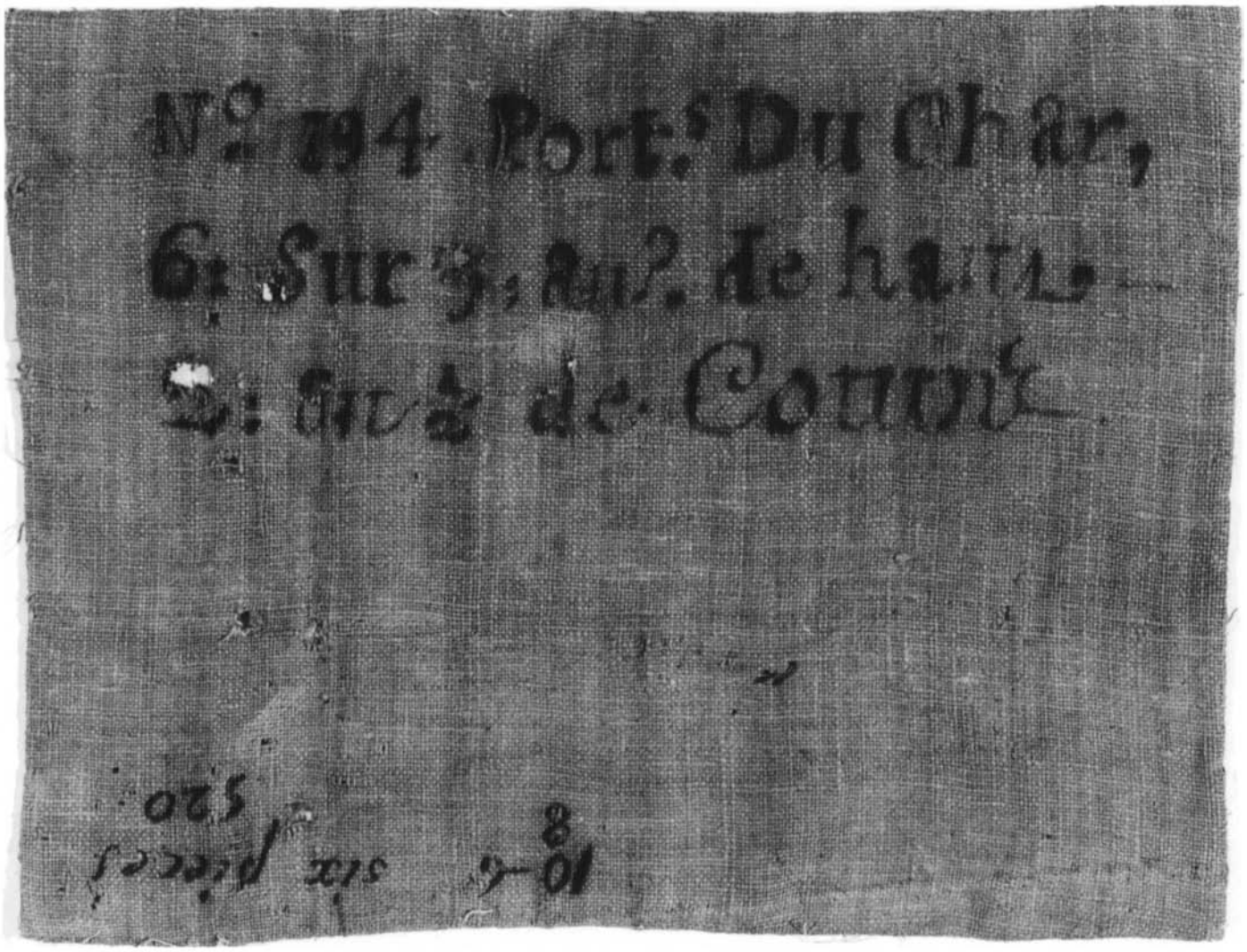

Figure 9b. Part of the original lining of the *Char de Triomphe* tapestry inscribed with the royal inventory number 194.

The Museum's example was restored in Paris during the mid-1950's, apparently at the Gobelins. It was then that a portion of the original lining was conserved, inscribed (fig. 9b):

N° 194. Port^{s} Du Char
6: Sur 3: au [?] de Haut
2: au ½ de cours

It is fortunate that this inscription survives, for it gives the royal inventory number, enabling one to identify this tapestry precisely in the *Journal du Garde Meuble de la Couronne.* It was one of four delivered on October 27, 1717:

Du 27 Octobre 1717

Gobelins port^{eres} du Char	Livre par le Sr Cozette, concierge de la manufacture royalle des Gobelins.
a No. 194 tapisseries de laine et soie	Six portières de tapisserie de basse lisse de laine et soye manufacture des Gobelins, dessein de Le Brun, representant au milieu, les arms et la devise de Louis XIIII dans un cartouche porté sur un char de triomphe, accompagné de Trophées d'arms; La bordure est un guillochis qui enferme des fleur de lis et des roses couleur de bronze; chaque portier contient deux aunes et demy de cours, dont cinq sur trois aunes de haut, et la six^{e} sur deux aunes cinq six.[24]

Other extant examples of *Char de Triomphe portières* are known. One belonging to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, was recently stolen, along with a *Renommées,*

24. 0^{1} 3309 from the *Journal du Garde Meuble de la Couronne, commençant 6^{pr} Janvier 1716. Et suivant le 31 Decembre 1723.*

Figure 10. One of a pair of wall lights. French (Paris), circa 1715–1720. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DF.195.1–2.

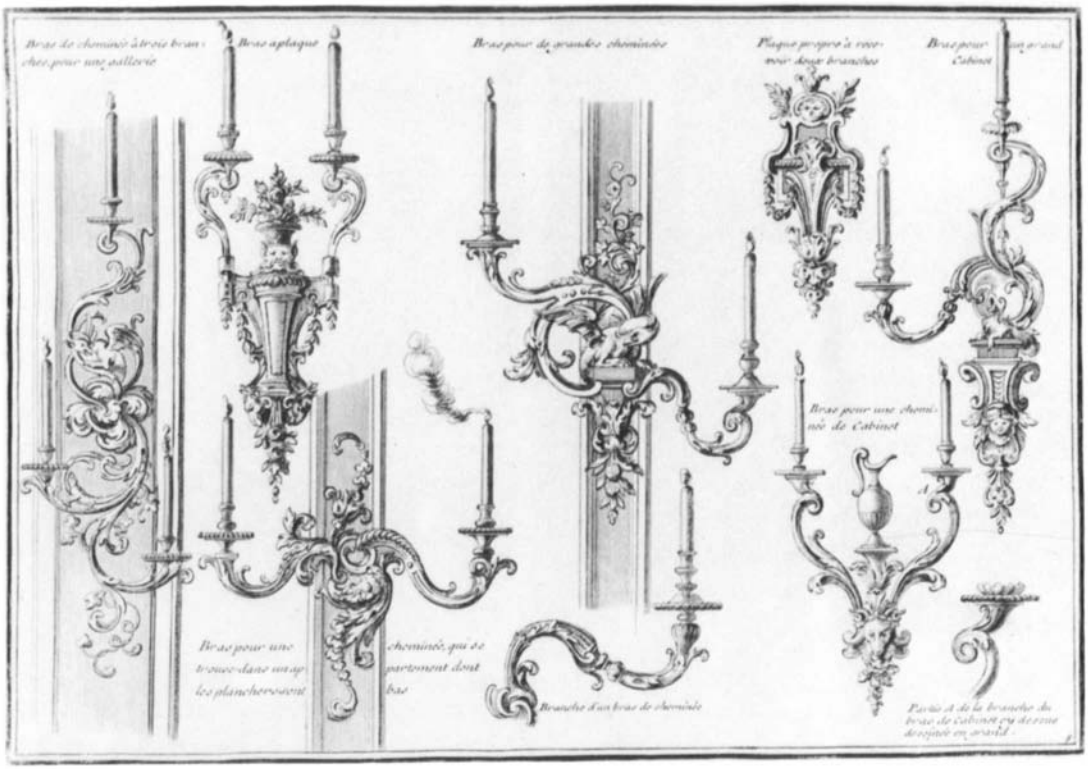

Figure 11. A page of designs for wall lights by André-Charles Boulle, published circa 1725 by Pierre Mariette in *Nouveaux Deisseins de Meubles et Ouvrages de Bronze et de Marqueterie Inventés et gravés par André Charles Boulle.*

while on loan to the Institute of Fine Arts, New York.[25] One is in the J. B. Speed Museum of Louisville, Kentucky.[26] Six are still part of the Mobilier National, three of which are displayed, one each in the Musée du Louvre, the Château de Pau, and the Château de Chambord. One more is found in the Jagellon University, Cracow, Poland.[27]

The tapestry was acquired by the Museum from a private collection, New York.

C. B.-D.

4. PAIR OF WALL LIGHTS
French (Paris), circa 1715–1720
Height: 1′ 10 ⅛″ (51.0 cm); Width: 1′ 2″ (35.5 cm); Depth: 9 13/16″ (25.0 cm)
Accession number 83.DF.195.1–2 (fig. 10)

This pair of gilt-bronze two-branched wall lights is of matching but opposed design. The stem of each consists of a thick branch that curls round itself to terminate in a broad acanthus leaf and a trail of husks. Springing from the stem are two twisting arms that terminate at different levels in foliated drip pans and candle sockets of differing design. The lower arm, chased with two large acanthus leaves and gadrooning, supports a drip pan designed as a calyx of petals below fluting and a candle socket chased with flutes and husks. The upper arm, also chased with acanthus foliage, twines round the fluted and gadrooned drip pan that supports a candle socket chased with laurel leaves (fig. 10).

The wall lights are not marked with a maker's name, but the lower portion closely follows a design by André-Charles Boulle (1642–1732) that was published circa 1725 by Pierre Mariette in *Nouveaux Deisseins de Meubles et Ouvrages de Bronze et de Marqueterie Inventés et gravés par André Charles Boulle* (fig. 11). The broad acanthus leaf and trailing husk resemble the design labeled "Bras pour une cheminée, qui se trouve dans un appartement dont les planches sont bas."

Motifs similar to those decorating the candle sockets and drip pans may also be found on the same page of designs. It is not an uncommon feature for drip pans of wall lights from the early eighteenth century to be chased with varying elements.

A wall light of a very similar model appears in a painting by Jean-François De Troy (1679–1752), *La lecture de Molière* (fig. 12).[28] The painted light is close in design except that the upper arm takes an extra twist. But details such as one arm twining around the drip pan; the differently chased drip pans and candle sockets; and the acanthus leaf of the lower portion are found on the Museum's pair of wall lights.

Two engravings by Jacques-Firmin Beauvarlet (1731–1797), *La Toilette pour le Bal* and *Retour du Bal*,[29] after other works by De Troy portray a wall light of the same model from a foreshortened perspective (fig. 13). The upper arm still takes the extra twist, but the lower arm, deviating from the painted version found in *La lecture de Molière*, takes a sharp jut forward.

In both the painting and engravings the artist and the engraver have depicted the reflection of the lower arm of the wall light in the mirror behind. This attention to detail reveals the habit during this period of hanging wall lights on the mirror frame. The purpose was twofold: to increase the light of the flame of the candle by reflection and to create greater effect by increasing the refraction of light on the gilt bronze.

The Museum acquired this pair of wall lights from the dealer Bernard Steinitz of Paris. They were formerly in the collection of Samuel Kahn, Paris.

C. B.-D.

5. MODEL FOR A VASE
French, circa 1725–1730
Height: 1′ ¾″ (32.4 cm); Width: 11 ¾″ (29.8 cm); Depth: 11 ¾″ (29.8 cm)
Accession number 83.DE.36 (figs. 14a–e)

The terracotta vase is sculpted at the lip with four grotesque masks (fig. 14c), and the body of the vase is set at the back and front with auricular cartouches. The cartouche in front is topped by spread wings and a scrolled pediment, which support the remains of a crown backed by a small fleur-de-lys. Sprays of laurel and oak leaves decorate the body and the foot of the vase, on which a large dolphin rests (fig. 14d).

The cartouche on the front surrounds a cabochon, which is sculpted with three fleur-de-lys and a baton, surrounded by three collars bearing the Toison d'Or, the Saint-Esprit, and the Saint Michel (fig. 14e). The arms are those of Louis-Henri, duc de Bourbon, seventh prince de Condé (1692–1740). The cartouche at the back surrounds his initials LH.

25. The accession numbers of the *portières Char de Triomphe* and *Renommées* are 54.149 and 53.57, respectively.

26. Gift of Preston Pope Satterwhite.

27. Edith Standen, "Studies in the History of Tapestry 1520–1790: Baroque and Régence," *Apollo*, July 1981, 32.

28. Collection of the Marchioness of Cholmondeley, Houghton Hall, Norfolk.

29. The *Retour du Bal* is from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris, number C3167. The pair to this engraving, *La Toilette pour le Bal*, is from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accession number 42.119.392. Colin Bailey kindly pointed out the source for this engraving, the painting also entitled *La Toilette pour le Bal*, which was recently acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum. It formerly belonged to the Wildenstein collection and was exhibited in *La Douce France* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, August to October 1964), no. 1, illus. It is signed and dated *De Troy 1735*.

Figure 12. La lecture de Molière by Jean-François De Troy, circa 1728. Houghton Hall, Norfolk, collection of the Marchioness of Cholmondeley.

Figure 13. Retour du Bal engraved by Jacques-Firmin Beauvarlet. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes C3167.

Figure 14a. Model for a vase. French, circa 1725–1730. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DE.36.

Figure 14b. The back of the model for a vase.

Figure 14c. Detail showing one of the grotesque masks on the lip of the vase.

Figure 14d. The dolphin on the foot of the vase.

Figure 14e. The cartouche on the front of the vase bearing the arms of Louis-Henri, duc de Bourbon, seventh prince de Condé.

Figure 15. Engraving by Huquier of designs by Juste-Aurèle Meissonier for Louis-Henri, duc de Bourbon, seventh prince de Condé.

Figure 16a. *Cartonnier* and *serre-papier* with clock by Bernard van Risenburgh, the clock movement by Etienne Le Noir. French (Paris), circa 1745–1749. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DA.280.

Figure 16b. The clock case with lacquered bronze figures.

It is difficult to suggest a name for the sculptor who made this robust model. It might have been made after a design by Juste-Aurèle Meissonier (circa 1693–1750). He had executed designs for silver for the prince, one of which, a *seau à rafraichir* dated 1723, was engraved by Gabriel Huquier (1695–1772) in 1750 (fig. 15).[30] There are some similarities between this *seau* and the Museum's model but not enough to point to Meissonier with any certainty.

G. W.

6. *CARTONNIER* AND *SERRE-PAPIER* WITH CLOCK
French (Paris), circa 1745–1749
Height: 6′ 3 ⅝″ (192.0 cm); Width: 3′ 4 9/16″ (103.0 cm); Depth: 1′ 4 ⅛″ (41.0 cm)
Accession number 83.DA.280 (figs. 16a–e)

The rococo *cartonnier, serre-papier,* and clock are separate sections, each with an oak carcass decorated with black, red, and gold *vernis Martin*[31] and gilt-bronze mounts (fig. 16a). At each side of the lower section a door can be unlocked to reveal a deep and narrow compartment. Above this rests the *serre-papier* with five open pigeonholes. It is likely that these were once fitted with *cartons,* which were probably covered with tooled leather and no longer survive. The uppermost section contains a clock above a glazed window that allows one to see the motion of the pendulum (fig. 16b). The dial and the movement of the clock are signed by the clockmaker Etienne Le Noir (born 1699, *maître* 1717, died after 1778) (fig. 16c). Flanking the clock case and above it are four painted and lacquered bronze figures of Orientals: a woman holding cymbals, a man holding a horn, and two children

30. Gabriel Huquier, *Neuvième livre des Oeuvres de J. A. Meissonier* (Paris, 1750), pl. 58.

31. The black ground decoration was examined upon arrival at the Museum with the use of infrared spectography, which showed that it is

Figure 16c. The engraved signature of Etienne Le Noir on the rear of the clock movement.

Figure 16d. Detail showing the stamp B.V.R.B for Bernard van Risenburgh.

Figure 16e. Detail showing the stamp E. J. CUVELLIER.

Figure 17a. Commode attributed to Jean-Pierre Latz. French (Paris), circa 1750. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DA.356.

reaching above their heads. Both the *cartonnier* and the *serre-papier* are stamped B.V.R.B (fig. 16d) for the *ébéniste* Bernard van Risenburgh (*maître* before 1730, died 1765/66). They are also stamped with the mark of an eighteenth-century *ébéniste* E. J. CUVELLIER, about whom little is known (fig. 16e). It is probable that he stamped this piece of furniture after he had carried out repairs on it. Many of the gilt-bronze mounts are stamped with the crowned C tax mark used between 1745 and 1749.[32]

This model of *cartonnier* seems to have been repeated only once in Bernard van Risenburgh's oeuvre. The Hermitage Museum in Leningrad contains a similar example, stamped BVRB and decorated with wood veneers cut in wave patterns.[33] The upper part—the *serre-papier*—is stamped JOSEPH for Joseph Baumhauer and is of different form than that in the Getty Museum. The *cartonniers* are very similar, although they have different mounts at the apron, the upper corners, and the moldings.

The eighteenth-century provenance of the Museum's *cartonnier* and *serre-papier* is not known, but they were illustrated

composed of a sandarac varnish. Sandarac is a resin taken from juniper trees, which in the eighteenth century was obtained from Italy, Spain, and Africa. It forms a clear varnish when mixed with alcohol, although it tends to develop fine cracks in its surface. See Jean-Félix Watin, *L'Art du peintre, doreur et vernisseur,* 4th ed. (Paris, 1787), 216.

32. Henry Nocq, "L'Orfèverie au Dix-Huitième Siècle: Quelques Marques: Le C Couronné," *Le Figaro Artistique,* April 17, 1924, 2–4.

33. Inventory number 434 M6, acquired in 1933 from the museum of the Stieglitz School.

34. Sold, Christie's, London, May 9, 1922, lot 144, for 4,200 guineas to H. J. Simmons.

35. I am grateful to Colin Streeter for pointing out the information

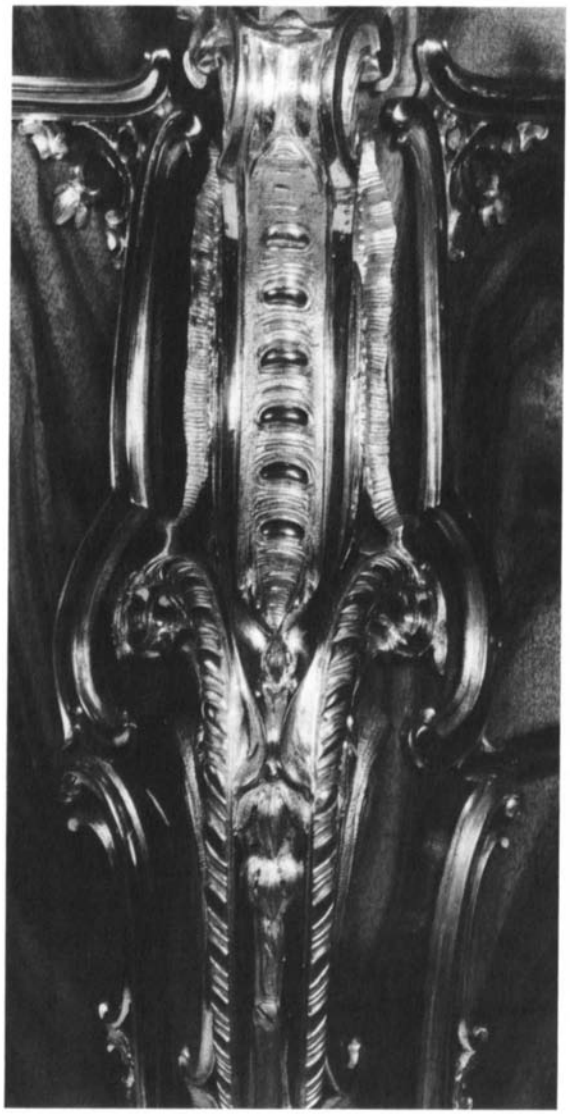

Figure 17b. Detail showing the corner mount of the commode.

in 1922 when sold at Christie's by the executors of the Rt. Hon. William Burdett-Coutts, M.P. (1851–1921), who had inherited it from his wife, Angela, Baroness Burdett-Coutts (1814–1906).[34] On the back of the *cartonnier* there is a metal plaque engraved *Angela's 1835*, which might indicate that Baroness Burdett-Coutts was given the piece on her twenty-first birthday, which fell in that year. Since she apparently owned the piece so early in her life, it surely came to her through her family rather than through that of her husband. It is worth noting that her father, Sir Francis Burdett (1770–1844), lived in Paris in the early days of the French Revolution, returning to England in 1793, a time when objects like this would have been available on the market.[35]

In 1922 the clock was surmounted by a gilt-bronze palm tree placed centrally behind the two bronze figures of children; it is now lost. The figures now seem to be reaching above their heads, but originally, they appeared to be pulling down some leaves of the palm tree. In 1922 the *cartonnier* bore no gilt-bronze mounts on its feet and apron. When the *cartonnier* was offered to the Museum in 1982, however, it was fitted along these surfaces with elaborate modern mounts of high quality, of which only the central apron mount has been retained. After 1922 the *cartonnier* and *serre-papier* were in a private collection in Paris and apparently were confiscated by the Third Reich during the Second World War, at which time the palm tree was most probably lost. In the early 1970's the *cartonnier* and *serre-papier* were bought by José and Vera Espirito Santo of Lausanne who sold them to the Museum through the dealer Didier Aaron of Paris.

A. S.

7. COMMODE
French (Paris), circa 1750
Height: 2′ 10 ½″ (87.7 cm); Width: 4′ 11 ⅝″ (151.4 cm); Depth: 2′ 2 ⅝″ (65.0 cm)
Accession number 83.DA.356 (figs. 17a–b)

The commode is veneered with *bois satiné* and set with gilt-bronze mounts and a marble top. It is not stamped with a maker's name, but it bears the mark of a recent restorer, RESTAURE PAR P. SPOHN. The piece is firmly attributed to Jean-Pierre Latz (circa 1691–1754),[36] as a commode of precisely the same model, similarly mounted and veneered, stamped I. P. LATZ is in the Palazzo Quirinale, Rome (fig. 18).[37] That commode can be dated to between 1745 and 1749 as its mounts bear the tax stamp of the crowned C. It formed part of the large quantity of furnishings and furniture brought from France in 1753 by Louise Elisabeth (Madame Infante) to Parma. It was used in the summer residence of the Parma court, the Palace of Colorno. It bears the royal inventory stamp C ♔ R, the initials standing for Casa Reale.

While the eighteenth-century provenance of the Museum's commode is not known, it is apparent that it represents an instance where Latz repeated the fine Quirinale model for another patron. As the mounts do not bear

concerning Sir Francis Burdett.

36. For information on Latz see Henry Hawley, "Jean-Pierre Latz, Cabinetmaker," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, September/October 1970, 203–259.

37. This commode is illustrated and discussed by Chiara Briganti in "Comment Madame Infante, fille ainée de Louis XV, a meublé sa residence princière de Parme," *Connaissance des Arts*, July 1965, 48–59, and by the same author in *Curioso itinerario delle collezioni ducali parmensi* (Parma, 1969), 33.

Figure 18. A commode stamped I.P.LATZ. Circa 1745–1749. Rome, Palazzo Quirinale.

crowned C's, it is likely that the Museum's example was made between 1750 and 1754, the date of Latz's death.

A small sketch of this commode, or more probably that in the Palazzo Quirinale, exists in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (fig. 19).[38] It was acquired by the Swedish architect Carl Hårleman, who visited Paris in 1744/75. On the same piece of paper is a sketch of a long-case clock that resembles a number of clocks stamped or attributed to Latz. It is likely that Hårleman obtained the drawing directly from Latz's workshop.

The strongly grained veneer forming a wave pattern on the commode is not commonly found.[39] It was formed by cutting a log of *bois satiné* obliquely to form oval veneers; these were then cut into rectangular shapes and arranged to form waving lines (fig. 20).

The commode was sold from the collection of the deceased Hon. Mrs. Yorke, the daughter of Sir Anthony de Rothschild, Bt., at Christie's, London, May 5, 1927, lot 138. It was bought by M. Founés for £1029 and later passed through two Swiss private collections.[40] It was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum from Maurice Segoura, Paris.

G. W.

8. PAIR OF ARMCHAIRS
French (Paris), circa 1750–1755
Height: 3′ 5 ¼″ (104.7 cm); Width: 2′ 6″ (76.2 cm);

38. See Henry Hawley, "A Reputation Revived; Jean-Pierre Latz, Cabinetmaker," *Connoisseur*, November 1979, 176–182.

39. For similarly arranged veneers, apart from this commode and that in the Quirinale, see a commode attributed to Joseph Baumhauer in the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco (accession number 1926.112); a commode by Jacques Dubois in Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *Furniture, Clocks, and Gilt Bronzes*, The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor (Fribourg, 1974) vol. 1, 218–220; and a *bureau plat* attributed to Joseph Baumhauer in the J. Paul Getty Museum (accession number 71.DA.95).

40. Founés, referred to in an annotated catalogue of the 1927 sale as "Chez Founés," was a dealer. His business was liquidated in 1935, but this commode does not appear in any of his liquidation sales.

41. I am grateful to Reinier Baarsen for pointing this out.

Depth: 1′ 11 ½″ (59.6 cm)
Accession number 83.DA.230.1–2 (figs. 21a–c)

Each of these armchairs of carved and gilded beechwood has a flat back that is serpentine in outline. The arms with padded rests terminate in a scroll carved with a stylized flower and rest on curving supports set back from the front edge of the seat. The seat frame has a sinuous lower edge and rests on four cabriole, ribbed legs. The upholstery and braiding are modern (fig. 21a). The frame is deeply carved throughout with rococo motifs: shells, cartouches, scrolls, flowerheads, and palmettes. The foot of each leg is carved with auricular foliage in a manner that resembles a *sabot* mount (fig. 21b). Auricular scrolls also decorate the side seat rails. The back of the seat frame is carved with a central shell and incised fluting.

The modern upholstery on the seats makes the chairs appear slightly squat in proportion. It is likely that the original seat upholstery was more fully stuffed at the front and that the fabric actually covered the bases of the arm supports, which are now exposed.[41] This fashion for covering the bases of the armrests was a survival from the Régence period. The prevailing style of the mid-eighteenth century was to carve the complete length of the support, continuing the design along the seat rail.

Each chair is stamped under the back seat rail IAVISSE for Jean Avisse (1723, *maître* 1745, died after 1796), a leading *menuisier* of the mid-eighteenth century (fig. 21c). He worked for the crown and various aristocratic patrons, including the duchesse de La Tremoille, the marquise de Chabannes, the comtesse de Fontenay, and the chevalier de Lamotte.[42]

These chairs apparently formed part of a set of seat furniture. Another pair of armchairs and a *canapé*, all en suite and similarly stamped, were recently sold.[43] The Museum acquired this pair of armchairs from the New York dealer, Matthew Schutz, Ltd.

C. B.-D.

9. PAIR OF VASES
Italian or French, circa 1765–1770
Height: 1′ 3 ¼″ (38.75 cm); Width: 1′ 4 ⅛″ (41.0 cm); Depth: 10 ¾″ (27.75 cm)
Accession number 83.DJ.16.1–2 (figs. 22a–b)

The porphyry bowls are draped with gilt bronze, folded

42. Comte François de Salverte, *Les Ebénistes du XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris, 1927), 7.

43. The armchairs were sold at Sotheby's, New York, October 31, 1981, lot 314. They are now part of a private collection, Princeton, New Jersey. The *canapé* was sold at Sotheby's, New York, May 4, 1984, lot 41, and was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum, 84.DA.70.

Figure 19. A drawing, probably from the workshop of Jean-Pierre Latz, for a commode and a long-case clock. Circa 1745. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, Harleman Collection.

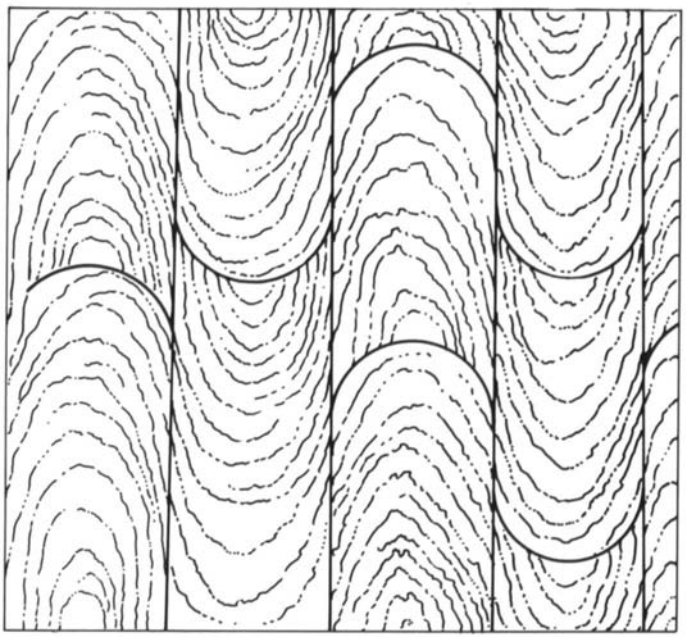

Figure 20. Drawing of *bois satiné* veneer (solid lines indicate edges of pieces of veneer; broken lines indicate wood grain). Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.

Figure 21a. One of a pair of armchairs stamped by Jean Avisse. French (Paris), circa 1750–1755. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DA.230.1–2.

and gathered to resemble fabric. Lions cling to this drapery with their paws, extending their necks and heads over the top of each bowl. Above a square base two snakes are entwined, partially covering a calyx of bay leaves that encloses the base of the bowl. The bowl itself is lined with a gilt-bronze container. When the mounts were removed, it was found that the base of each bowl is formed of red marble.

The vases were apparently made after a design by Eunemond-Alexandre Petitot (1727–1801), the architect and ornamentalist (fig. 23). The design is one of thirty-one vase designs that were engraved by Benigo Bossi in 1764. Petitot was a pupil of Jacques-Germain Soufflot and was at the French Academy in Rome between 1746 and 1750. He was one of the earliest Prix de Rome students to work in the neoclassical style. In 1753 he went to Parma, where he remained for the rest of his life. He was appointed court architect to the Duke of Parma and was created a count in 1789.

It is likely that the porphyry bowls were cut in Italy, and the quality of the mounts suggests Italian manufacture. They are bold and sculptural but not particularly finely cast or chased. The gilding is thick but uneven.

It is rare to find a signed and dated engraving for a decorative object[44] and for an object to follow an engraved design so closely. The vases were formerly in the collection of Sir Everard Radcliffe, Bt., at Rudding Park, Yorkshire. They were acquired by the Museum from Lovice Reviczky AG, Zurich. A second pair is at Houghton Hall, the seat of the Marquess of Cholmondeley.

G. W.

10. WRITING TABLE
French (Paris and Sèvres), circa 1778
Height: 2′ 6 ½″ (77.5 cm); Width: 4′ 3 ⅝″ (131.2 cm);
Depth: 2′ ⅜″ (62.0 cm)
Accession number 83.DA.385 (figs. 24a–d)

This writing table, or *bureau plat,* is made of oak veneered with tulipwood. It is set with fourteen soft paste Sèvres porcelain plaques and with gilt-bronze mounts.[45] The table has

44. See also a Royal Copenhagen porcelain flower vase, modeled in 1779, with lions in the same position but with their feet resting on scrolls (Bredo L. Grandjean, "Nogle nyerhvervelser af dansk porclaen," in *Virkshomed 1959–1964,* ex. cat. (Copenhagen, Det Dansk Kunstindustrimuseum, 1964), 80, fig. 31. I am grateful to Reinier Baarsen for pointing this vase out to me.

45. Some of the mounts, particularly the flat burnished mounts at the rail above each leg and the balls depending from them, are noticeably redder in color than the majority of the mounts. Tests using X-ray fluorescence undertaken at the Museum have shown that all of these mounts are of the same red brass composition (*bronze* in French terminology) and that it is just the thinner gilding on the highly burnished mounts that accounts for their rather different color.

Figure 21b. Detail showing the carved foot of the chair leg.

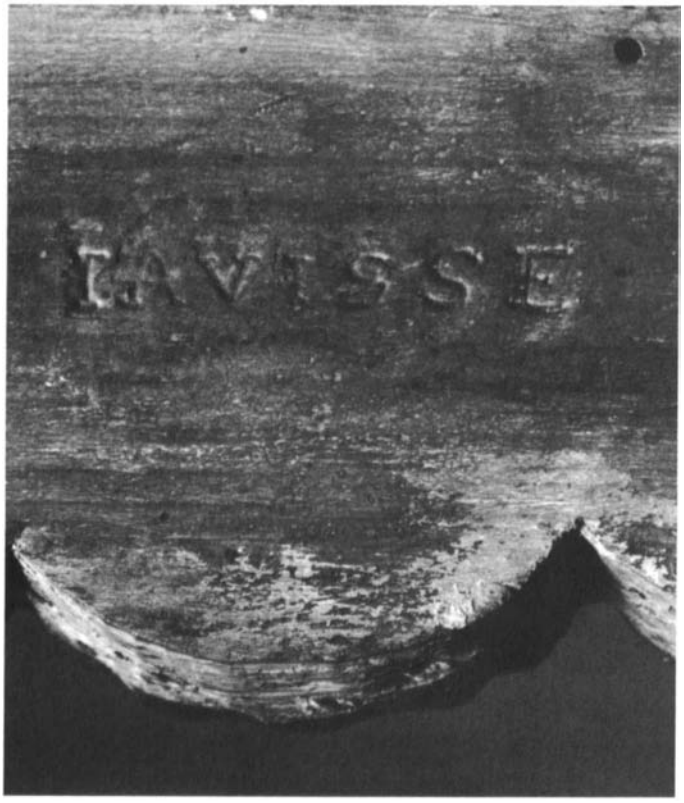

Figure 21c. Detail of the stamp IAVISSE for Jean Avisse.

Figure 22a. One of a pair of porphyry vases mounted with gilt bronze. Italian or French, circa 1765–1770. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DJ.16.1–2.

Figure 22b. Detail of the side of one vase, showing the lion.

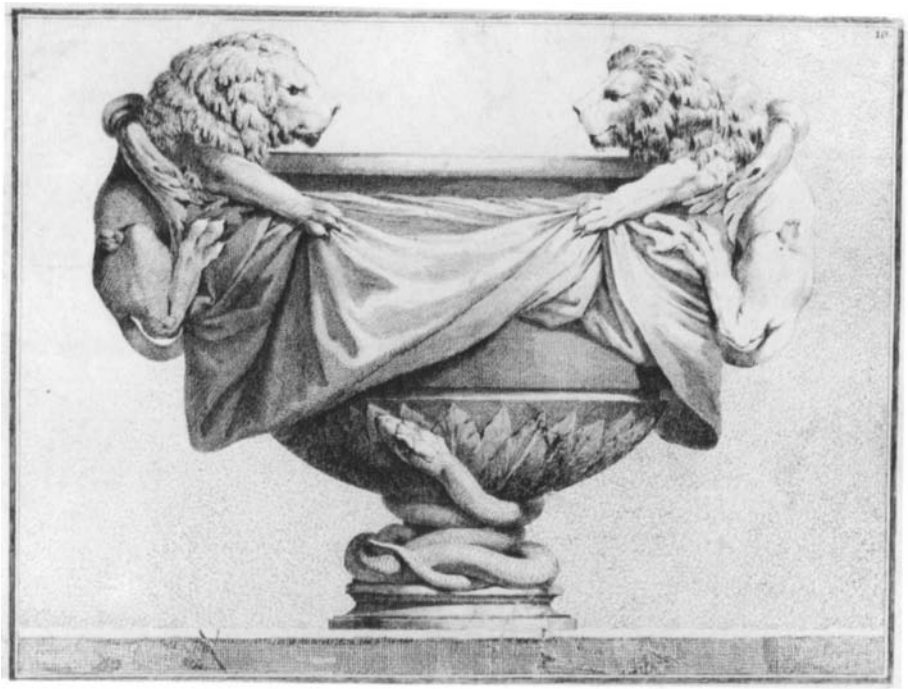

Figure 23. Engraving by Benigo Bossi after a design by Eunemond-Alexandre Petitot, 1764. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.GH.98.3.

Figure 24a. Writing table by Martin Carlin. French (Paris and Sèvres), circa 1778. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DA.385.

one drawer in the front and a drawer at each end. The stamp M. CARLIN, for the *ébéniste* Martin Carlin (*maître* 1766, died 1785), is found, partly obliterated, under the front right rail adjacent to the stamp *JME* of the *juré* of the guild of *menuisiers-ébénistes* (fig. 24b). The table bears the trade label of the Parisian *marchand-mercier* Dominique Daguerre underneath the rear left rail (fig. 24c). The undersurface also bears three painted Russian inventory numbers: *1098* in gray, *M.N.2586* in black, and *6397* in red. The front drawer bears a twentieth-century paper label inscribed *29615*, possibly Duveen's stock number.

This table has recently been published in some detail,[46] and has been referred to in a number of publications since 1907;[47] therefore this description will not be extensive.

Eight of the porcelain plaques are variously marked on their reverses with the Sèvres Manufactory mark in red, the date letters AA for 1778, and the gilder's mark of Jean-Baptiste-Emmanuel Vandé (active at Sèvres 1755–1779).

46. Christie's, London, December 1, 1983, lot 54.

47. Alexandre Benois, *Les Trésors d'Art en Russie* (Saint Petersburg, 1907), vol. 3, 373, vol. 7, 186, pl. 20; Denis Roche, *Le Mobilier Français en Russie* (Paris, 1913), vol. 2, pl. 55; Duveen and Co., *A Catalogue of Works of Art in the Collection of Anna Thompson Dodge*, 1939, vol. 1, illus.; James Parker et al., *Decorative Art from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (London, 1964), 112, 114, and 130; F. J. B. Watson, *The Wrightsman Collection* (New York, 1966), vol. 1, 189, 190; Anthony Coleridge, "Works of Art with a Royal Provenance from the Collection of the late Mrs. Anna Thompson Dodge," *Connoisseur*, May 1971, 34–36, illus.; Christie's, London, June 24, 1971, lot 135.

Figure 24b. Obliterated stamps M. CARLIN and *JME* found under the front right rail of the table.

Figure 24c. The paper trade label of the *marchand-mercier* Dominique Daguerre pinned under the rear left rail of the table.

Figure 24d. Detail showing the Sèvres porcelain plaque forming the drawer front at one end of the table.

From the Sèvres kiln registers of 1778 one can see that a number of plaques were made with *bleu céleste* borders and flowers; these plaques possibly correspond to those found on this table. There were seventeen plaques of various shapes fired in September, October, and November 1778 that were gilded by Vandé and painted by Etienne-François Bouillat père (active at Sèvres 1758–1810), but none of the plaques on this table bear any painter's mark. Nine plaques bear paper labels on their reverses printed in red with the crossed L's of the Sèvres Manufactory and inked in black with the price of the plaque. The two large shaped plaques, which are mounted on the fronts of the drawers at each end of the table (fig. 24d), are marked as costing ninety-six *livres* each. This shape of plaque is not known to have been made again at Sèvres. The four curved plaques are unmarked. Seven of the eight rectangular plaques bear price labels showing that they cost thirty *livres* each.

All the flat Sèvres plaques are unglazed on their reverse sides; however, the four curved plaques on the ends are glazed on both sides. These plaques appear to be halved sections of a model repeated many times at Sèvres and described there as a *quart-de-cercle*. The same form of plaque is found on a series of small circular tables by Martin Carlin, two of which are in the J. Paul Getty Museum.[48] There are no marks on the reverses of the curved plaques and they too are glazed on their reverse sides. It would appear that glaze was needed on both sides of a curved plaque in order to prevent it from warping out of the required shape during firing.

One cannot conclusively identify these plaques from reading the various registers for decorators' payments and kiln firings for the year 1778. As previously mentioned, the kiln registers include several groups of plaques gilded by Vandé and painted with flowers by Etienne-François Bouillat père, which may refer to at least some of the plaques found on the Museum's table.[49] At this time the *marchand-mercier* Daguerre had a near monopoly on the purchase of the plaques specifically made to be mounted onto furniture. Indeed it is likely that he was responsible for ordering plaques of unusual shapes, such as those found at the ends of the Museum's table, to decorate a newly designed piece of furniture like this table. A look at the Sèvres sales registers shows that Daguerre purchased two pairs of unspecified plaques in 1778 that cost ninety-six *livres*, either of which may be the pair found on this table. Daguerre is also recorded as having bought two batches of plaques (six and eight respectively) of unspecified shapes costing thirty *livres* each, which would have given him an adequate stock of plaques for Carlin to make this table.

One other table of this model is in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.[50] It is decorated with panels of black and gold oriental lacquer in the frieze, rather than with Sèvres plaques as on the Museum's table, and has similar gilt-bronze mounts with the addition of drapery mounts over the panels at each end. The table in London bears the stamp M. CARLIN in three places under the rail and probably was also made by Carlin for Daguerre. It has been suggested that the effacing of Carlin's stamp on the Museum's table, which is also known to have occurred on other pieces by Carlin, was probably done by Daguerre to conceal the identity of one of his better craftsmen from his clients.

The table was almost certainly among the pieces of furniture sold by Daguerre to Grand Duchess Maria-Feodorovna and Grand Duke Paul (later Czar Paul I) of Russia as they traveled across Europe incognito, calling themselves comte and comtesse du Nord. Baroness d'Oberkirch recorded that on May 25, 1784, they visited Daguerre's shop on the rue Saint-Honoré in Paris.[51] No list survives of what they purchased from Daguerre, but after their return to Russia Maria-Feodorovna installed several pieces of new French furniture in her bedroom at Pavlovsk, near Saint Petersburg, including the Museum's table. It was described by her in 1795,[52] along with two *secrétaires* also decorated with *bleu céleste* Sèvres porcelain plaques.[53]

The lapse of years between the date when the Sèvres plaques were made, 1778, and the date when the grand duchess is presumed to have bought the table, 1784, cannot be accounted for as yet. It is possible that Daguerre kept the plaques in stock for some time before the table was made. Having gone to the trouble and expense of obtaining plaques of a special shape, however, it seems more likely that he would have had Carlin make the table a short time after receiving the plaques from Sèvres. The table may have been in Daguerre's shop, *A La Couronne d'Or*, for some time awaiting a customer. Maria-Feodorovna did, however, buy at least one piece of furniture from Daguerre that was presumably commissioned by him but which had been in the possession of another client of his for several years. That piece, a *secrétaire* now in the Wrightsman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, is decorated with Sèvres porcelain plaques dated for 1776 and was sold in 1782 in the auction of possessions of the deceased actress Mlle de

48. One is stamped M. CARLIN; the circular plaque forming the top is painted with the date 1773, accession number 70.DA.75. The other is unstamped; the circular plaque forming the top bears the date letter L for 1764, accession number 70.DA.74. See Gillian Wilson, *Decorative Arts in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1977), nos. 97, 98, illus.

49. See Christie's, London, December 1, 1983, lot 54.

50. Jones Collection, accession number 1049-1882. It measures 2′ 5¼″ (74.3 cm) by 4′ 3⅜″ (130.4 cm) by 2′ ¼″ (61.6 cm).

51. Henriette Louis d'Oberkirch, *Mémoires de la baronne d'Oberkirch sur la cour de Louis XVI et la société française*... (Paris, 1854), vol. 2, 44.

52. Grand Duchess Maria-Feodorovna, *Description of Pavlovsk*, 1795, in Benois, *supra*, note 47.

53. One by Adam Weisweiler was sold from the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Deane Johnson, Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, December

Laguerre.[54] She had presumably bought the piece from Daguerre when it was new, after 1776. Daguerre must have repurchased it at the auction in 1782, since he sold the same *secrétaire* to Maria-Feodorovna in 1784, after which time it was taken to Pavlovsk.

The table remained at Pavlovsk until after the Russian Revolution. It was purchased from the Soviet Government by Lord Duveen in 1931, and he sold it to Mrs. Horace Dodge (Anna Thompson Dodge) who lived near Detroit. It was sold at auction after her death,[55] at which time J. Paul Getty was an underbidder for it. Since 1971 this *bureau plat* had been in the collection of Mr. Habib Sabet in Geneva. He sent it to auction in 1983[56] at which time the Museum was able to acquire it.

A. S.

11. PAIR OF WALL LIGHTS
French (Paris), circa 1780–1785
Height: 3′ 6½″ (108.0 cm); Width: 1′ 10 ⅜″ (57.0 cm); Depth: 11 ⅞″ (30.0 cm)
Accession number 83.DF.23.1–2 (figs. 25a–c)

Each of this pair of gilt-bronze wall lights bears five curved and fluted arms for candles. The two lower arms spring from the feathered headdresses of two female masks at the sides, while the remaining three arms spring from a semicircular collar above the central female mask. The central element of these wall lights is formed by a burnished tapering shaft which hangs from long gilt-bronze ribbons tied at the top in a bow held by a circular decorated stud. A vase of flowers, fruit, pine cones, acorns, berries, and leaves surmounts the shaft, while swags with pendants of chased flowers, fruit, and leaves are suspended between the female masks. The base of the shaft is enclosed by a cup of leaves and berries. A pendant of oak leaves and acorns, which terminates in two tasseled ribbons, is suspended from a pair of acanthus cups.

The chasing and gilding on these wall lights are of exceptionally high quality. The finishing of the modeled details is very precise, and a variety of surface textures has been created by the chasing. The gilding is thick and in good condition. The color of the gilding is slightly redder on the burnished shafts, but tests have shown that the support metal is of the same composition throughout and that the color difference is due to the gilding being significantly thinner on the highly burnished shafts.[57]

Figure 25a. One of a pair of wall lights, French (Paris), circa 1780–1785. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DF.23.1–2.

The craftsmen who made these wall lights—the bronze caster, the chaser, and the gilder—were of the highest competence; and the names of Pierre Gouthière (1732–1813/14) and Pierre-Philippe Thomire (1751–1843) immediately spring to mind. Christian Baulez has suggested that this model is likely to have been made by Thomire; and when the Museum's wall lights are compared with examples documented to be by Thomire, it seems very likely that they may have come from his workshops. The Wallace Collection possesses a set of four gilt-bronze wall lights[58] delivered to the

9, 1972, lot 101, and again Sotheby, Monaco, June 24, 1976, lot 162. It is now in a British private collection. The other by Martin Carlin is in the Wrightsman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, see F. J. B. Watson, *The Wrightsman Collection* (New York, 1966) vol. 1, 105.

54. F. J. B. Watson, no. 105, 186–190. The connection with Mlle de Laguerre was pointed out by Theodore Dell.

55. Christie's, London, June 24, 1971, lot 135.

56. Christie's, London, December 1, 1983, lot 54.

57. Tests were carried out at the J. Paul Getty Museum using X-ray fluorescence.

58. See F. J. B. Watson, *The Wallace Collection Catalogues, Furniture* (London, 1956), nos. F 366–369.

Figure 25b. Detail showing the central part of one of the wall lights.

Figure 25c. Detail showing the lower section of one of the wall lights.

Château de Compiègne in 1787 that were cast by one of the Forestier brothers (either Etienne-Jean or Pierre-Auguste) and chased and gilded by Thomire. The design of the branches on these lights is similar to that of the Museum's newly acquired pair, and the drip pans are of the same model, although those on the examples from the Wallace Collection are surmounted by an additional molding of beading.

Other versions of this model of wall light are known. Three pairs now hang in the Petit Trianon at Versailles,[59] one pair is in the Wallace Collection in London,[60] one pair is in a private collection in Paris, and a pair was sold at auction in 1984.[61] A pair of wall lights of similar model, but with patinated central shafts, branches of differing design, and additional elements at the base, is in the Palace of Pavlovsk, near Leningrad;[62] this pair is attributed to Pierre Gouthière. A set of four wall lights composed of elements similar to the Museum's pair, yet with only three arms and shortened groups of oak leaves hanging from the base, was in a private collection in Argentina.[63] Another example of the use of these elements to form smaller wall lights can be seen in a set of six lights that appeared on the New York art market in 1972.[64] These lights are without the ribbons at the top and have shortened ribbons and foliate husks at the bottom. They have only three arms for candles.

Wall lights of this model were made in the nineteenth century by Alfred-Emmanuel-Louis Beurdeley's firm of bronze makers. A pair was sold at auction in 1979;[65] these were of the same form as the Museum's examples but with

59. Formerly these pairs were split between Versailles (67 EN 4802), the Petit Trianon (T. 6248), and the Musée du Louvre, Paris (OA 5251).

60. See Watson, 1956, nos. F 378–379.

61. Sold, Christie's, New York, June 6, 1984, lot 31.

62. See A. M. Kuchumov, *Pavlovsk, Le Palais et le Parc* (Leningrad, 1976), 98, illus.

63. See *Exposicion de Obras Maestras, Coleccion Paula de Koenigsberg,* ex. cat. (Buenos Aires, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1945), no. 241, illus., described as coming from a Rothschild collection. However, see French and Co., New York, stock sheet no. 21458 in the J. Paul Getty Center Archives, which shows that these wall lights were purchased from Warwick House in 1919 and sold to Nicholas de Koenigsberg in 1943.

64. See the J. Paul Getty Center Photo Archive, no. 27758.

65. Palais D'Orsay, Paris, May 16, 1979, lot 49.

Figure 26a. One of a pair of *vases Hollandais nouveaux.* French (Sèvres), circa 1785. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DE.341.1–2.

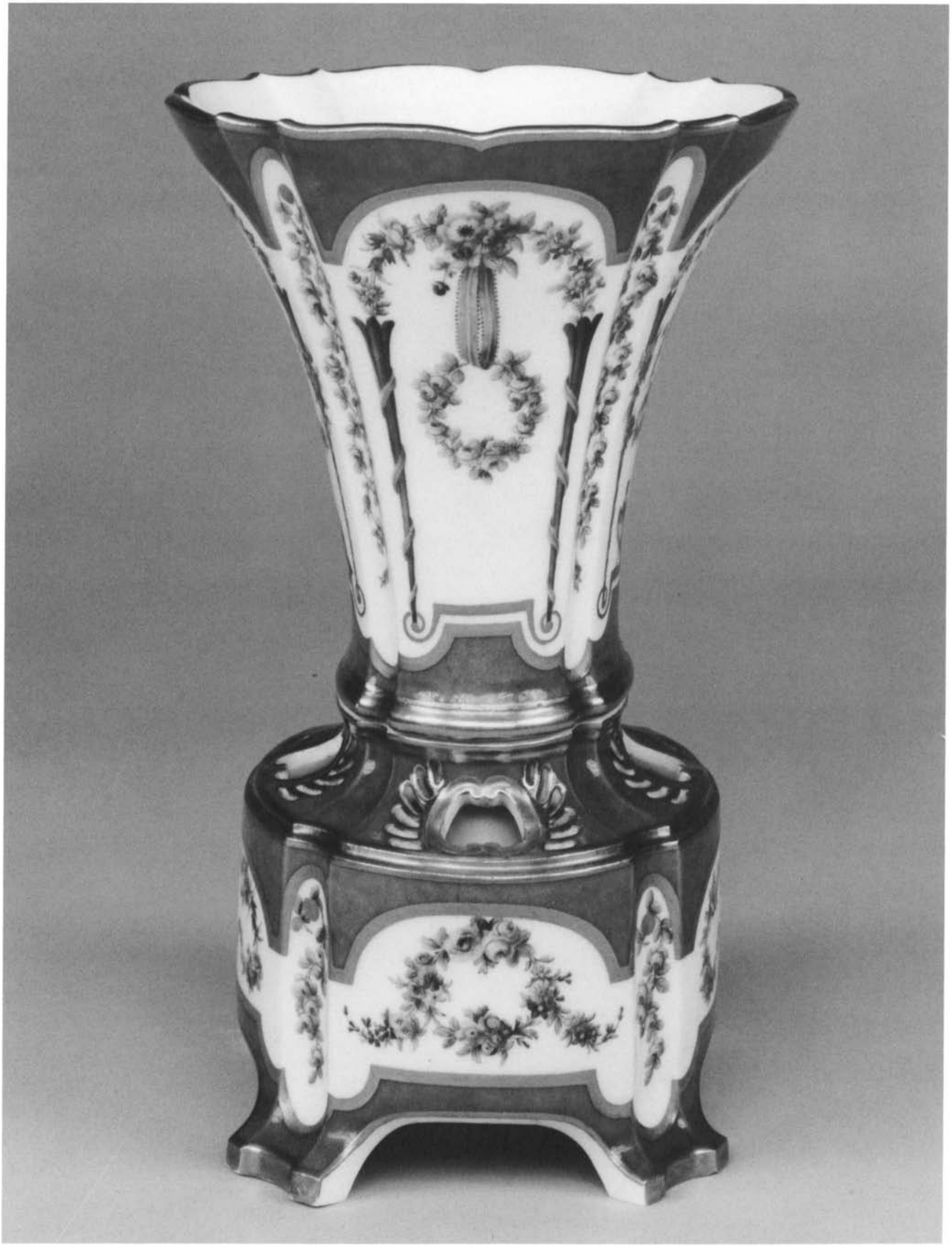

Figure 26b. Side view of one of the vases.

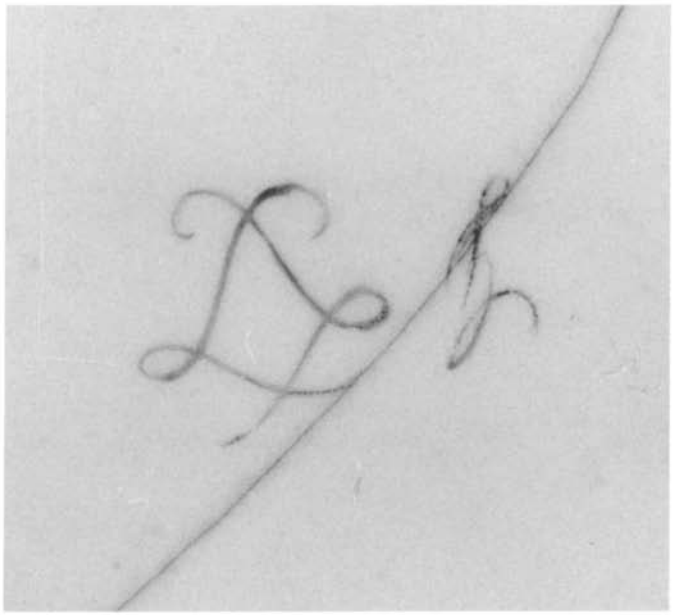

Figure 26c. Detail showing the mark of the Sèvres Manufactory and the painter's mark *h* painted beneath the base.

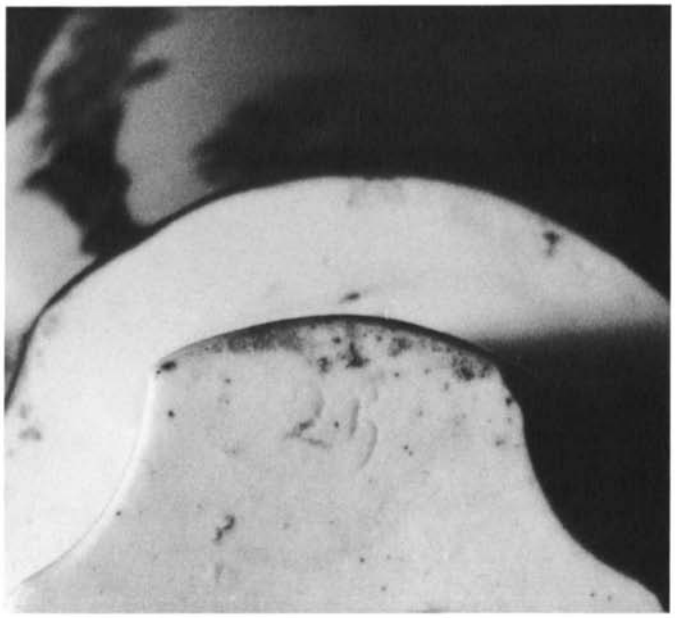

Figure 26d. Detail showing the incised *répareur*'s mark *25* under the base of the vases.

blued steel forming the central cylinder. The Museum's wall lights come from the collection of comte de Mortemart Rochechouart at the Château de Saint Vrain, France, and they are reputed to have been in that house since the eighteenth century. The Museum acquired these wall lights from Maurice Segoura, Paris.

A. S.

12. PAIR OF VASES
French (Sèvres), circa 1785
Height: 10″ (25.5 cm); Width: 7 ⅞″ (22.5 cm);
Depth: 6 ¼″ (15.9 cm)
Accession number 83.DE.341.1–2 (figs. 26a–d)

Known as a *vase Hollandais nouveau*, this model of vase first appears in the inventory of new models at Sèvres on January 1, 1759. In that year three sizes are mentioned; by 1774 a fourth size was being produced, but it seems that eventually five sizes were made, measuring between seventeen and twenty-nine centimeters in height.[66] The Museum's vases are of the second size. The model—a development of the *vase Hollandais*, which was first produced in 1754—was immensely popular and sold in great quantities up until the French Revolution.

Each vase consists of two separate sections. The upper trumpet-shaped vase is pierced around its base. It fits into the lower footed section, which was intended to hold water. The large reserves are painted with garlands and pendants of flowers, in which pink roses feature predominantly. Some of the flowers are held in bulbous blue and yellow vases, while sprays emerge from tapering shaftlike containers. A pair of birds sit on a gilded bar. The decoration is similar on the back and the front of each vase. The *bleu céleste* ground is bordered by bands of gilding, which are summarily chased with a zigzag pattern.

The base of each vase is painted with the crossed L's of the Sèvres Manufactory and the painter's mark, a cursive *h*, all in blue (fig. 26c). The upper section of each is incised with *25*, the mark of the *répareur* (fig. 26d), and one of these sections is also incised O. Rosalind Savill reads the *h* as the mark of the artist Jacques-François-Louis de Laroche (active 1758–1800). It is possible that the following reference of October 7, 1785, under his name in the Sèvres Manufactory's painters' register, refers to these vases: "2 vases hollandais, ornement, Bleu céleste/Arabesques riches."[67]

The decoration on these vases is most unusual, and similar work has not been found on any other objects produced at Sèvres. The painting, though very finely executed, is somewhat tight, and little originality has been shown in the choice of the birds; the same pair is shown on each vase, back and front. The gilding has been only summarily chased, but this is consistent with the date of the vases. Perhaps the most

66. See Marcelle Brunet and Tamara Préaud, *Sèvres, des origines à nos jours* (Fribourg, 1978), 152, no. 86, and Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain from the Royal Collection* (London, 1979), 84–86.

67. *Registres de Peintres*, vj 3 f 127r.

Figure 27a. Group of Bacchus and Ariadne. Italian (Florence), circa 1690. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.SB.333.

Figure 27b. Group of Bacchus and Ariadne seen from the rear.

unusual aspect of the vases is the color scheme, the bluish pink of the flowers contrasting with the rich *bleu céleste* of the ground color. These same contrasting colors are found on many of the Sèvres plaques that were used in these decades to decorate furniture. It is likely that these vases were intended to be placed on just such objects. They are now displayed on a *secrétaire* mounted with Sèvres plaques by Martin Carlin.[68]

The vases come from the collection of Baroness Alexis de Goldschmidt-Rothschild, Switzerland. They were acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum from Lovice Reviczky AG of Zurich.

G. W.

13. BACCHUS AND ARIADNE
Italian (Florence), circa 1690
Height: 1′ 3 ¾″ (40.0 cm); Width: 11 ⅝″ (29.5 cm); Depth: 8 ½″ (21.5 cm)
Accession number 83.SB.333 (figs. 27a–b)

This patinated bronze group depicts Bacchus seated with his left arm resting on Ariadne's shoulder and his right arm raised and holding a bunch of grapes. Ariadne is seated with her body turned to her right as she reaches to her left to pick up a large elaborate ewer. The base is modeled as a rocky form with vegetation and a tree stump. The dark brown patina is thought to be of late eighteenth-century date. Traces of the original, slightly more golden patina can be seen in certain areas.

A bronze version of this group is in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.;[69] another one is in a New York private collection; and an example was sold at auction in 1899.[70] Jennifer Montagu has shown that the model can be attributed to the Florentine sculptor Giovanni Battista Foggini (1652–1740),[71] who was *primo scultore* at the Medici court in Florence from 1687. He occupied the same foundry in the Borgo Pinti that was formerly used by Giambologna. A drawing by Foggini, possibly a design for a firedog, preserved in the Uffizi, Florence, shows a figure of Bacchus in a similar pose. Jennifer Montagu also attributes to Foggini another bronze group of Bacchus and Ariadne of similar composition that was sold at auction in 1903.[72]

Klaus Lankheit has shown that this model was one of the seventy-two by Foggini that were bought well after his death for use by the Ginori porcelain manufactory at Doccia, near Florence.[73] Giovanni Battista Foggini's son Vincenzo worked at Doccia as a modeler between 1741 and 1753, and it was through him that the manufactory purchased many of his father's molds and models. An inventory of the manufactory's stock of models dated 1780 lists the terracotta model of Bacchus and Ariadne considered here.[74] It was evidently used by the manufactory, and Lankheit illustrated a biscuit porcelain version.[75]

A variant of this model was made in the late eighteenth century by the Aldovrandi Porcelain Manufactory in Bologna.[76] In this later example, details such as the ewer and the base have been slightly altered to be more neoclassical.

The Museum's bronze was for many years in the collection of David Peel in London. The Museum acquired it from the dealer Daniel Katz of London.

A. S.

14. SIDE CHAIR
Italian (Piedmontese), circa 1700–1710
Height: 4′ 2 ⅝″ (128.5 cm); Width: 1′ 9 ⅞″ (55.6 cm); Depth: 2′ 3 ⅜″ (69.5 cm)
Accession number 83.DA.281 (fig. 28)

The side chair illustrated in figure 28 was one of five sold from the collection of Major-General Sir George Burns of North Mymms Park in 1979.[77] At the time of the sale the chairs bore their original upholstery. A sixth chair with similar yellow-ribboned and corded, red upholstery is in the Castello Racconigi, the seat of the House of Savoy, outside Turin.[78] One must assume that the latter chair was always part of the furnishings of this palace, but letters to Italy concerning this matter have not yet elicited a reply. Two more chairs from this set were sold from the collection of M. Guggenheim in 1913;[79] they were more simply upholstered in figured damask with fringing. A ninth chair with corded decoration on a figured damask is illustrated in *Møbel Haadbog*,[80] but its location is not given, and it is described as Venetian. It is likely that other chairs from this set, which may have been large, exist.

68. Accession number 67.DA.2. Gillian Wilson, *Decorative Arts in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1977), no. 100, 76, illus.
69. Accession number A-175.
70. Bardini Sale, Christie's, London, June 5–7, 1899, lot 434. See David Peel and Co., *Summer Exhibition 1967* (London, 1967), no. 31, where the Museum's example is included.
71. Jennifer Montagu, "Hercules and Iole and Some Other Bronzes by Foggini," *Apollo*, March 1968, 170–175, fig. 7.
72. See Montagu, 174, fig. 6, from the Mme Lelong sale, Paris, May 11–16, 1903, lot 790.
73. Klaus Lankheit, *Die Modellsammlung der Porzellanmanufaktur Doccia* (Munich, 1982), 127.
74. Inventory number 16, p. 28.
75. Lankheit, fig. 123.
76. See G. Morazzoni and L. Borgese, *La Terraglia Italiana* (Milan, 1956), 118, illus.
77. Christie's, London, September 24–26, 1979, lot 215.
78. Noemi Gabrielli, *Racconigi* (Turin, 1972), 27.
79. Collection of M. Le Comm. M. Guggenheim, Venice, Hugo Helbing, Munich, September 30, 1913, lot 589.
80. Ole Haslund, Edward C. J. Wolf, H. O. Bøggild-Andersen, *International Møbel Haadbog* (Copenhagen, 1946), vol. 2, 23.

Figure 28. Side chair. Italian (Piedmontese), circa 1700–1710. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DA.281.

Figure 29a. Commode. Italian (Venice), circa 1750–1760. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DA.282.

Two of the five chairs sold in 1979 are now in the Toledo Museum of Art,[81] and they still bear their original upholstery, the cording and ribbons attached to red watered silk, as on the chair at Racconigi. The remaining three, including the Museum's chair, were reupholstered in Paris in the early 1980's. The other two from this group are in an American private collection.

The chair was acquired by the Museum from Partridge (Fine Arts) Ltd., London.

G. W.

15. COMMODE
Italian (Venice), circa 1750–1760
Height: 2′ 8 ⅛″ (81.5 cm); Width: 4′ 9 ⅞″ (147.0 cm); Depth: 2′ ⅝″ (62.5 cm)
Accession number 83.DA.282 (figs. 29a–c)

The surface of the commode is gilded, and the raised scrolling moldings are silvered. The top is painted in dark green *faux marbre*. A painted double swag of flowers held by three ribbon bows extends across the surfaces of the drawers, which are surrounded by a raised molding. Sprays of flowers wind above and below these moldings at the front and sides. Pendants of flowers are suspended from bows at the front corners and at the back. The sides are painted with loose bunches of flowers, while the legs and aprons are decorated with sprays of flowers (fig. 29c).

81. Accession number 79.85.86.

82. A gilded example may be seen in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, inventory number D32068, and an elaborate *bureau* is in the Minneapolis Museum of Art, Minnesota, accession number 76.74.

83. An exception to this rule is found on Venetian commodes that are painted with peopled landscapes in imitation of lacquer. Here the entire surface of the front is also treated as one unit. See Giuseppe Morazzoni, *Mobili Veneziani Laccati* (Milan, n.d.), vol. 2 pls. XIII, XIV, and 4 (color).

84. See the commode in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (*supra*,

The profiles of the commode are complex and *bombé*, as is to be expected with a piece of this date and origin. While a number of gilded commodes exist,[82] the Museum's example appears to be unique on a number of counts. The entire front is treated as one decorative unit, and each drawer is not, as is usually the case with Venetian commodes of this period, surrounded by a raised molding.[83] The painted surface is in remarkably fine condition, since it is frequently found that these fragile pieces have been much restored and repainted over the years. The floral decoration is also unusual; on other examples the flowers are scattered in bunches all over the surface in a loose manner,[84] while here they are arranged in a formal way that heralds the emerging neoclassical style.

The commode was bought by a Parisian dealer at a small auction in Saint-Malo in 1982. It was placed at auction in London[85] where it was acquired by the Museum. It is stated to have come "from the Orsini family," but as yet we have no concrete information to confirm this provenance.

G. W.

16. GARNITURE OF FIVE VASES
German (Meissen), circa 1730
Pair of open vases:
Height: 10 ⅞″ (27.6 cm); Width: 7″ (17.8 cm)
Pair of lidded vases:
Height: 1′ 11/16″ (32.2 cm); Width: 7 ⅝″ (19.4 cm)
Single lidded vases:
Height: 1′ 2 11/16″ (37.3 cm); Width: 9 ½″ (24.1 cm)
Accession number 83.DE.334.1–5 (figs. 30a–k)

This garniture of five hexagonal vases consists of a pair of open vases, a pair of lidded vases, and a larger lidded vase (fig. 30a). Each is painted on its unglazed base with the monogram AR in blue for Augustus Rex (fig. 30b), and the central vase is incised with the mark for the molder Schiefer (fig. 30c).[86] The shapes of these vases were copied from oriental porcelain vases, presumably from the collection of Augustus II, Elector of Saxony (1679–1733), in Dresden.

The white ground of these hard paste porcelain vases is decorated with burnished gilding in decorative patterns and with painted scenes. There are seventy-eight separately painted panels on the vases and lids, of which seventy-two depict oriental figures. On its lower panels the central vase is painted with six carmine red scenes of European harbors and landscapes (fig. 30d).

The style of painted chinoiserie decoration (figs. 30e, g,

Figure 29b. Side view of the commode.

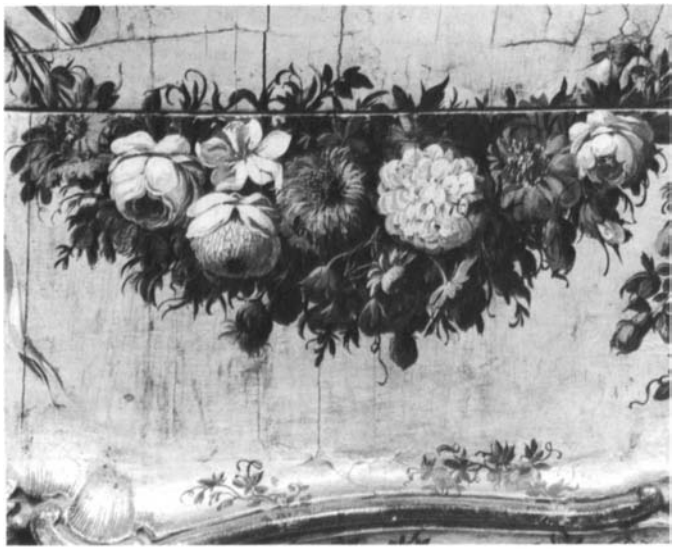

Figure 29c. Detail showing the floral painting on the commode.

note 82), another illustrated in Clelia Alberici, *Il Mobile Veneto* (Milan, 1980), 209, fig. 282, and a number of examples in Morazzoni, vol. 2.

85. Sotheby's, London, July 15, 1983, lot 114.

86. See R. Rückert, *Meissener Porzellan 1710–1820*, ex. cat. (Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 1966), 43.

Figure 30a. Garniture of five vases. German (Meissen), circa 1730. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DE.334.1–5.

and i–k) was developed at Meissen in the 1720's under the chief artist at the manufactory, Johann Gregor Höroldt (born 1696, active at Meissen from 1720, died 1775). A notebook known as the Schulz Codex[87] survives in the Museum des Kunsthandwerks, Leipzig, that consists of one hundred and twenty-four sheets of designs for figures such as these, some attributed to Höroldt himself and all almost certainly used under his direction by the painters at Meissen (figs. 30f and h). The designs are in pen, ink, and wash; it is thought that a similar quantity of additional sheets originally existed.

At least fifteen of the scenes painted on the Museum's garniture of vases are identifiable in the Schulz Codex. Figures 30e–h show a comparison between two painted scenes and two drawings from the sketchbook. These designs were repeated on other pieces of porcelain painted at Meissen. Figure 30i shows a plate sold at auction in 1982[88] that is also painted with the figure of a monkey resting on a man's head that is found on one of the Museum's vases (fig. 30g). Figures 30j and k are of two scenes from different vases, and they clearly indicate that at least two different painters were responsible for the large figures on this garniture. The lidded vases are painted in slightly brighter colors and in a much freer manner than the open vases, which are characterized by tighter painting and a more careful approach to detail.

Vases of this shape and decoration are rare, especially forming a garniture of five. The closest examples in terms of the arrangement of the chinoiserie figures on gilded plinths and in cartouches are a single lidded vase that was on the Paris art market in 1952[89] and another lidded vase currently on the New York art market. A single lidded vase of similar type and decoration was in a Buenos Aires collection.[90] The Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam possesses two pairs of lidded vases,[91] two pairs of open vases,[92] a single lidded vase,[93] and a pair of lidded vases with kakiemon-style bands of ground color.[94] These are all of the same models as the Museum's newly acquired vases, but their chinoiserie painted scenes are set in very different gilded decoration. In the Ernst Schneider collection at Schloss Lustheim, Munich, there are five examples of the open, shaped vases, a set of three and a pair,[95] where the chinoiserie figures are set in much simpler gilded decoration than the Museum's examples. A single open vase of similar form and decoration is in the Hans Syz Collection.[96]

None of these vases bear Johanneum marks, and they were not sold from Dresden in the duplicate sales held in 1919 and 1920. The Museum's vases were sold anonymously at auction

87. See *Meissener Musterbuch Höroldt-Chinoiserien* (Leipzig, 1978), with commentary by Rainer Behrends.

88. Collection of the late Paul Schnyder von Wartensee, Sotheby's, London, June 29, 1982, lot 96.

89. See *Connaissance Des Arts,* October 1952, 4, illus. with a replacement gilt-bronze knop (advertisement of Pierre Ladune).

90. See *Exposicion de Obras Maestras, Coleccion Paula de Koenigsberg,* ex. cat. (Buenos Aires, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1945), no. 175, illus., stated to have come from the Palace of Tsarskoe Selo. However, regarding the accuracy of this catalogue's information see note 63 under No. 11 of this article.

91. Accession numbers RBK 17448 A & B and RBK 17447 A & B.

92. Accession numbers RBK 17457 A & B and RBK 17450 A & B.

93. The J. Paul Getty Center Photo Archive, no. 114988.

94. The J. Paul Getty Center Photo Archive, no. 114974.

95. See Rückert, *supra,* note 86, nos. 189–193. Three of them are the size of the Museum's open vases; the pair are smaller being only 24.6 and 24.8 cm high.

96. See H. Syz, J. J. Miller, and R. Rückert, *Catalogue of the Hans Syz Collection* (Washington, D.C., 1979), vol. 1, no. 32, illus., height 27.6 cm.

Figure 30b. Monogram AR in blue, found under the base of each vase in the garniture.

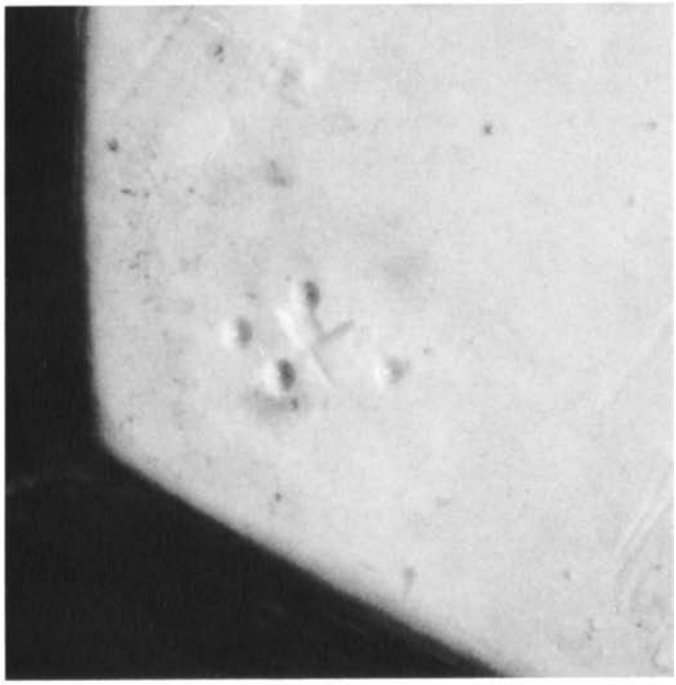

Figure 30c. Schiefer's incised molder's mark found under the base of the larger lidded vase.

Figure 30d. One of six harbor scenes painted in carmine red on the larger lidded vase.

Figure 30e. Group of a trinket seller painted on one of the smaller lidded vases.

Figure 30f. Facsimile drawing of a trinket seller, Schulz Codex, pl. 44 (I,2).

Figure 30g. Group with a monkey resting on a man's head painted on one of the smaller lidded vases.

Figure 30h. Facsimile drawing of a monkey resting on a man's head, Schulz Codex, pl. 44 (II,1).

Figure 30i. Plate. German (Meissen), circa 1730, painted with figures from a sheet in the Schulz Codex shown in figure 30h. Photo: Courtesy Sotheby Parke Bernet.

Figure 30j. Figure group painted on the larger lidded vase.

Figure 30k. Figure group painted on one of the open vases.

Figure 31a. Group of Japanese figures. German (Meissen), 1745. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DE.271.

Figure 31b. The group of Japanese figures shown from the rear.

in 1957,[97] at which time they were bought by the Antique Porcelain Company, London. Since 1957 the garniture has been with an Italian private collector, from whose heirs the Antique Porcelain Company repurchased the vases in 1982.

A. S.

17. GROUP OF JAPANESE FIGURES
German (Meissen), 1745
Height: 1′ 5 ¾″ (45.1 cm); Width: 11 ⅝″ (29.5 cm); Depth: 8 9/16″ (21.7 cm)
Accession number 83.DE.271 (figs. 31a–b)

This hard paste porcelain group is composed of a figure of an oriental man feeding cherries to a parrot. He is seated under a porcelain parasol, which is mounted on a gilt-bronze shaft and held by a figure of an oriental woman. The porcelain base is decorated with molded and painted flowers and is covered beneath with a base of gilt bronze.[98] Some of the figures' extremities, such as their fingers, have been broken and repaired.

This group is of unusually large size and can be identified in the list of work carried out by Johann Joachim Kändler in 1745.[99] The entry reads:

> Eine große Japanische Grouppee, da ein Bajote auff einem grünen Raasen sizet, und neben sich eine Japanerin hat, so ihm ein Parsol übern Kopff hält, darbey ein Papagoy, welchen der Japaner füttert. ..... 24.r.

At least two other examples of this model are known to exist; both are in damaged condition. One appears to be of nineteenth-century date, but the other, which has been in the Museo Civico of Turin since 1880,[100] appears to be quite similar to the Museum's example. Unlike the Museum's example, however, the man in the Turin example was modeled without a beard, and due to damage, there is no longer a parrot or a parasol. The example presumed to be nineteenth

97. Property of a Gentleman, Sotheby's, London, March 5, 1957, lot 123. I am grateful to Reinier Baarsen for pointing out this auction.

98. This base has not been removed to see whether or not the group bears the crossed swords mark of the Meissen Manufactory.

99. I am grateful to Timothy Clarke for pointing out this entry dated November 20, 1745. See Max Adolf Pfeiffer, "Ein Beitrag zur Quellgeschichte des Europäischen Porzellans" in *Werden und Wirken: Ein Festgruss für Karl W. Hiersemann* (Leipzig, 1924), 267–287.

100. Illustrated in Luigi Mallé, *Palazzo Madama in Torino, Le collezioni d'arte* (Turin, 1970), vol. 2, 311.

Figure 32. Hearing. English (Derby), circa 1756–1758. London, Victoria and Albert Museum C. 190–1977.

Figure 33. Pair of figures of Chinese musicians. English (Derby), circa 1756–1758. Indianapolis, Indianapolis Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Herbert R. Duckwall in memory of her husband, 55.212 a&b.

century is in a Northern California private collection.[101] It has rather differently painted decoration and a replacement metal parasol, and it lacks the modeled flowers on the base in contrast to the other two examples.

From 1750 or shortly after, the Derby Porcelain Factory made a figure group called *Hearing* (fig. 32), which is also often called *Sight*, as part of a set representing the senses. It consists of the seated figure of a man and a raised and seated figure of a woman with her left arm outstretched and a parrot resting on her right hand. The arrangement of the figures is obviously taken from the same source that inspired the Meissen group acquired by the Museum. Derby also produced a pair of figures of Chinese musicians between 1756 and 1758 (fig. 33).[102] The poses of these figures are also probably taken from the same design source as the group of *Hearing* and the Museum's Meissen group, but in this instance the woman holds small drums and the man a mandolin. The common source, presumably a published engraving, has not yet been identified; but it is probably after a design by a French eighteenth-century painter.[103]

The Museum's group was sold at auction in 1982 from a European collection,[104] at which time the female figure held a replacement parasol. The original parasol, which at some stage had been separated from the group, was found in the collection of the late Paul Schnyder von Wartensee, Switzerland, and has now been reunited with the figures. The Museum acquired this group from the London dealer Winifred Williams.

A. S.

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Malibu

101. I am grateful to Kenneth Winslow of Butterfield's, San Francisco, for bringing this example to my attention.

102. See Catherine B. Lippert "Eighteenth-Century English porcelain in the Indianapolis Museum of Art," *Antiques*, January 1984, 224.

103. Catherine B. Lippert, notes that the design is not taken from François Boucher's *Livre de six feuilles représentant les cinq Sens par différents amusements chinois sur les dessins de F. Boucher* as suggested by H. G. Bradley in *Ceramics of Derbyshire, 1750–1975* (London, 1978), 10.

104. Sotheby's, London, March 2, 1982, lot 168.

Acquisitions/1983

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Acquisitions in 1983: Introduction

In this supplement to the *Journal* we give an illustrated listing of the works of art acquired in 1983 and a brief summary of information about each. More complete articles and catalogue entries will follow in due course; our purpose here is to publish recent acquisitions promptly, albeit in an abbreviated form.

Nobody will overlook the fact that this is a long list for a small museum. It is well known that the Getty Museum has recently been given an unusual opportunity to acquire works of art and that it has been taking advantage of its fortunate position. Few people, however, have a very clear idea of what and how the Museum collects. This first accounting of a year's acquisitions seems an appropriate place to summarize the Museum's recent history and to make a few observations about our policies and practices.

Mr. Getty died in 1976, when the Museum had been housed for little more than two years in the re-created Roman villa built at his wish, and he endowed the institution with the bulk of his estate. The trustees had the unexpected task, much publicized at the time, of devising a plan to secure the greatest public benefit from the large income that was anticipated. They saw that the Museum's acquisitions and operations could never absorb all the funds, and they realized that more should be accomplished for Los Angeles, the nation, and indeed for the world than merely building up the Getty Museum, however worthy that goal. During the next five years, while the trustees waited for the courts to release the estate, they debated possible courses for the future; under the leadership of Otto Wittmann, who later became chairman of the Trust's Acquisitions Committee, they also established more exacting criteria and procedures for acquiring works of art. They then reconstituted themselves as the J. Paul Getty Trust, a private operating foundation for the visual arts (as distinct from a grant-making foundation under United States tax laws), and appointed a president, Harold M. Williams.

Together with several associates, Mr. Williams developed a program for the Getty Trust that would not only assure the further growth of the Museum but also do far more. The immediate goal was to help professionals identify the greatest needs in their fields. Many dozens of art historians, museum professionals, conservators, and educators from the United States and abroad contributed to this effort. Highly important projects that could not be accomplished without the Getty Trust's willingness to accept risks and to make substantial financial commitments were then isolated. As a result of this investigation the Trust resolved to advance the study of the history of art and related disciplines; improve the documentation of art and provide better tools for research worldwide; help meet the needs of art conservation; foster wider and better education in the visual arts in American schools; and strive for a variety of related goals. A fuller account of the first three years of the Getty Trust's activities will be published shortly.

For the Museum, meanwhile, the task has been to study its own potential, determine what it should and should not become, and shape a staff and program accordingly. It has become clear that the present Museum building cannot house the growing collections adequately and that since expansion at Malibu is impossible, a new Getty Museum needs to be built. The Trust has acquired a 742-acre property in West Los Angeles that is to be the site not only of a new Museum but also of the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities and the Getty Conservation Institute. At this writing the architect Richard Meier of New York City has just been appointed. The project should be finished in the early 1990's. After the later European collections are moved to the new Museum, the present building in Malibu will be renovated to house America's only museum devoted solely to Greek and Roman art. Its galleries, together with an extensive study collection (acquired in large part by donations, as this year's lengthy list of antiquities acquisitions shows), will make the Museum a valuable place for scholars and students to pursue their work.

The realities of a dwindling art market make it plain that the Getty Museum, no matter how well endowed, cannot hope to form important collections in all fields. Fortunately, there is little need for another large general art museum in Los Angeles. We prefer that our collection complement those of other museums in the area, and thus we avoid an entire range of categories, such as Far Eastern, Islamic, and primitive art, in the interest of the institutions that already collect them. We believe that the future Getty Museum, like the present one, must be restricted in scope if we wish to attain excellence, and it must be of modest size in order to maintain human scale and an ambience of comfort and dignity.

The boundaries of the Getty Museum's collection have been extended, however, in the past few years. Readers will

1. The J. Paul Getty Trust, *The J. Paul Getty Trust Program Review 1984* (Los Angeles, 1985), available on request from the Trust, 1875 Century Park East, Los Angeles 90067.

note the impressive growth of the drawings collection, begun in 1981 as the Museum's first departure from the categories established by Mr. Getty decades before. Although we buy very selectively and are in no great hurry to amass a large collection, it has been possible to acquire nearly one hundred drawings as of this writing. A new study room has been opened, and a gallery has been dedicated to changing exhibitions of drawings from the permanent collection.

The most remarkable acquisition of 1983 was the purchase of the collection of Medieval and Renaissance illuminated manuscripts formed by Peter and Irene Ludwig of Aachen, the best private collection in the world. The trustees saw a chance to enter a new field closely related to the Museum's collections of paintings and drawings, and they seized a rare opportunity to achieve distinction in a single stroke. The 144 manuscripts have become a rich resource for study and exhibition, the only one of its kind outside Europe and the eastern United States. A Department of Manuscripts has been instituted and staffed, a study room is now functioning, and the first of a series of changing exhibitions has been mounted.

A few more changes, which were under consideration in 1983 but not accomplished until 1984, have affected the scope of the collections, and it may be useful to anticipate next year's report of acquisitions by describing them here.

It had long been realized that Mr. Getty's personal taste resulted in a nearly exclusive focus on French furniture and decorative arts, which was difficult to justify in a museum that exhibits paintings and drawings from many European countries. It was also evident that sculpture had been virtually ignored. The trustees therefore approved the addition of European sculpture and works of art to the collection. Late in 1982 Giambologna's early marble *Bathing Venus* was acquired, followed in 1983 by a bronze group by Foggini. In 1984 a Department of Sculpture and Works of Art was created and staffed, and collecting has begun in earnest.

Early in 1984 the Museum was presented with an astonishing opportunity recalling that of the Ludwig manuscripts. It became possible to acquire a group of the largest and best private collections of photographs in the world—nearly thirty thousand examples in all, ranging in date from the origins of the medium in the late 1830's to the present—and thus to establish the finest collection in America. The chance was too important to pass up, especially in view of the lack of any comprehensive collections of photographs in the western United States. The acquisitions were made, and a Department of Photographs was formed—the seventh curatorial department and the last for the foreseeable future.

Something should be said here not merely about what the Getty Museum collects but also about how it collects, particularly in view of some misunderstandings that linger here and abroad. We want to acquire the finest works of art that can be found within the modest scope of the collections, but we mean to be highly selective. We will be content for the Museum to remain relatively small and specialized.

There is no requirement in the United States tax laws that compels the trustees to allocate any funds for Museum acquisitions. They do so by choice and entirely on the merits of proposed purchases. Furthermore, since the Getty Trust's many other activities, which include an ambitious long-term building program, demand a good deal of its resources, purchase funds are finite, carefully apportioned, and smaller than generally believed.

While we are competitors of other museums, we are also colleagues. Out of respect for the concern of European nations to preserve their artistic patrimony, we frequently go beyond the letter of export laws to restrain ourselves voluntarily. Our effect upon the international art market concerns us, even though we know that dwindling supply and increased demand from many collectors, not just the Getty, are the real factors that have inflated prices. For our own good as well as that of other institutions, we make strenuous efforts to get the best prices privately, and we set limits when we bid at auction. We do not employ agents or make offers for privately owned works of art. We are convinced that moderation and fair play will bring their own benefits and that the Museum will nevertheless have opportunities aplenty for distinguished acquisitions and consequently for greater service to the profession and the public.

John Walsh
Director
The J. Paul Getty Museum

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Notes to the Reader

Although variations occur reflecting both curatorial preference and the nature of the works of art described, the following information has been provided for each listed item where appropriate or available: name and dates of artist, title or name of work and date of execution, medium, dimensions with centimeters preceding inches, inscriptions, Museum accession number, commentary, provenance, and bibliography.

When possible in giving dimensions, the formula height precedes width precedes depth has been observed. In cases where this was not appropriate to the work of art in question, the following abbreviations have been consistently employed:

H:	Height
W:	Width
D:	Depth
Diam:	Diameter
T:	Thickness

In the provenance sections brackets are used to indicate dealers.

ANTIQUITIES

Abbreviations other than those listed below follow the style established by the *American Journal of Archaeology.*

AGAI: W. Moon, ed., *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (Madison, Wis., 1983).

Gesichter: H. Jucker and D. Willers, *Gesichter. Griechische und römische Bildnisse aus Schweitzer Besitz,* ex. cat., 3rd ed. (Bernischen Historischen Museum, 1982).

Greek Portraits 1981: J. Frel, *Greek Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum,* 1st ed. (Malibu, 1981).

Greek Vases 2: Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum 2, Occasional Papers on Antiquities 3, ed. J. Frel (Malibu, 1984).

Koch: G. Koch, *Roman Funerary Sculpture,* The J. Paul Getty Museum Catalogue of the Collections, Antiquities 2 (Malibu, forthcoming).

Le Monde des Césars: J. Frel, *Le Monde des Césars,* ex. cat. (Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 1982).

Roman Portraits: J. Frel and S. K. Morgan, *Roman Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum,* 1st ed. (Malibu, 1981), 2d ed. (Malibu, forthcoming 1985).

Stamnoi: F. Causey Frel, *Stamnoi: An Exhibition at the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1980).

STONE SCULPTURE

1. IDOL FROM CYPRUS
Early third millennium B.C.
Limestone, H: 39.5 cm (15½")
83.AA.38

COMMENTARY: The female figure is represented in a schema different from Cycladic idols but known from other idols (mostly smaller and less important) from Cyprus. While the face is rendered with lively details (round eyes, locks of hair, and both lips indicated), the body is very schematized. The stumplike arms form a cross; the neck is overlong. The rather heavy breasts are supported by a chain composed of beads. Although difficult to appreciate in front view, the squatting position indicates that the goddess is giving birth. Her left arm was broken off during the carving, but the sculptor reattached it by tying it on through two circular drilled holes.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Paris.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Thimme, ed., *Kunst und Kultur der Kykladeninseln im 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr.,* ex. cat. (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesmuseum, 1976), no. 573; P. Getz-Preziosi, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 21–28.

2. FRAGMENT OF A CYCLADIC IDOL
Third millennium B.C.
Naxian marble, H: 7.7 cm (3")
83.AA.201, presented by Pat Getz-Preziosi

COMMENTARY: Torso of a flat female figure.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Getz-Preziosi, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 19–20.

3. SIX FRAGMENTARY CYCLADIC IDOLS
Third millennium B.C.
Naxian marble, Varying Dimensions
83.AA.316–318, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: Two heads, two torsos, the legs of an idol, and the lower abdomen of a sixth figure.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Getz-Preziosi, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 5–20.

4

4. TORSO OF A DRAPED KOUROS
Circa 530 B.C.
Grayish, East Greek (?) marble, H: 32.5 cm (12 13/16″)
83.AA.216

COMMENTARY: Only the under life-size upper torso of a youth wearing a mantle over his left shoulder is preserved. The carving of the anatomy and of the pearls representing the locks of hair point toward the date, while the incised rendering of the flat drapery folds corresponds to sculptures from the island of Chios (cf. for example the torsos of two korai from the earlier sixth century in Chios, J. Boardman, *AntP* 1 [1963] 43–45, pls. 38–41, 42–44).

PROVENANCE: New York art market, 1950; [J. J. Klejman]; private collection, Athens.

5

5. STATUE OF A BOAR
Greek provincial work, circa 450 B.C.
Travertine, H (including the base): 88.5 cm (34⅞″); L: 147 cm (57⅞″)
83.AA.366

COMMENTARY: The surface has suffered from fire. The right foreleg and the right sides of the muzzle, of the upper head (including the ear), and of the tail are missing; the bristle comb is damaged. The statue is executed from two slabs of travertine held together by picked sides. The left ear was carved from a separate small block of travertine that was inserted in a cavity. Behind this ear, half of a swallow-tail clamp is preserved over a crack in the stone—an ancient repair.

The modeling is summary but powerful; the nearest kin is the bronze boar from Mezek in the Istanbul Museum (later fifth century B.C.). The statue was probably votive.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Frel, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 80.

6

6. LION'S HEAD WATERSPOUT
Circa 400 B.C.
Pentelic marble, H: 20 cm (8″); L: 33.5 cm (13″); D: 42.5 cm (17″)
83.AA.245, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The surface is slightly abraded, but the modeling remains well preserved. The waterspouts of the Parthenon are the most immediately recognizable predecessors of the lion's head. On the surviving front surface of the cyma, there is a double palmette ornament for which no comparable waterspout can be quoted.

7

7. ATTIC GRAVE STELE OF PHILOXENOS
End of fifth century B.C.
Pentelic marble, 102.5 x 43.25 x 15.25 cm (41″ x 17¼″ x 6½″)
83.AA.378

COMMENTARY: The surface is weathered. The names of both figures are inscribed on the epistyle: ·ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΣΙ ΦΙΛΟΜ[Ε]ΝΗ Philoxenos must have fallen in battle, as he is represented wearing a helmet and cuirass. He is shaking hands with his wife, Philomene, both in farewell and to symbolize eternal union. She is wearing a himation over a chiton; a sakkos covers her hair. The stele of Smikros and Smikros in the Piraeus Museum is the best comparison for the style.

PROVENANCE: London art market, 1974; New York art market, 1976; London art market, 1978.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Artemis S. A., *Artemis 1981/1982* (London, 1983), 8–9, ill.

8

8. ATTIC GRAVE STELE WITH THREE FIGURES
Late fifth century B.C.
Pentelic marble, 75 x 50 cm (30″ x 20″)
83.AA.206, presented by Vasek Polak

COMMENTARY: Under a plain triangular pediment, a standard scene of a family gathering is presented. An older man, the most venerable person in the group, is seated to the left on a klismos. Next to him stands a woman, the deceased, who shakes hands with another woman represented as a little smaller—a relative rather than a servant. The heads are broken off.

9

9. ATTIC FUNERARY LOUTROPHOROS OF PHILYTES
Second quarter of fourth century B.C.
Pentelic marble, H: 82.5 cm (33″)
83.AA.253, presented by Vasek Polak

COMMENTARY: The neck and the upper part of this funerary vase have been put together from several fragments. Philytes, wearing a himation, shakes hands with Aristomachos; both are bearded. The names are inscribed above the figures: **ΦΙΛΥΤΗϹ ΑΡΙϹΤΟΜΑΧΟϹ** . Between them stands a little boy turned toward the deceased Philytes who must have died unmarried. The loutrophoros amphora was a monument used only for unmarried men and women.

PROVENANCE: Vicomte de Dresnay, Château Dreneus, Loire.

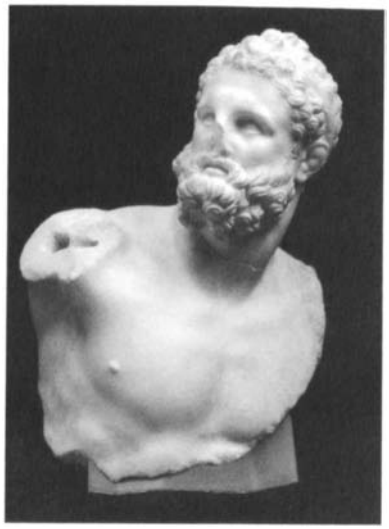
10. SMALL FEMALE HEAD FROM AN ATTIC RELIEF
Fourth century B.C.
Pentelic marble, H: 13.25 cm (6½″)
83.AA.397, presented by William Montepert

COMMENTARY: Neither the original background nor the contour is preserved. The head may have belonged to a votive relief.

11

11. STATUETTE OF ARTEMIS-BENDIS
Last third–last quarter of fourth century B.C.
Pentelic marble, H: 47 cm (18½″)
83.AA.207, presented by Vasek Polak

COMMENTARY: The head, feet, and arms are missing. The goddess wears an animal skin over a short chiton. This must have been a votive statuette in an Artemis-Bendis sanctuary.



12

12. FRAGMENTARY EARLY HELLENISTIC STATUE OF HERAKLES
Parian marble, Preserved H: 58 cm (22⅞″); W: 39.5 (15½″)
83.AA.11

COMMENTARY: Only the bust survives from this under life-size sculpture. The complete statue represented Herakles standing with his feet spread far apart, the left leg bent, and the right foot forward. He might have originally supported the infant Dionysos (?) on his left arm, showing him an object (a bunch of grapes?) held in his raised right hand. A Herakles in the Capitoline Museum is the closest known parallel for the motif, but the Getty Herakles may have been part of a larger group (see No. 13). The excellent carving is Alexandrine, probably from the third century B.C. At some later time, the statue was the victim of an accident, but the fragments were put back together, and the surface was extensively recut to hide the damage.

PROVENANCE: European art market; said to be from Alexandria.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Frel, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 83.

13. SANDALED FOOT
Parian marble, L: 24.5 cm (9⅝″)
83.AA.427, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The marble, the carving, and the repolished surface of this foot correspond to the statue of Herakles (No. 12). It may have belonged to the same group, together with two more feet, one of which was acquired by the Museum in 1984.

PROVENANCE: Said to be from Alexandria.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Frel, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 83.

14. COLOSSAL PORTRAIT HEAD OF PTOLEMY III (?)
Later third-early second century B.C.
Greek marble, H: 53.5 cm (21″)
83.AA.205, presented by Vasek Polak

COMMENTARY: The nose, the central part of both lips, and the chin are missing. The occiput was never carved. The head was made for insertion in a pre-existing statue body. The identity of the king represented has yet to be confirmed; it may be a posthumous image.

PROVENANCE: Said to be from the region of Alexandria.

15

15. SMALL PORTRAIT HEAD OF A PTOLEMY
Second century B.C.
Parian marble, H: 15.5 cm (6⅛″)
83.AA.33, presented by Dr. Badr Barsoum

COMMENTARY: The nose is missing. The face is rich in veristic detail.

PROVENANCE: From Egypt.

16. PORTRAIT HEAD OF A LATE PTOLEMY
Second century B.C.
Parian marble, H: 33.75 cm (13½″)
83.AA.330, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The nose is missing. The occiput was never carved. The conical bottom of the neck is shaped for insertion in a pre-existing statue body. The features correspond to those of Ptolemy IX (cf. H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* [Berlin, 1975], no. 46; confirmed by I. Jucker).

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, London, December 4, 1979, lot 112, pl. 26.

17. PORTRAIT HEADS OF A PTOLEMAIC KING AND QUEEN
After the second century B.C.(?)
Greek marble (Parian of lesser quality?)
King—H: 17.5 cm (7″)
Queen—H: 18.3 cm (7 3/16″)
83.AA.313a-b, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: Both heads are intact with perfectly preserved surfaces. The conical bottoms were made for insertion in considerably under life-size statues. The carving is summary.

PROVENANCE: Said to be from Alexandria.

18. STATUETTE OF ASKLEPIOS
Early first century B.C.
Pentelic marble, H: 37.5 cm (14¾″)
83.AA.208, presented by Vasek Polak

COMMENTARY: The head, the right arm from the shoulder, the left arm from the elbow, and the feet of this statuette are missing. It is a neo-Attic variant of a fourth-century B.C. prototype. It was intended to be seen from the front, as the back is carved much more summarily. Dietrich Willers is preparing a study of this piece for publication.

19. STATUETTE OF HERMES
Late first century B.C.
White homogenous marble, H: 21 cm (8¼″)
83.AA.312, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: Both of the hands and the legs below the thighs are missing. With his winged cap and kerykeion in his left hand, his chlamys blown by the wind, the god is represented in flight. The statuette was extensively recarved in antiquity to minimize damage to the surface.

20. SMALL PRIMITIVE HERM
First century B.C. (?)
Porous limestone, H: 32.5 cm (12 13/16″)
83.AA.314, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The surface of the prismatic body is covered by a homogenous patina and is heavily weathered. The penis is carved in front, and two protuberances indicate the arms, according to the established tradition for full-size herms. The carving represents a kind of folk art, difficult to date and to place.

PROVENANCE: Said to be from Macedonia.

21. BEARDED HEAD FROM A HERM
Roman copy after a bronze original from late fifth century B.C.
Italian marble, H: 22.5 cm (9″)
83.AA.395, presented by F. Richmond

COMMENTARY: The nose is missing, and the top of the head was repaired both in antiquity and in modern times. The beard was broken off in antiquity and reattached. The general type derives from the famous herm by Alkamenes erected on the Akropolis about 420 B.C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Frel, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 86-89.

22. HERM PORTRAIT OF AISCHINES
Roman copy of second century A.D. after an original of circa 330 B.C.
Pentelic marble, 50.8 x 27 cm (20″ x 10⅝″)
83.AA.210, presented by Dr. Paul Flanagan

COMMENTARY: The left half of the herm is missing, and the head is badly battered. On the front is the left side of three lines of a Greek inscription giving the name of the tyrant Periandros; his place of origin, Corinth; and his motto: "Take care of everything."

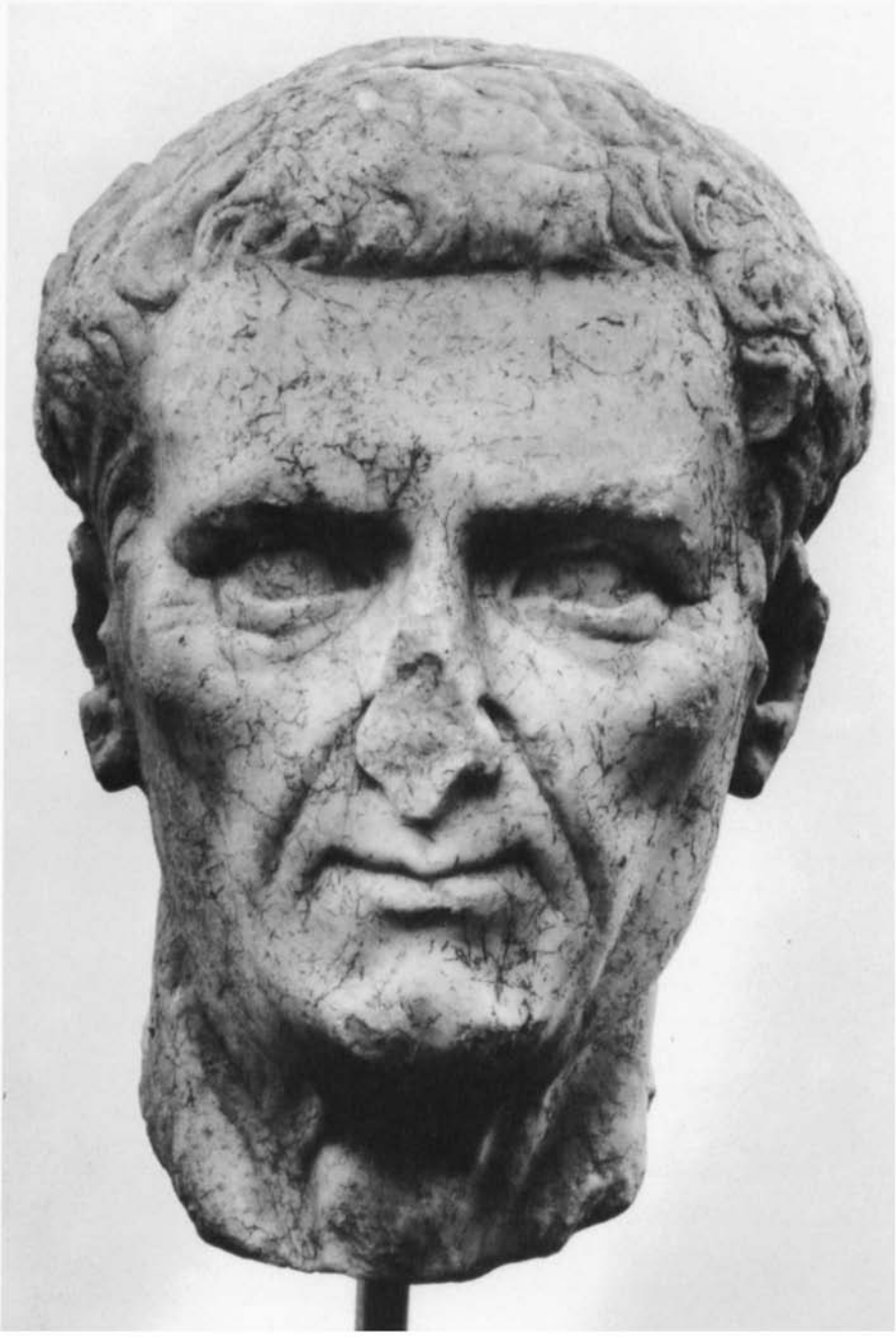
Τ ΠΕΡΙΑ[ΝΔΡΟϹ]
ΚΟΡΙΝ[ΘΙΟϹ]
Μ]ΕΛΕ[ΤΗ ΠΑΝ]

The identity is false, however; the head is a replica of the well-known portrait type of Aischines, although the authenticity of the inscription has been confirmed by several epigraphers (including G. Daux and A. Raubitschek).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Greek Portraits* 1981, no. 18.

23. COLOSSAL PORTRAIT HEAD OF A RULER
Limestone, 61 x 40 x 42 cm (24″ x 15 13/16″ x 16 9/16″)
83.AA.254, presented by Vasek Polak

COMMENTARY: The inside of the head was hollowed out in modern times. The surface is damaged, but traces of the original



25

polychromy can be seen (lapis lazuli blue on the wig, golden ocher on the face, red on the eye corners).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Roman Portraits,* 2d ed.

24. PORTRAIT HEAD OF A MAN
Middle of first century A.D.
Whitish, rather heterogenous, marble with medium crystals, H: 27.9 cm (10 15/16″)
83.AA.246, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The nose is broken off, and the surface is damaged. The general appearance corresponds to Roman portraits from about the middle of the first century A.D., but the individual portrait characteristics are minimal and the carving is very provincial. The head, however, is a rare example of sculpture from Roman Macedonia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Roman Portraits,* 2d ed.

25. PORTRAIT HEAD OF THE EMPEROR NERVA
End of first century A.D.
Two kinds of Italian marble, H: 35.5 cm (14″)
83.AA.43

COMMENTARY: The tip of the nose is missing. The back of the head is carved from a block of one type of marble, while the top is from another type. H. Jucker has demonstrated that the head is a recarved portrait of the emperor Domitian, Nerva's predecessor. Traces of the originally intended hairstyle can be easily detected.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Gesichter,* no. 45 (H. Jucker); *Roman Portraits,* 2nd ed.

26 (detail)

26. FUNERARY ALTAR WITH PORTRAIT BUSTS OF L. CALTILIUS STEPHANUS AND CALTILIA MOSCHIS
Circa A.D. 120
Italian marble, 128 x 80 x 63.5 cm (50¼″ x 31½″ x 25″)
83.AA.209, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The inscription under the niche in the front of the altar provides the identity of the two busts.

DIS MANIBUS

L. CALTILI	CATILIAE
STEPHANI	MOSCHIDIS

Most of the man's face is ruined, while the portrait of the woman is missing only the tip of the nose. The woman's hairstyle corresponds to the fashion of the ladies from Trajan's family, but the portrait of the man represents the renaissance of

republican sentiment and tradition that persisted until the reign of Hadrian. Several other surviving funerary monuments are known that belong to the same family of freedmen from Ostia; an identical inscribed portrait of Caltilia appears on one of them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Le Monde des Césars,* no. 25; Koch; *Roman Portraits,* 2d ed.

27

27. PORTRAIT BUST OF A ROMAN LADY
Middle of second century A.D.
Italian marble, H: 67.5 cm (26⅝″)
83.AA.44

COMMENTARY: The condition and preservation of the portrait are immaculate. The hair fashion and the portrait style were inspired by Faustina Major, the wife of the emperor Antoninus Pius. The deep psychological insight and the fine carving make this portrayal of a private person perhaps the finest portrait in the Getty collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Gesichter,* no. 67 (I. Jucker); *Roman Portraits,* 2d ed.

28

28. PORTRAIT HEAD OF THE EMPEROR COMMODUS
End of second century A.D.
Italian marble, H: 32.7 cm (12⅞″)
83.AA.289, presented by Lowell Milken

COMMENTARY: The tip of the nose is missing, and there is some slight damage to the surface. The inside of the neck was hollowed out to facilitate placement of the head on the neck of a statue previously used for another portrait, probably also imperial.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Le Monde des Césars,* no. 31; *Roman Portraits,* 1st ed., no. 63.

29

29. PORTRAIT HEAD OF A SON OF CONSTANTINE
Second quarter of fourth century A.D.
White marble with large crystals (Asia Minor), H: 25.5 cm (10″)
83.AA.212, presented by Leon Levy

COMMENTARY: The portrait was carved from a pre-existing head, perhaps of the emperor Trajan. Sandra Morgan is preparing a study of this head for publication.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Roman Portraits,* 2d ed.

30

30. PORTRAIT HEAD OF A BEARDED MAN
Second quarter of fifth century A.D.
White marble with large crystals (Asia Minor), H: 28.5 cm (11¼″)
83.AA.45

COMMENTARY: The nose is missing, and the forehead is battered above the eyes. This very impressive image of a *homo spiritualis* abandons any attempt at portraying individual features in its representation of a soul turned toward eternity.

PROVENANCE: A. Moretti, Lugano.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Gesichter,* no. 95A (S. Truempler); B. Brenk, *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (Frankfurt, 1983–1984), no. 67 (D. Stutzinger); *Roman Portraits,* 2d ed.

31. FRAGMENTS OF ROMAN MARBLE STATUARY
First–second century A.D.
Laurel wreath—Maximum L: 12.3 cm (4⅞″); Maximum W: 8.3 cm (3¼″)
Hand—Maximum L: 11.6 cm (4 9/16″); Maximum W: 8.8 cm (3 7/16″)
Thumb—Approximate L: 5 cm (1 15/16″)
83.AA.307, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The fragments include the top of a head with a laurel wreath, a hand, and a thumb (all life-size).

32. ROMAN SARCOPHAGUS WITH THE DISCOVERY OF ARIADNE BY DIONYSOS
Early third century A.D.
Italian marble, H: 50.8 cm (20″); L: 172.5 cm (68″); D: 57 cm (22⅜″)
83.AA.275

COMMENTARY: The name of the deceased girl is inscribed on the central part of the lid:

D. M.
MACONIANAE SEVERIANAE
FILIAE DVLCISSIMAE
M. SEMPRONIVS PROCVLVS
FAVSTINIANVS V. C. ET
PRAECILIA SEVERIANA C. F.
PARENTES

Susan Walker is preparing a study of the sarcophagus for publication.

PROVENANCE: Excavated in the Casali vineyard near Porta Capena, 1873; Palazzo Lazzeroni, 1921–1929; Hever Castle; sale, Sotheby's, July 11, 1983, lot 370.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Koch.

33. PORTRAIT HEAD OF A BEARDED PHILOSOPHER
Middle of third century A.D.
Italian marble, H (total): 21 cm (8¼″), (head only): 11.5 cm (4½″)
83.AA.426, presented by Max Falk

COMMENTARY: The head is from a Roman sarcophagus and is mounted on an eighteenth-century bust that has been inscribed twice with the name Epicurus, once in Greek and once in Latin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Koch; *Roman Portraits*, 2d ed.

34. PROVINCIAL PHRYGIAN FUNERARY RELIEF WITH TWO FIGURES
Early third century A.D.
Marble, 88.9 x 66 x 7.6 cm (35″ x 26″ x 3″)
83.AA.204

COMMENTARY: The Greek funerary inscription is being prepared by Guntram Koch.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Koch.

35. CUP WITH FIGURES OF ISIS AND SERAPIS, THE ZODIAC, ETC.
First century B.C.–first century A.D.
Steatite, Diam: 13.2 cm (5⅞″)
83.AA.327, anonymous donation

PROVENANCE: From Egypt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Parlasca, "Griechische und römische Steinschälchen aus Ägypten," *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten, Akten des internationalen Symposiums 26–30 September in Trier,* Aegyptiaca Trevensia: Trierer Studien zum Griechische-Römischen Ägypten 2 (Mainz, 1983), pl. 23.1,2.

36. FRAGMENTARY STEATITE CUP IN THE SHAPE OF A SHELL
First century B.C.
Steatite, Diam: 7.6 cm (3″)
83.AA.26, anonymous donation

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Parlasca, *GettyMusJ* 11 (1983), 152.

37. SLAB WITH INSCRIPTION
Antimachia on Cos, third–second century B.C.
Marble, 26 x 37 x 7.9 (10¼″ x 14⁹⁄₁₆″ x 3⅛″)
83.AA.332, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The honorary decree is written in the Doric dialect. Dirk Obbink is preparing a new study of this piece for publication.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Dubois, *BCH* 7 (1883), 481–482; W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos* (Oxford, 1891), no. 383, 281–282.

BRONZE SCULPTURE

38. HEAD OF A YOUTH
Later fifth century A.D.
Bronze, H: 27.5 cm (10⅞″)
83.AB.311, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: This is a very thick cast with several flaws; on both sides the remnants of the iron bar holding the core and form together can be seen. The hair was rendered by hammered strokes after casting. The intention was to represent an individual, but the result is a purely schematic, impersonal face.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *AGAI*, 151, fig. 10.8; *Roman Portraits*, 2d ed.

MISCELLANEOUS BRONZES

39a (breastplate detail)

39b (prometopidion)

39. SET OF HORSE HARNESSES AND OTHER BRONZE OBJECTS FROM MAGNA GRAECIA
Circa late sixth century B.C.
Prometopidia—Original L: 45 cm (17⅝″); W: 17.2 cm (6¾″)
Breastplates—Restored L: 107 cm (42⅛″); W: 25 cm (9⅞″)
83.AC.7–9

COMMENTARY: 7—The two breastplates are adorned with frontal victorious quadrigas flanked by Nikai each of whom holds a crown in repoussé relief. At the top the two prometopidia display large helmeted bearded heads (the helmet cheekpieces feature rams' heads) with eyes inlaid in amber and ivory; at the bottom of each prometopidion is a small gorgoneion (cf. Ernst Berger, ed., *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig,* vol. 2, *Terrakotten und Bronzen* [Basel, 1982], no. 219).

8—Two conical helmets of South Italian type.

9—Candelabrum with an Ionic capital on the top.

40. TWO PARTS OF AN APULIAN XYLOPHONE
Fourth century B.C.
Bronze
Part 1—L: 9.8 cm (3⅞″)
Part 2—L: 8.7 cm (3⅜″)
83.AC.310, anonymous donation

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Jentoft-Nilsen, *BABesch* 55 (1980), 247.

41. PAIL WITH IRON RIBS AND HANDLE
First century A.D.
Bronze, H: 36 cm (14³⁄₁₆″)
83.AC.223

42. SETS OF ROMAN UTILITARIAN OBJECTS
First century B.C.–first century A.D.
Bronze
83.AC.291–292, anonymous donor

COMMENTARY: The objects, intended for daily use, include two spoons, six locks, six terminals, two plumber's cups, a fishhook, a door shield, and thirty-eight nails.

43. ROMAN SPOON, THIMBLE, AND PAIR OF DICE
First century B.C.–first century A.D.
Bronze spoon—L: 16.4 cm (6⅜″)
Bone dice—Diam: 0.9 cm (⅜″)
Thimble—H: 1.2 cm (9/16″)
83.AC.422–424, presented by John Saxon

COMMENTARY: The cast handle of the bronze spoon terminates in a frontal head with a palmette crown and volutes on each side. The dice are inscribed with concentric circles.

VASES: EAST GREEK

44

44. PLASTIC ARYBALLOS IN THE FORM OF THE BUST OF THE MINOTAUR
East Greek, circa 580–560 B.C.
H: 10.9 cm (4 5/16″)
83.AE.213, presented by Leon Levy

COMMENTARY: The vase is classified as belonging to the Robertson Group of East Greek vases, similar to Ducat, no. 104, type G. No exact parallel is known. The vase is mold made with the mouth added separately to the back of the head. The mouth of the vase, the tips of the horns, and a small area of the lower breast are restored. Details of the fur and creases in the neck are incised. A border of simple crenellation painted in white with red dots in the interstices runs around the bottom of the creature's neck and down the sides of the arms. The bottom of the vase is decorated with a star rosette.

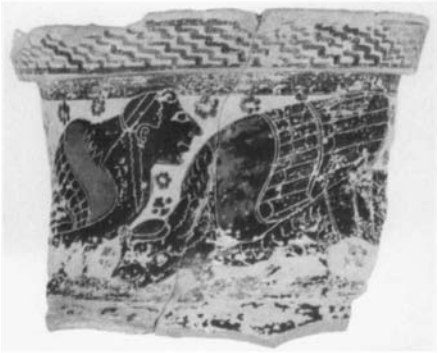
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Archäologische Institut der Universität Zürich, *Das Tier in der Antike*, ex. cat. (Zurich, 1974), no. 276, ill.

VASES: CORINTHIAN

45. SET OF FRAGMENTS OF CORINTHIAN VASES AND LOCAL ITALIC IMITATIONS OF CORINTHIAN POTTERY
Sixth century B.C.
83.AE.276, by exchange with the Archäologische Institut der Universität Bern

COMMENTARY: In 1979 the Getty Museum received a donation of a large collection of fragments of Corinthian pottery (79.AE.110) and Italian imitations of Corinthian wares (79.AE.111). Some of these pieces joined fragments that had been purchased by the Archäologische Institut der Universität Bern. With the assistance of Vera Uhlman of Bern, who came with the Bern fragments to work at the Getty Museum for three months, a number of joins were established between the two collections. The joining fragments, primarily from alabastra and pyxides, were then exchanged.

VASES: ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE



46

46. FRAGMENT OF A NECK AMPHORA
Circa 620 B.C.
Attributed to the Nessos Painter
H: 20 cm (7⅞″); W (with 81.AE.114.30): 28 cm (11″)
83.AE.428, presented by Vasek Polak

COMMENTARY: This fragment joins another previously given to the Museum by the same donor (81.AE.114.30). The composite piece, from the neck of a large amphora, shows a pair of Sirens; the creature on the right pecks at the ground before the feet of the Siren on the left. Added red is used for the wing coverts; on the edge of the mouth is a step pattern.

47. PANATHENAIC AMPHORA FRAGMENT
Circa 500 B.C.
4.35 x 5.7 cm (1 11/16″ x 2 3/16″)
83.AE.399, presented by William Montepert

COMMENTARY: The fragment comes from side A of a Panathenaic amphora (prize vase from the Panathenaic Games), which traditionally carried a figure of the goddess Athena. This piece preserves part of the goddess' aegis.

48. FOURTEEN FRAGMENTS (COMPOSED OF MANY) OF A PANATHENAIC AMPHORA
Circa 430 B.C.
H (largest fragment): 12.6 cm (4 15/16″); Preserved Diam (neck): 9.1 cm (3 9/16″)
83.AE.398.1–14, presented by William Montepert

COMMENTARY: The largest of the fragments consists of most of the neck and one

handle with part of a cock from side A; other fragments carry part of Athena's shield (5) and part of the inscription of dedication (3 and 4):

]HΘEN[---]N

[*τὸν* 'A*θήν*]*ηθεν* [*ἆθλον*]

49. LITTLE MASTER BAND CUP
Circa 530 B.C.
H: 13.2 cm (5 3/16"); Diam (bowl): 20.7 cm (8 1/8"), (foot): 8.9 cm (3 1/2"); W (with handles): 28.4 cm (11 3/16")
83.AE.394, presented by Carlos L. Campillo

COMMENTARY: The cup was broken and has been restored. Some pieces of the bowl are missing and part of one handle is gone. Inside, a dot within a circle is set in a reserved tondo. Sides A and B both present scenes of revelry, with seven figures on A and six on B. The figures are alternately male and female. Added red is used for hair, wreaths, and tunics; the white used for the women's skin has worn away. The handles are flanked by palmettes.

50. EYE CUP
Late sixth century B.C.
Preserved H: 7.9 cm (3 1/8"); Restored Diam: 22 cm (8 5/8")
83.AE.411, presented by John Saxon

COMMENTARY: The condition of the cup is fragmentary; the bowl is preserved to the rim in only two places; the handles are gone. Inside is a gorgoneion. On A and B, between masculine eyes, is Dionysos to left reclining. A pair of facing satyrs flank each handle; between them beneath the handle is a water bird (crane?). There is much added red and white; the outside decoration is somewhat misfired.

51. LARGE SET OF ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE VASE FRAGMENTS
Circa 550–500 B.C.
Varying dimensions: 1–7.7 cm (3/8"–3")
83.AE.283, presented by Herbert Lucas

COMMENTARY: The fragments come from a large variety of vase shapes. Most are very small in size.

52

VASES: ATTIC RED-FIGURE

52. PELIKE
Kerch style, circa 350 B.C.
Attributed to the Circle of Marsyas Painter
H: 48.3 cm (19 1/16"); Diam (mouth): 28.1 cm (11 1/16"), (body): 27.2 cm (10 11/16"), (foot): 17.8 cm (7")
83.AE.10

COMMENTARY: The vase is complete with only a single break on the mouth. On side A is the judgment of Paris: the Trojan prince is seated nearly frontally between Hera on the left and Athena on the right.

Hermes stands at the far left; Aphrodite stands with Eros at the right end of the scene. On B, two Amazons, one mounted and one on foot, are in combat with a Greek warrior. The original polychromy and gilding are well preserved.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Schefold, *Greek Vases 2.*

53. STAMNOID JAR
End of sixth century B.C.
H: 20.7 cm (8 3/16″); Diam (mouth): 13.7 cm (5 3/8″), (body): 17.9 cm (7 1/16″), (foot): 10.4 cm (4 1/8″)
83.AE.324, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The intact body of the vase is decorated in Six's technique (added thick color over black glaze). Three palmettes and a lotus-palmette hybrid are linked by tendrils in a symmetrical pattern on both sides. Around the base are rays done in standard black-figure technique. Lines of added red-purple (as distinct from the orange-red of the palmettes) distinguish the plastic ring at the base of the neck, separate the rays from the upper body, and mark the fillet between body and foot.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Stamnoi,* no. 8.

54. STAMNOS
Circa 480–470 B.C.
Attributed to the Tyszkiewicz Painter
H: 37.5 cm (14 3/4″); Diam (mouth): 19.4 cm (7 11/16″), (body): 30.6 cm (12 1/16″), (foot): 14.7 cm (5 13/16″); W (with handles): 37.1 cm (14 5/8″)
83.AE.326, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: Restored from many fragments, the vase is complete. On side A, led by a fluting satyr, Hermes and Dionysos walk on either side of a bearded man. As all three carry drinking vessels, this central figure without attribute may be Hephaistos, whom Dionysos led back to Olympos under the influence of wine. On side B, Herakles walks to right between two youths. Since the foremost youth plays the lyre and since Herakles and his second companion carry drinking cups, they may belong to the procession started on side A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Stamnoi,* no. 13.

55. STAMNOS
Circa 470–460 B.C.
Assigned to the Class of the Copenhagen Painter
H: 33.2 cm (13″); Diam (mouth): 18.1 cm (7 1/8″), (body): 29.3 cm (11 9/16″), (foot): 14.9 cm (5 7/8″); W (with handles): 37 cm (14 9/16″)
83.AE.325, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The vase is nearly complete, although broken and repaired. On side A is the departure of a youth. The young man, dressed in short chiton, chlamys, and petasos, stands on the far side of his horse with two spears in his right hand. Watching the departure on the left is an old man in chiton and himation; his white hair is the indicator of his age. On side B are three mantled youths in conversation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Stamnoi,* no. 19.

56. THREE SMALL LEBETES GAMIKOI
Circa 400 B.C.
All by the same hand
408—H (vase plus lid): 22.5 cm (8 7/8″); Diam (mouth): 6.1 cm (2 7/16″), (body): 15.8 cm (6 1/4″), (foot): 7.7 cm (3 1/16″)
409—H (to top of handles): 20.3 cm (8″); Diam (body, mouth gone): 15.5 cm (6 1/8″), (foot): 6.7 cm (2 5/8″)
410—H (vase plus lid): 18.5 cm (7 5/16″); Diam (mouth): 5.9 cm (2 5/16″), (body): 13.3 cm (5 1/4″), (foot): 6.2 cm (2 7/16″)
83.AE.408–410, presented by John Saxon

COMMENTARY: All three vases are put together from fragments; parts of each are missing. All three lids are intact. On side A of 408, two women stand on either side of Eros. One holds a large box, long fillet, and fan; the other holds two boxes and a similar fillet. This scene is flanked by two flying female figures carrying mirrors; their wings, drapery, and feet stretch around to decorate side B. The decoration of 409 is similar. On side A, two women stand together; one holds two boxes and long fillets, the other, an exaleiptron, a box, and a long fillet. Eros is seated behind them on a couch. The scene is flanked by two flying female figures carrying large round objects (mirrors?). On side A of 410 a single woman appears holding a box and fillet in her left hand and Eros in her right. She is flanked by two flying female figures whose attributes are gone. Eros is executed in added white.

57a

57b

57. COLUMN KRATER
Circa 480 B.C.
Attributed to the Pan Painter
H: 32.5 cm (12 13/16″); Diam (mouth, outside): 25.5 cm (10 1/16″), (body): 24.7 cm (9 3/4″), (foot): 13.5 cm (5 5/16″); W (with handles): 29.6 cm (11 11/16″)
83.AE.252, presented by Vasek Polak

COMMENTARY: The vase is intact; the glaze has misfired on side B, and the surface is worn in many areas. On side A, a bearded man holding a high-handled sacrificial basket and a kylix stands at the left before an altar and a herm. At the right stands a youth. On side B, two mantled youths

stand on either side of a pillar surmounted by a dinos. On the outside rim is ivy.

58. COLUMN KRATER
Circa 470 B.C.
Attributed to the Manner of the Pan Painter
H: 31.3 cm (12⅜″); Diam (mouth, outside): 25.2 cm (9⅞″), (body): 23.6 cm (9⁵⁄₁₆″); W (with handles): 30.1 cm (11⅞″)
83.AE.255, presented by Vasek Polak

COMMENTARY: The vase is intact; the surface is rather worn. On side A, a woman holding a high-handled sacrificial basket stands to right facing a herm. On side B is a herm in profile to left.

59a

59b

59c

59. PSYKTER
Circa 510–500 B.C.
Attributed to Smikros
H: 30.4 cm (11¹⁵⁄₁₆″); Diam (mouth): 13.2 cm (5³⁄₁₆″), (body): 23.7 cm (9⁵⁄₁₆″)
83.AE.285, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The fragmentary vase has been completely restored. The unusual scene around the body has been interpreted as a gathering of fishermen on the shore. Scattered around the scene are several heaps of nets. Various figures seem to be playing at some kind of game, for they are casting out their fingers and crying words, once inscribed and now partially preserved, that appear by their heads. Smikros was one of the few early red-figure artists to decorate psykters, and the Getty Museum now has two from his hand (the other is accession number 82.AE.53).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Frel, "Euphronios and His Fellows," in *AGAI*, 147–150, figs. 10.1a–c.

60. TREFOIL OINOCHOE SHAPE 3
Circa 350 B.C.
H: 24 cm (9⁷⁄₁₆″); Diam (body): 13.8 cm (5⁷⁄₁₆″), (foot): 8.55 cm (3⅜″)
83.AE.30, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The vase is intact; the painting is very poor. On the left, a woman carries a sacrifice to an altar before a central herm with modius in profile to left. On the right, a youth in chlamys moving to right looks back; he holds an oinochoe (?) in his right hand. Most details were added in dilute glaze or white, now mostly worn away.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, London, May 7, 1982, lot 407.

61

61. LEKYTHOS
Circa 480 B.C.
Attributed to the Brygos Painter
H: 23.9 cm (9⁷⁄₁₆″); Diam (mouth): 5 cm (1¹⁵⁄₁₆″), (body): 8.6 cm (3⅜″), (foot): 6 cm (2⅜″)
83.AE.241, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The vase is intact. On the front of the vase, a Nike in chiton and himation flies to right carrying a long red fillet. She wears a red fillet around her head. On the shoulder are three palmettes with two lotus buds; petals appear in the breaches of the tendrils.

62

62. WHITE GROUND LEKYTHOS
Circa 460–450 B.C.
H: 21.5 cm (8½″); Diam (mouth): 3.8 cm (1½″), (body): 6.95 cm (2¾″),

(foot): 5 cm (1 15/16″)
83.AE.41

COMMENTARY: The vase is intact. On the front, a youth in chlamys and petasos moves to right holding a drawn sword in his right hand. The subject and execution may be compared to a similar vase in the University Museum at Bloomington, Indiana. Inscribed to the left of the figure in stoichedon:

ΕΥΑΙΩΝ
ΚΑΛΟΣ
ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟ

(Euaion, son of Aischylos is handsome). On the shoulder are rays.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

63

63. WHITE GROUND LEKYTHOS
Circa 460–450 B.C.
H: 19.2 cm (7 9/16″); Diam (mouth): 4 cm (1 9/16″), (body): 6.5 cm (2 9/16″), (foot): 4.6 cm (1 13/16″)
83.AE.42

COMMENTARY: The vase is intact. On the left of the scene stands a tymbos surmounted by an exaleiptron and decorated with fillets, branches, and three upright spears. In the center, a woman in chiton and himation stands to right holding a long fillet. Before her on the right is a black-figure loutrophoros bound with fillets and filled with leafy branches. On the shoulder are rays.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

64. WHITE GROUND LEKYTHOS
Circa 460 B.C.
H: 15.8 cm (6 3/16″); Diam (mouth): 3.6 cm (1 3/8″), (body): 6.1 cm (2 3/8″), (foot): 4.4 cm (1 11/16″)
83.AE.31, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The vase is unbroken, but the surface is badly damaged with much of the white slip worn or flaked away. On the front, a woman in chiton, himation, and sakkos walks to right looking back. On the right (perhaps in her left hand) are the remains of a thyrsos (?). On the shoulder are four silhouette palmettes.

65

65. ASKOS
Circa 410 B.C.
H: 6.7 cm (2 11/16″); Diam: 9.3 cm (3 11/16″)
83.AE.396, presented by William Montepert

COMMENTARY: The vase is intact except for a chip on the handle. On one side and facing the spout is a lion, and on the other is a boar.

PROVENANCE: Duke of Lorraine.

66. BILINGUAL EYE CUP
Circa 510 B.C.
Perhaps by Pheidippos
H: 13.2 cm (5 3/16″); Diam (rim): 31.7 cm (12 1/2″), (foot): 12.3 cm (4 13/16″)
83.AE.240, presented by Leon Levy

COMMENTARY: The cup is broken and restored; much of the tondo and one handle are gone. Inside are the remains of a running figure carrying a grape vine (Dionysos?) done in black-figure technique. Outside in red figure, on side A between eyes, is a hoplitodromos (shield device: horse). On side B between eyes, a crouching hoplite (shield device: raven) appears. Beside the handles are closed palmettes. Added red is used for the inner circles of the irises and the pupils of the eyes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Galerie Günter Puhze, *Kunst der Antique* (Fribourg, 1978?), no. 28.

67 (detail)

67. KYLIX TYPE A
Circa 500 B.C.
Attributed to Epiktetos
H (to rim): 14.5 cm (5 11/16″); Diam (rim): 33.6–34 cm (13 1/4–13 3/8″), (foot): 13.5 cm (5 5/16″); W (with handles): 42 cm (16 9/16″)
83.AE.287, presented by Lowell Milken

COMMENTARY: The cup is nearly complete, although broken and restored. It is decorated on the inside only, and part of the tondo and some areas of the exterior have misfired. A nude hetaira wearing only a sakkos and earring reclines facing left on a striped cushion; beneath her is an elaborate pattern of symmetrical enclosed palmettes on either side of a free palmette with a ribbed, pointed central frond. Inscribed in the field around the figure's head is: ΕΛΡΑΦΣΕΝ.

68. KYLIX TYPE B
Circa 510 B.C.
Attributed to Skythes
H (to rim): 9.3 cm (3 11/16″); Diam (rim): 23.9 cm (9 7/16″), (foot): 9.3 cm (3 11/16″); W (with handles): 29.8 cm (11 3/4″)
83.AE.247, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The cup is fragmentary and only partially restored; a large part of the rim of side B is missing. Inside is a youthful athlete holding a discus; the jumping weights, pick, and spears in the background suggest the setting of the palaestra. Inscribed around the figure is: ΕΓΙΙΛΥΚΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ. Added red is used for the inscription, the athlete's wreath, and the thong around the spears. On Side A of the exterior is a battle between the two Greek hoplites (visible shield device: oriental warrior). On side B, a warrior in oriental costume pursues a mounted Oriental (Amazon?). Inscribed in added red on each side is: ΚΑΛΟΣ.

69a

69b

69. FRAGMENTARY KYLIX TYPE B
Circa 490 B.C.
Signed by Douris as painter; signed by Kleophrades, son of Amasis, as potter
H (as preserved without rim): 12 cm (4¾″); Diam (tondo): 24.1 cm (9½″), (foot): 16.1 cm (6⁵⁄₁₆″)
83.AE.217

COMMENTARY: The tondo and foot are preserved; the hole in the center of the tondo is evidence of an ancient repair. Within the tondo, a bearded man wrapped in a himation stands before a seated youth who holds his head in a gesture of despair. Although the pose of the youth recalls that of the brooding Achilles, known from other red-figure representations, the sponge, strigil, and aryballos hanging from the wall behind suggest that the scene is a courtship in a palaestra setting. Inscribed around the edge of the tondo is: ΔΟΡΙΣ ΕΛ[Ρ]ΑΦΣΕΝ ΗΕΡΜΟΛΥΚΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ. On the exterior, side A, the archery competition between Herakles and the sons of Eurytion is represented (only the lower parts of the figures are preserved). On side B are two wrestlers with a group of onlookers. The foot preserves completely around its reserved edge the inscription: ΚΛΕΟΦΡΑΔΕΣ: ΕΓΟΙΕΣΕΝ: ΑΜΑΣΙΔΟΣ. Two fragments, a part of a handle and a fragment of rim (83.AE.235.1–2), may belong to this kylix. Diana Buitron is preparing a study of the kylix for publication.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

70. FRAGMENTARY KYLIX (TYPE B?)
Circa 470 B.C.
Attributed to the Tarquinia Painter
Diam (tondo): 13.1 cm (5⅛″)
83.AE.321, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The foot, handles, and entire rim are missing. The cup, decorated on the inside only, presents a symplegma in the tondo. Inscribed in red around the field is [Μ]ΟΣΤΟΣ.

71a

71b

71. KYLIX TYPE B
Circa 470–460 B.C.
Perhaps by the Boot Painter

H (to rim): 9.8 cm (3⅞″), (to handles): 10.7 cm (4³⁄₁₆″); Diam (rim): 24 cm (9⁷⁄₁₆″), (foot): 9.2 cm (3⅝″); W (with handles): 31.5 cm (12⅜″)
83.AE.251, presented by the Phoenicia Foundation

COMMENTARY: The cup is complete, restored from fragments. It was broken in antiquity and repaired through the center of the broken stem with a bronze rivet that is still in place. Inside, a youth in himation stands to right. He carries a tortoiseshell lyre; on the wall behind hangs a flute case. Outside, on both A and B are hetairai at their toilette. Side A presents a rare scene of depilation. On side B, the left nude figure holds an exaleiptron; the central figure holds a himation; the right figure, dressed in chiton and himation, holds an alabastron.

72

72. FRAGMENTARY KYLIX TYPE C
Circa 510–500 B.C.
Attributed to the Kleomelos Painter
Diam (tondo): 10.4 cm (4⅛″); W (greatest extent): 12.9 cm (5¹⁄₁₆″)
83.AE.323, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: Most of the tondo and the stem down to the fillet are preserved. Decorated inside only, the tondo presents an old man dragging a shaggy goat by the horns to sacrifice. Dilute glaze is used for the musculature; relief line and incision are used extensively for the fur and hair. Around the figures is inscribed: HO ΓAIΣ KALOΣ . Added red is used for the inscription and the rope around the goat's horns; white, for the hair and beard of the man.

73 (detail)

73. FRAGMENTARY KYLIX TYPE C
Attic, 500–490 B.C.
Attributed to Onesimos as painter; signed by Euphronios as potter
Diam (restored rim): 46.6 cm (18⅜″), (foot): 20.5 cm (8¹⁄₁₆″)
83.AE.362

COMMENTARY: Approximately one half of the cup is preserved. The profile with shallow bowl and sharply offset rim is unique. The Iliupersis is the subject of the interior. Neoptolemos kills Priam with the body of Astyanax in the presence of Polyxena within the tondo. Preserved in the surrounding zone are the rape of Cassandra, Sthenelos' attack on Andromache, and the rescue of Aithra by Akamas and Demophon. On the exterior, side A, the return of Chryseis and the abduction of Briseis are represented. Only a head of Athena and the lower part of a figure in oriental costume remain from side B. The names of all figures were originally inscribed in the field around them.

The signature of the potter is partially preserved on the reserved edge of the footplate: [EV]Φ[PONIOΣ: EΓOIE]ΣE[N] .

Underneath the foot is an Etruscan graffito that indicates that the cup was later dedicated to Herakles. The large bronze rivet in the stem of the foot is evidence of an ancient repair.

A fragment of the cup identified by Dyfri Williams in the collection of Dietrich von Bothmer has been presented to the Museum, accession number 84.AE.8.

Dyfri Williams is preparing a study of the cup for publication, and J. Heurgon is preparing a study of the inscription.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

74

74. FIVE FRAGMENTS OF A KYLIX TYPE C
Attic, circa 500 B.C.
Attributed to the Elpinikos Painter
Extent: 4–5.3 cm (1⁹⁄₁₆″–2⅛″)
83.AE.238, presented by Dietrich von Bothmer

COMMENTARY: These pieces join 82.AE.144.1. In the tondo an eagle with wings spread behind holds a bleeding hare in his talons and rips at the animal's throat with his beak. Around the figures is inscribed: E]ΛΓINIKOΣ KALOΣ. These fragments add the head of the bird, the top of his wing, and the end of his tail feathers.

75. FRAGMENTARY KYLIX TYPE C
Attic, circa 500–490 B.C.
Diam (rim): 18.5 cm (7¼″)
83.AE.322, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The foot, one handle, and a third of the rim are missing. The cup is decorated inside only with a symplegma. The youth may be intended to be recognized as Leagros, the young Athenian whose beauty was much praised by many of the artists of the Kerameikos at this time, as ΛE[A]ΛPOΣ is inscribed in the field. His partner is a female barbarian, distinguished as such by the scarification rendered in dilute glaze on her torso.

76. FRAGMENT OF A KYLIX
Attic, circa 515 B.C.
Attributed to Euphronios as painter
3.2 x 6.8 cm (1¼″ x 2¹¹⁄₁₆″)
83.AE.429, presented by Suzanne Rosenborg

COMMENTARY: Represented are the head and shoulders of a youthful warrior to left. Armed in a low-crested Attic helmet and cuirass (only the upper edge is preserved), he carries a shield on his left arm and raises a spear in his right hand. Inscribed in the field over the spear is:]ES[

77. FRAGMENT OF A KYLIX
Attic, circa 510–500 B.C.
Perhaps by Oltos (?)
2.2 x 2.7 cm (7/8″ x 1 1/16″)
83.AE.430, presented by Suzanne Rosenborg

COMMENTARY: Represented is the head of a woman to left; she wears a sakkos over her hair and an earring.

78. FRAGMENT OF A KYLIX
Attic, circa 510–500 B.C.
Attributed to the Ambrosios Painter
Greatest Extent: 3.3 cm (1 5/16″)
83.AE.236, presented by Dietrich von Bothmer

COMMENTARY: The fragment, from the tondo of a cup, joins 82.AE.146.15. The subject is a courting scene, and the new piece contributes the wreathed head of the younger eromenos who was on the left. Added red is used for the wreath.

79. FRAGMENTS OF SIX KYLIKES
Attic, all before 500 B.C.
Varying Dimensions: 2–9.1 cm (3/4″–3 9/16″)
83.AE.432, presented by Suzanne Rosenborg

COMMENTARY: The fragments include the head and upper torso of a centaur carrying a branch painted by Epiktetos; the leg of a stool painted by Douris; the wings of a large creature from a type C kylix; wreaths and fingers of komasts; legs and drapery of dancing komasts; the tondo from a large kylix type A with a youth in a loincloth (perizoma).

80. FRAGMENT OF A KYLIX
Circa 490 B.C.
Attributed to Douris
Greatest Extent: 6.2 cm (2 7/16″)
83.AE.35, presented by Dietrich von Bothmer

COMMENTARY: This fragment belongs to the same cup as two others already in the Getty collection, 82.AE.146.19 and 81.AE.192.1. Inside the cup, a bearded male dressed in chiton and himation is seated to left on a diphros covered with embroidered fabric. He wears a red fillet around his hair, which is bound up on the back of his head in a krobylos. On the wall behind is a greave; inscribed in the field is: S. Outside are the remains of warriors arming: legs, greaves, a helmet, and a shield rim. The rim of the cup was broken in antiquity and cut away to form a stemmed plate. The edges were filed down to the tondo frame. Diana Buitron is preparing a study of this piece for publication.

81. FRAGMENTARY CUP
Circa 480 B.C.
Attributed to Makron
Restored Diam: 33 cm (13″)
83.AE.286, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: Of the unrestored cup approximately half of the exterior, most of the tondo, the foot, and one handle are missing. Inside are the remains of two mantled youths in conversation. Inscribed in the field is: HO ΓAIS K[ALOS]. The subject of the preserved exterior, on both A and B, is the conversation of mantled youths. In the background, a sponge, aryballos, and strigil are suspended. Added red is used for the inscription; wreaths; and the string holding the sponge, aryballos, and the strigil.

82. LARGE COLLECTION OF ATTIC AND ETRUSCAN VASE FRAGMENTS, RED-FIGURE AND SUPERPOSED COLOR
Early fifth–fourth century B.C.
Varying Dimensions: 1–19 cm (3/8″–7 1/2″)
83.AE.284, presented by Herbert Lucas

COMMENTARY: A great variety of vase shapes are represented in this collection, as are a number of recognizable artists, including Onesimos and the Penthesilea Painter. A number of the fragments join.

83

83. FRAGMENTARY KYLIX
Circa 450 B.C.
Attributed to the Euaion Painter
Greatest Extent: 20.4 cm (8 1/16″); Diam (restored rim): 29 cm (11 3/8″)
83.AE.237, presented by Dietrich von Bothmer

COMMENTARY: On the inside are the remains (feet, legs, and right hand) of a figure (probably one of two) reclining on a kline; in front of the couch is a table. From one side of the cup only, the outside preserves a youth and a man, each with a skyphos, reclining on a couch. On the right, a boy to right holds an oinochoe; on the wall behind is a provisions basket. A cyma pattern decorates the rim.

84. FOUR FRAGMENTS OF TWO RED-FIGURE VASES
Circa 490–480 B.C.
1—5.8 x 4.8 cm (2 5/16″ x 1 7/8″)
2—4.1 x 6.9 cm (1 5/8″ x 2 3/4″)
3—4.2 x 10.1 cm (1 5/8″ x 4″)
4—4 x 7.1 cm (1 9/16″ x 2 3/4″)
83.AE.25.1–4, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: Fragments 1–3 come from the same vase, a column krater [Bothmer]; they are glazed inside and decorated outside with the battle between Argos and Hermes. Only Argos' right thigh and knee and his left knee, bent to the ground, remain on fragments 1 and 2, together with some indications of surrounding landscape (a tree?). Dilute glaze is used for musculature and the irises of the eyes that covered Argos' body. Fragment 3, unglazed inside, must come from the shoulder of the krater. Below the tongues is Hermes' raised right hand holding an unsheathed sword over the top of his head; behind his head is the finial of his kerykeion. In the center of the fragment is an ancient bronze rivet. Fragment 4 from a large, fine skyphos is

glazed inside. Outside, a male figure in chiton and dotted himation with crenellated border leans on a stick to right; his right arm may be extended. Before him, the rump and tail of a horse or mule appear and possibly its reins as well, which the figure may hold in his right hand.

VASES: ATTIC, IN THE FORM OF HUMAN HEADS

85

85. NEGRO HEAD OINOCHOE
Circa 510 B.C.
Assigned to the Epilykos Class (Class B^{bis})
H (to top of handle): 21.5 cm (8½″), (to rim): 18.4 cm (7¼″)
83.AE.229

COMMENTARY: The vase has been broken and restored. Added red is used for the lips and plastically rendered hair; beige for the eyebrows.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

86a

86b

86. JANIFORM KANTHAROS
Attic, circa 470 B.C.
Assigned to the Vatican Class (Class M)
H: 19.1 cm (7½″); Diam (rim): 13.9 cm (5½″); W (with handles): 18.5 cm (7 5/16″)
83.AE.218

COMMENTARY: The kantharos is intact. It combines a head of Herakles in lion-skin headdress with a head of a woman. An added white wreath of ivy with berries decorates the rim.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

87. FEMALE HEAD OINOCHOE
Attic, circa 470 B.C.
Assigned to the Sabouroff Class (Class O)
H (to top of handle): 18.8 cm (7 7/16″), (to rim): 17.2 cm (6¾″)
83.AE.242, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The vase is intact. Around the head is a laurel wreath in added white.

VASES: ITALO-CORINTHIAN

88. TWO PLATES
Seventh century B.C.
328—H: 2.4–2.7 cm (15/16″–1 1/16″); Diam: 26.5 cm (10 7/16″)
329—H: 2.6–2.9 cm (1–1⅛″); Diam: 29.8 cm (11¾″)
83.AE.328–329, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: Both plates are broken and restored. Plate 328 is decorated in the center with a large bird to right. In the field around are scattered swastikas; the border is framed with concentric circles and decorated with groups of parallel wavy lines. The underside of the plate is painted to resemble a wooden cart wheel.

The decoration of 329 is limited to pure geometric motifs: a six-pointed star with jagged lines in the interstices occupies the center; concentric circles on either side of a linear wreath provide the frame for the star; the rim is decorated with groups of short parallel lines. The underside of the plate repeats the same design.

VASES: ETRUSCO-CORINTHIAN

89. NECK AMPHORA
End of seventh century B.C.
Attributed to the Monte Abbatone Group
H: 45.5 cm (17 15/16″); Diam (mouth): 21.8 cm (8⅝″), (body): 31.5 cm (12 7/16″), (foot): 13.2–13.4 cm (5 3/16″–5 5/16″)
83.AE.295, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The vase is broken and repaired. Fragments of the body are missing. On the shoulder are floral patterns. Around the belly is a procession of animals to left: griffin, panther, and lion. The figures are executed with a combination of polychromy (now mostly worn away) and incision. Beneath the figural zone are stripes. János Szilágyi is preparing a study of this piece for publication.

90. SKYPHOS
Early sixth century B.C.
H: 11.5 cm (4½″); Diam (mouth): 11.7 cm (4⅝″); W (approximate, with handles): 17.3 cm (6¾″)
83.AE.304, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The vase is broken and repaired from many fragments. Part of one handle and much of the rim on one side are missing. The body is decorated in red on buff with a series of horizontal stripes of varying width above a solid red base. The handle zone is filled with a band of chevrons.

91. FRAGMENTARY ALABASTRON
Sixth century B.C.
H: 5.7 cm (2¼″); Diam (mouth): 1.9 cm (¾″), (body): 3.4 cm (1⅜″)
83.AE.305, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The vase has been broken and repaired; some small fragments are gone. The body is decorated with tongues in the upper zone and horizontal stripes in red and black in the lower zone. Wear on the surface has obscured any figural elements that may have existed.

92. FRAGMENT OF A KRATERISKOS
Seventh century B.C.
7.8 x 15.4 cm (3 1/16″ x 6 1/16″)
83.AE.303, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The fragment preserves part of the rim and body of the vessel, which was decorated in red on buff ground. On the rim are geometric patterns; the area under the rim is red. Around the body is a zone of fish to right (two remain) above horizontal parallel lines.

VASES: ETRUSCAN IMPASTO

93. FRAGMENTARY JUGLET WITH PIERCED LUG
Seventh–sixth century B.C.
H: 5.4 cm (2⅛″); Diam (mouth): 3.9 cm (1 9/16″), (body): 6.1 cm (2⅜″), (foot): 3 cm (1 3/16″)
83.AE.302, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The coarse clay of the globular body is visible in the breaks, and the vessel seems to have been poorly fired. The remaining lug handle is pierced twice; there may have been a corresponding one, now lost, on the opposite side of the body.

94. FACE JUG
Sixth century B.C.
H: 10.5 cm (4⅛″); Diam (mouth): 8 cm (3 3/16″), (body): 9 cm (3 9/16″), (foot): 5.1 cm (2″)
83.AE.299, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The vase has been broken and repaired; only a small fragment of the body is missing. The front of the jug has the features of a human face modeled in relief just below the offset rim. The handle is bipartite.

VASES: ETRUSCAN BUCCHERO

95. SMALL NECK AMPHORA
Early sixth century B.C.
H: 10.6 cm (4 3/16″); Diam (mouth): 5.4 cm (2⅛″), (body): 8.1 cm (3 3/16″), (foot): 3.3 cm (1 5/16″)
83.AE.300, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The vase is intact. Its shape is related to the so-called Nicosthenic amphorai of Attic fabric that imitated Etruscan originals. The body is decorated with incised patterns: three parallel lines forming a large W under each handle, and double spirals on both A and B.

96. FIVE VASES (TWO TREFOIL OINOCHOAI, TWO FLUTED CHALICES, ONE STAND)
Early sixth century B.C.
400—(Trefoil oinochoe) H: 30 cm (11 13/16″); Diam (body): 18 cm (7 1/16″), (foot): 11.6 cm (4 9/16″)
401—(Trefoil oinochoe) H: 30.8 cm (12⅛″); Diam (body): 16.9 cm (6⅝″), (foot): 9.8 cm (3⅞″)
402—(Fluted chalice) H: 18.7 cm (7⅜″); Diam (rim): 14.8–15.2 cm (5 13/16″–6″), (foot): 9.9 cm (3 15/16″)
403—(Fluted chalice) H: 18.3 cm (7 3/16″); Diam (rim): 14.6–14.9 cm (5¾″–5⅞″), (foot): 9.8 cm (3⅞″)
404—(Stand) H: 13.7 cm (5⅜″); Diam (rim): 11.9 cm (4 11/16″), (bowl): 12.6 cm (4 15/16″), (foot): 9.1 cm (3 9/16″)
83.AE.400–404, presented by John Saxon

COMMENTARY: Oinochoe 400 has been broken and repaired; small fragments of the body and one lobe of the mouth are missing. Around the body in relief is a procession of five panthers to left; between the felines are pendent lotus buds. The figures are set between double relief lines, which are diagonally incised; the shoulder is decorated with relief tongues. At the junction of handle and rim are rotellai ornamented with plastic rosettes. On the handle is a nude female figure in relief. Oinochoe 401 is intact except for the two pieces broken from the foot. In relief on the front of the body is a mounted warrior to right; on either side of him, separated by a relief petal, is a lion to left. Plain rotellai mark the junction of handle and rim.

Both chalices (402 and 403) are intact; except for their fluted bowls, they are undecorated. The stand (404) is intact, ornamented around the shallow bowl with four frontal heads in relief.

97. KYATHOS
Sixth century B.C.
H: 6.4 cm (2½″); Diam (mouth): 6.5–6.9 cm (2 9/16″–2 15/16″), (body): 8 cm (3 3/16″)
83.AE.308, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The handle is broken and the upper part of its curve lost; otherwise, the vase is intact. The body is decorated with short incised strokes just below the offset rim; the handle is decorated with horizontal incised lines.

98. PHIALE MESOPHALOS
Sixth century B.C.
H: 2.9 cm (1⅛″); Diam: 11 cm (4 5/16″)
83.AE.296, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The phiale has been broken and repaired; a fragment is missing from the rim. Its original black color has been turned to gray by exposure to fire.

VASES: ETRUSCAN BLACK-FIGURE

99a

99b

99c

99. CAERETAN HYDRIA
Circa 530 B.C.
H: 44.6 cm (17½″); Diam (mouth): 22.9 cm (9″), (body): 33.4 cm (13⅛″), (foot): 17.8 cm (7″)
83.AE.346

COMMENTARY: The vase is complete; only a small (8 cm) section of the foot has been broken and repaired. Much of the added color remains. On the front of the body, Herakles attacks the Lernean Hydra from the right with a club; behind his right foot is a crab. From the left, Iolaos assists, cutting off a head with a small curved blade. On the back flanking the vertical handle are two opposed sphinxes. On the inside of the mouth, alternating red-on-black and white-on-black tongues appear; on the outside rim is a diamond pattern. On the neck is an addorsed lotus/star-rosette pattern. On the shoulder is an ivy wreath with berries. On the lower body is a palmette/lotus chain. Above the foot, alternating red and black rays appear. On the foot are alternating red- and white-on-black tongues.

PROVENANCE: Count Antoine Seilern, London; sale, Christie's, London, July 2, 1982, lot 252.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975), pls. 40d, 42a; *MonPiot* 44 (1950), 8, fig. 6.

100a

100b

100. DINOS
Circa 520 B.C.
Attributed to the Painter of the Campana Dinoi
H: 21 cm (8¼″); Diam (mouth): 15.1 cm (5¹⁵⁄₁₆″), (body): 28 cm (11″)
83.AE.249, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The vase is complete, although it has been broken and restored. On the upper surface of the mouth is an ivy wreath. Around the body, beneath a zone of tongues, are fourteen dancing komasts; in the lower register, nine sirens and one water bird. Between the komasts and sirens is a band of crenellations with concentric squares in interstices.

VASES: ETRUSCAN RED-FIGURE

101

101. FRAGMENTARY ASKOS IN THE SHAPE OF A DUCK
Second half of fourth century B.C.
Attributed to the Clusium Group
H: 13.8 cm (5⁷⁄₁₆″); L: 24.2 cm (9⁹⁄₁₆″); Diam (mouth): 3.4 cm (1⅜″), (foot): 5.1 cm (2″)
83.AE.203, presented by Vasek Polak

COMMENTARY: The neck of the bird was broken and repaired in antiquity; holes for the bronze rivets remain. On each side of the body in place of the wing, a winged female (Lasa), nude except for footwear and jewelry, is painted; the one on the right carries a greave in each hand, and the one on the left carries an alabastron in one hand and an olive branch and long fillet in the other. There is extensive use of well-preserved added white.

102. KYLIX
Late fourth century B.C.
H: 7.4 cm (2 15/16"); Diam (rim): 18.8 cm (7 7/8"), (foot): 7.3 cm (2 7/8"); W (with handles): 25.4 cm (10")
83.AE.288, presented by Michael Milken

COMMENTARY: The cup is unbroken. Inside is a male head in profile to left. Outside, in the reserved handle zone, is an asymmetrical black running-scroll pattern with circles in the interstices.

Through two donations made in 1983, the Museum was presented with a large set of various Etruscan ceramics. Although each group originally belonged to a separate private collection, the objects they contain must have been part of the same large votive deposit. The first donation (A) is anonymous, the second (B) was presented by Dr. Max Gerchik. The mending of the fragments is still in progress. The donated ceramics are described below in entries 103–106.

103. BELL KRATERS
Faliscan, second-last quarter of fourth century B.C.
A. 83.AE.369 (several fragmentary kraters and countless fragments)
B. 83.AE.433 (ten fragmentary kraters)

104. CUPS
Faliscan, second-last quarter of fourth century B.C.
A. 83.AE.368 (some hundred fragmentary cups and countless fragments)
B. 83.AE.434 (some twenty-five fragmentary cups)

COMMENTARY: Many cups are decorated with female heads. Some known and many new painters may be recognized: the Satyr and Dolphin Painter; the Apollo Riding Swan Painter; the Herakles and Hermes Painter; the Painter of Dancing Satyrs; the Del Chiaro Painter. To the last painter, some fifty cups and cup fragments have been attributed (see *Greek Vases 2* where a large selection of these is reproduced).

VASES: ETRUSCAN SUPERPOSED COLOR

105. LARGE QUANTITY OF FRAGMENTARY VASES AND FRAGMENTS DECORATED IN RED AND WHITE ON BLACK
Second-last quarter of fourth century B.C.
A. 83.AE.370–371
B. 83 AE.435

COMMENTARY: Many fragments of oinochoai shape 10 (beaked jug) belong to the Phantom Group.

VASES: ETRUSCAN BLACK WARE

106. LARGE QUANTITY OF PLAIN BLACK VASES AND FRAGMENTS
Second-last quarter of fourth century B.C.
A. 83.AE.372.
B. 83.AE.436.

107. MINIATURE KYATHOS
Fourth century B.C.
H: 2.1 cm (13/16"); Diam: 2.7 cm (1 1/16")
83.AE.298.1, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The handle of the kyathos is broken.

108. FRAGMENT OF A RELIEF PITHOS
Early sixth century B.C.
H: 14.5 cm (5 11/16"); W: 9 cm (3 9/16"); T: 2.2 cm (7/8")
83.AE.412, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: Stamped in relief in the coarse clay body is a boar to left confronting a feline to right. The body of the pithos is smooth above the relief band and carinated below.

VASES: ETRUSCAN PLAIN WARE

109. MINIATURE PHIALE
Fourth century B.C.
H: 0.8 cm (5/16"); Diam: 3.1–3.2 cm (1 3/16"–1 1/4")
83.AE.298.2, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The phiale is slightly chipped on the rim.

VASES: ITALIOTE UNGLAZED

110. STANDLET
Etruscan, fifth century B.C.
H: 8.6 cm (3 3/8"); Diam (rim): 8.8–9.1 cm (3 7/16"–3 9/16"), (foot): 6.6 cm (2 9/16")
83.AE.301, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The stand is intact, although it slumped badly to one side in its original firing. The surface is unfinished; the only decoration is the careful articulation of the stem with plastic and incised rings.

VASE: CAMPANIAN RED-FIGURE

111. NECK AMPHORA
Circa 330 B.C.
Attributed to the CA Painter, the Orvieto Sub-Group
H: 62.3 cm (24 9/16"); Diam (mouth): 17.9 cm (7 1/16"), (body): 23.4 cm (9 3/16"), (foot): 17.2 cm (6 3/4")
83.AE.248, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The vase is complete; only the foot was broken, and it is now repaired. Much of the original polychromy is preserved. On side A are attendants at an altar, including a warrior with spear and shield, a woman with laurel branch and vessel (partly gone), and three other women carrying wreaths and plates of food. On side B, a mantled youth and a seated woman appear on either side of an altar decorated with a fillet.

PROVENANCE: Rome art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania, and Sicily*, suppl. 3, *BICS*, suppl. no. 41, 1983, 221/135a.

VASES: APULIAN RED-FIGURE

112. LEKANIS
Apulian, 320–310 B.C.
H (bottom and lid together): 20.5 cm (8 1/16″); Diam: 20.6 cm (8 1/8″)
83.AE.413.1–2, presented by John Saxon

COMMENTARY: Both bottom and lid have been broken and repaired; pieces of the bottom are missing. On each side of the lid is a female head to left wearing a kekryphalos. Around the body of the bottom is a laurel wreath.

113. LEKANIS
Apulian, circa 320 B.C.
H (bottom and lid together): 9.5 cm (3 3/4″); Diam: 11.5 cm (4 1/2″)
83.AE.393.1–2, presented by Carlos L. Campillo

COMMENTARY: Both bottom and lid have been broken and repaired; small fragments are missing. On each side of the lid is a female head to left wearing a kekryphalos. The handle on the lid is a Herakles knot.

114

114. FISH PLATE
Canosan, late fourth century B.C.
Attributed to the Hippocamp Painter
H: 6.7 cm (2 5/8″); Diam (plate): 22.5 cm (8 7/8″), (foot): 7.5 cm (2 15/16″)
83.AE.392, presented by Carlos L. Campillo

COMMENTARY: The plate is unbroken. There are three fish to left around the central well, which is decorated with a gold-centered rosette. A wave pattern runs around the upper edge of the well, and the whole depression is painted with a red wash. Around the vertical edge of the plate is a wave pattern.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. D. Trendall, *Fish Plates* (Oxford, forthcoming).

VASES: GNATHIAN

115

115. FRAGMENT OF A BELL KRATER
Circa 350 B.C.
Attributed to the Konnakis Group
10.7 x 11 cm (4 3/16″ x 4 5/16″)
83.AE.431, presented by Suzanne Rosenborg

COMMENTARY: The fragment preserves the head of a muse seated to right, holding a kithara. The added color is very well preserved: white for the flesh, kithara, and patterns on fabric; dilute glaze for the features, jewelry, and details of kithara; orange-red for hair and chiton; darker red for apicate stephane and himation.

PROVENANCE: Karl Zinser, Stuttgart.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Bulle, *Festschrift für James Loeb* (Munich, 1930), 22–23, pl. II; L. Forti, *La Ceramica di Gnathia* (Naples, 1965), 96, pl. XIIIb; T. B. L. Webster, "Towards a Classification of Apulian Gnathia," *BICS* 15 (1968), 5.

116. SMALL KANTHAROS
Fourth century B.C.
Xenon Group
H: 6 cm (2 3/8″); Diam (mouth): 6.8 cm (2 15/16″); W (with handles): 8.65 cm (3 3/8″)
83.AE.309, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The vase is intact. On side A, vertical lines appear above a meaningless inscription. On B, there is a crude guilloche pattern above short vertical strokes.

117. GROUP OF FOUR VASES (TWO BOWLS, ONE KANTHAROS, ONE OINOCHOE)
Late fourth century B.C.
414—(Bowl) H: 7 cm (2 3/4″); Diam: 13 cm (5 1/8″)
415—(Bowl) H: 6.8 cm (2 11/16″); Diam: 12.2 cm (4 13/16″)
416—(Kantharos) H: 9.2 cm (3 5/8″); Diam: 9.6 cm (3 13/16″); W (with handles): 12.9 cm (5 1/16″)
417—(Oinochoe) H: 16.1 cm (6 3/8″); Diam (body): 11.1 cm (4 3/8″)
83.AE.414–417, presented by John Saxon

COMMENTARY: All four of the vases are fragmentary. The bowls are a pair. They are decorated across the fronts with a dotted ivy spray in gold bordered by alternating bands of red and white; beneath all are gold dots. On the sides are painted handles, and a tiny garland of white ivy appears across the back of each. The kantharos belongs to the Xenon Group, decorated in the typical matte red-pink with palmettes around the neck and a garland of ivy leaves and berries around the body; beneath the ivy is a border of dots between double lines. The oinochoe is of shape 3 (chous), decorated across the front with a grape vine in gold and white (leaves and fruit attached) above alternating rosettes and crossed disks in gold and white. All decoration is bordered above by a small cyma pattern and rickrack line in white and below by a large white cyma pattern. Both cymatia are framed with double incised lines.

VASES: SOUTH ITALIAN BLACK GLAZE

118. SMALL OINOCHOE SHAPE 6 (LATE)
Apulian, fourth century B.C.
H: 12.1 cm (4 3/4″); Diam (shoulder): 8.2 cm (3 1/4″), (foot): 4.8 cm (1 15/16″)
83.AE.420, presented by John Saxon

COMMENTARY: The vase has been broken and repaired; parts of the body, especially at the shoulder, are missing. The quality of the black surface is very fine.

119. KALATHOS
Apulian, fourth century B.C.
H: 7.2 cm (2 13/16″); Diam (rim): 14.3 cm (5⅝″), (foot): 7.5 cm (2 15/16″)
83.AE.421, presented by John Saxon

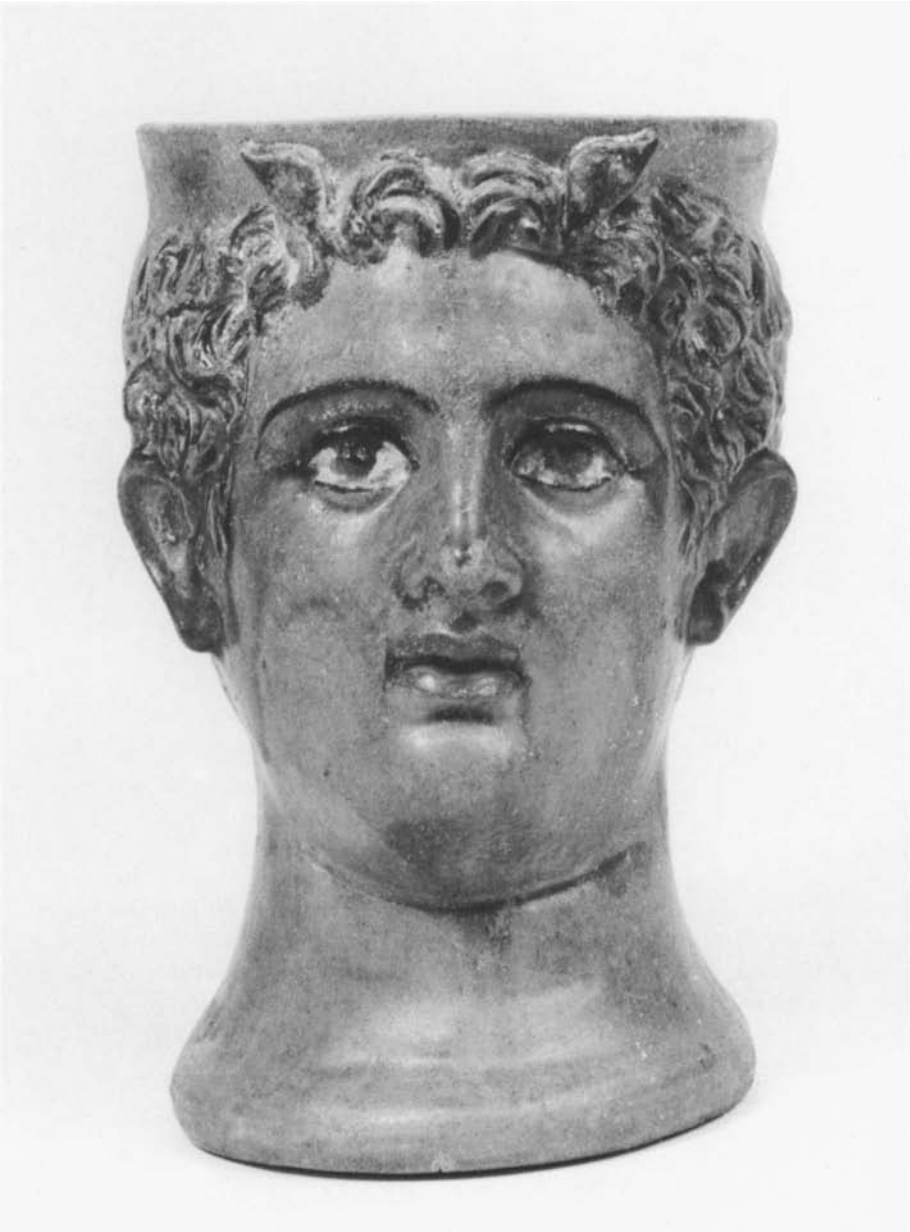
COMMENTARY: The vessel is unbroken, but much of the plain black surface has been worn away.

120. MINIATURE PHIALE
Italic, fourth century B.C.
H: 1.6 cm (⅝″); Diam: 7.7 cm (3 1/16″)
83.AE.297, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The phiale is unbroken.

121. TWO CALENE GUTTI
Campanian, circa 300 B.C.
418—H: 15 cm (6″); Diam: 12.8 cm (5″)
419—H: 13 cm (5⅛″); Diam: 11.5 cm (4½″)
83.AE.418–419, presented by John Saxon

COMMENTARY: Both gutti have been broken and repaired; pieces of both bodies are missing. In relief on the top of 418 is a three-quarter facing head of Alexander the Great; on 419 is a frontal head of a Dionysian acolyte in ivy wreath. Between the body and foot of each is a reserved zone.



122

VASES: HELLENISTIC

122. LEAD GLAZE HEAD MUG (ONE-HANDLED KANTHAROS)
Circa first century B.C.
Signed on the bottom (incised): LIKINNIOV, which may be the potter's signature.
H: 19 cm (7½″); Diam (mouth): 12.2 cm (4 13/16″)
83.AE.40

COMMENTARY: The vase is intact. Its subject is a youthful Dionysos wearing an ivy wreath. The colors reflect a gold or bronze and copper prototype; golden yellow is used for the flesh and brownish red for the lips and eyes. The wreath is added in green. The handle is formed by a frontal goat's head, the curving horns of which separate at the rim.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

123. PLASTIC VASE IN THE FORM OF A SEATED SLAVE
Second–first century B.C.
H: 27.5 cm (10⅞″); Diam (mouth): 5 cm (2″); W (of figure): 12.5 cm (4 15/16″); D (of figure): 15.3 cm (6 1/16″)
83.AE.320, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The vessel is intact. The grotesque subject is dressed in a short sleeveless chiton; her hair is arranged in coils at the back of the head.

124

124. RHYTON WITH RELIEF DECORATION
First century B.C.
H: 26.5 cm (10 7/16″); L: 31.5 cm (12 7/16″); Diam (mouth): 15.5 cm (6 1/8″)
83.AE.319, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The rhyton originally had a spouted end, perhaps of a different fabric, attached separately. What remains has been broken and restored. The upper zone of the horn is decorated in relief with a rejecting hermaphrodite and an amorous satyr flanked by two erotes. In the center, between the satyr and hermaphrodite, are the remains of an inscription that has not, as yet, been deciphered. Around the mouth is an olive wreath; around the calyx, which is pierced for attachment of the spout, are alternating acanthus and plain leaves.

VASE: ROMAN PLASTIC

125. ASKOS IN THE FORM OF A COCK
Third century A.D.
H: 11.9 cm (4 11/16″); L: 17 cm (6 3/4″)
83.AE.349, presented by William Eagleton

COMMENTARY: The vase, mold made in two halves, is intact. The features have been articulated with incision.

VASES: ROMAN TERRA SIGILLATA

126. CHALICE WITH STAMPED RELIEF DECORATION
Late first century B.C.
H: 16.4–17.6 cm (6 1/2–6 15/16″); Diam (mouth): 17.8 cm (7″), (foot): 9.3 cm (3 5/8″)
83.AE.407, presented by John Saxon

COMMENTARY: The vase is intact; the glaze on the surface has worn away in places and approximately half of the relief decoration has been lost. Around the exterior of the bowl is a wreath of ivy leaves and berries (much of which is now gone) in relief.

127. CUP WITH STAMPED RELIEF DECORATION
Late first century B.C.
H: 7.9 cm (3 1/8″); Diam: 9.6 cm (3 13/16″)
83.AE.406, presented by John Saxon

COMMENTARY: The cup has been broken and repaired; a small fragment of the bottom is missing. The exterior is washed with a blackish glaze over the dark red surface. The figures added in relief are: a satyr, an embracing couple, an actor, a muse with mask, and a dancer. The interior is glazed red.

128. FRAGMENTARY PATERA WITH STAMPED RELIEF DECORATION
Early first century A.D.
Diam (rim): 24.6 cm (9 11/16″), (foot): 9.1 cm (3 5/8″)
83.AE.405, presented by John Saxon

COMMENTARY: The vase is in fragments; much of the bowl is missing; part of the handle is preserved. Around the interior are several stamped motifs: a satyr with a leaping panther on a leash; two large leaves; and a wreath.

129. PLATE WITH STAMPED RELIEF DECORATION
Third century A.D.
H: 4 cm (1 5/8″); Diam (rim): 15 cm (5 15/16″), (foot): 8.4 cm (3 5/16″)
83.AE.350, presented by William Eagleton

COMMENTARY: The plate is intact. On the offset vertical rim are four frontal relief heads (masks?) alternating with rosettes, also in relief. In the center within incised concentric circles is the partially obscured stamp of the maker: ALT[

LAMPS

130. FIVE HUNDRED THIRTY-FIVE LAMPS
Primarily Roman, but including Greek and Hellenistic
Mostly terracotta but including a few bronze, Varying Dimensions: H (standing lamps): up to 25 cm (9 7/8″); Diam: 6–12 cm (2 3/8″–4 3/4″)
83.AQ.377

COMMENTARY: Roman "picture lamps," reflecting various aspects of Roman daily and religious life, form the principal focus of the collection. Recent studies suggest that several of the lamp representations may have been inspired by lost sculptural works or reflect close relationships with Roman coinage. Anna Manzoni Macdonnell is preparing a study of these lamps for publication.

PROVENANCE: European art market; Günter Puhze, Freiburg am Breisgau.

131. TWELVE LAMPS
Roman, second–third century A.D.
Terracotta, Varying Dimensions
83.AQ.391, presented by Robert Lawson

COMMENTARY: Anna Manzoni Macdonnell is preparing a study of these lamps for publication.

132. TWO LAMPS
Roman, second–third century A.D.
Terracotta
352—Diam: 8.59 cm (3 3/8″)
353—Diam: 9.22 cm (3 5/8″)
83.AQ.352–353, presented by William Eagleton.

COMMENTARY: Anna Manzoni Macdonnell is preparing a study of these lamps for publication.

MISCELLANEOUS CERAMICS

133. GREEK ANTEFIX WITH THE HEAD OF GORGO
Early fifth century B.C.
Terracotta, 20.8 x 21.8 cm
(8 3/16″ x 8 9/16″)
83.AD.211.1, presented by Leon Levy

134. EIGHT ETRUSCAN ANTEFIXES AND FICTILE REVETMENTS
Sixth–fourth century B.C.
H (range): 14.8–35.5 cm
(5 13/16″–13 15/16″)
83.AD.211.2–9, presented by Leon Levy

135. FRAGMENTS OF TWO ETRUSCAN PAINTED TERRACOTTA SLABS
Sixth century B.C.
Terracotta
10—Approximate H: 19 cm (7½″); Approximate L: 22 cm (8⅝″)
11—Approximate H: 19.5 cm (7⅝″); Approximate L: 11 cm (4⅜″)
83.AD.211.10–11, presented by Leon Levy

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. A. Del Chiaro, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 119–122.

136. LARGE SET OF FRAGMENTARY TERRACOTTAS FROM MAGNA GRAECIA
Sixth–fourth century B.C.
83.AD.354, anonymous donation

137. TWO FRAGMENTS OF ROMAN STAMPED TILES
First century A.D.
1—14.2 x 10.9 cm (5 9/16″ x 4 5/16″)
2—10.3 x 9.8 cm (4 1/16″ x 3⅞″)
83.AD.294.1–2, anonymous donation

GOLD AND SILVER

138a (1A—detail)

138b (1B—detail)

138c (2A)

138d (2B)

138e (3A)

138. ETRUSCAN JEWELRY
Late sixth century B.C.
Gold, except as indicated
83.AM.1–6

COMMENTARY: The jewelry consists of several groups, as follows:

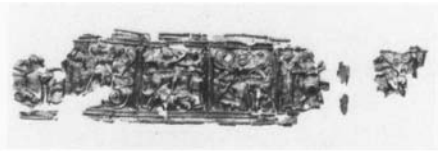
1. Two necklaces
   A. L: 29 cm (11⅜″). Consisting of eleven plain and four granulated, hollow beads, the central ten framed by circlets of small hollow beads, with a central faience pendant in the form of a bearded male head suspended by a mounting decorated with granulation.
   B. L: 32.5 cm (12¾″). Consisting of ten plain hollow beads and ten decorated, round hollow pendants alternating with tapered pendants of coiled wire, with a central faience pendant in the form of a ram's head.
2. Three pairs of ear pendants
   A. Diam (each): 4.8 cm (1⅞″). Consisting of a central rosette surrounded by six similar rosettes, all with central floral elements connected by radiate strips to an encircling band of granulation; in the other spandrels, six facing heads.
   B. Diam (each): 4.2 cm (1⅝″). Consisting of a central rosette with granulated boss and three radiate, folded leaves separated by repoussé lions' heads, all surrounded by a circle of small hollow beads, an encircling band of granulation, and two concentric circular bands with interior floral elements.
   C. Diam (each): 3.2 cm (1¼″). Consisting of a central floral element surrounded by a beaded frame with radiating beaded strips connected to bands of granulation and beads, an encircling band with alternating

palmettes and blossoms, and an outer beaded band.

3. Two fibulae
   A. L: 10.1 cm (4″). Decorated with granular geometric patterns (maeander, zigzag, and guilloche); on the bow, a projecting boss on each side; on the end, a facing mask of granulation on each side.
   B. L: 4.2 cm (1⅝″). Decorated on the spine of the bow with small beads; alongside the spine, decorated with spiral patterns of granulation; on the end, a floral element.
4. A crowned and dressed repoussé female figure appliqué. L: 4.2 cm (1⅝″).
5. An undecorated, hollow finger ring. Diam: 2.5 cm (1″).
6. A small group of thin gold and silver sheet ornaments with repoussé designs, one of which features a bird frieze and one faience pendant.

PROVENANCE: Private Swiss collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pot Taimsalu, "Etruscan Gold Jewelry," *Aurum* 4 (1980), 37–41.



139

139. STRIP WITH MYTHOLOGICAL RELIEF PANELS
Magna Graecia, circa 530 B.C.
Gilded silver, H: 8.4 cm (3 5/16″); L (principal section): 28.7 cm (11 5/16″) with other, smaller fragments
83.AM.343

COMMENTARY: Each panel represents a mythological scene. The surviving panels show, in order: a running Gorgo; the battle of Zeus and Typhon; Orestes slaying Klytaimnestra over the body of Aigisthos; a second Gorgo; and a female figure restraining a warrior or hero with her right hand. Another fragmentary panel represents Theseus slaying the minotaur. The strip is only partially preserved and when complete would have shown other mythological scenes separated into pairs by running Gorgons.

140

140. GILDED SILVER DISH WITH HIGH RELIEF MEDALLION SHOWING DIONYSOS, ARIADNE, AND A SILEN
Hellenistic, mid-second century B.C.
Silver, H (dish): 2.5 cm (1″); Diam (dish): 14.3 cm (5⅝″), (medallion): 10.2 cm (4″).
83.AM.389

COMMENTARY: The silver emblem of the dish is finely worked, hammered, and chased. Mercury-gilded surfaces include the hair and clothing of the figures as well as Dionysos' thyrsos and the sinuous, fruited grape vines that frame the principal scene. Judging from her bracelet and jeweled thigh-band, as well as Dionysos' affectionate grasp of her chin, the female figure must be Ariadne rather than a maenad. The soft, even androgynous, face of Dionysos is consistent with later Hellenistic (second and first century B.C.) representations of the god.

An approximate parallel is the Pomerance dish, published in A. Oliver, *Silver for the Gods* (Toledo, 1977), 90, no. 53, which also shows a Dionysiac scene. Like the Pomerance example, the Museum's new acquisition was probably made in an Asia Minor workshop.

Michael Pfrommer is preparing a study of the dish for publication.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, U.S.A.

141. TWO SILVER LAMELLAE WITH MAGIC INSCRIPTIONS
Roman period
Silver
1—5.2 x 4 cm (2″ x 1 9/16″)
2—4.2 x 4.2 cm (1⅝″ x 1⅝″)
83.AM.250.1–2, presented by the Phoenicia Foundation

COMMENTARY: Text one contains approximately twenty-five lines of Greek, as well as magical characters and Semitic letter-forms. The meaningful Greek, at the beginning of the text, translates: "In the name of the only God I make this phylactery..." (magical words then follow).

The second text, approximately thirteen lines, imitates some of the magical

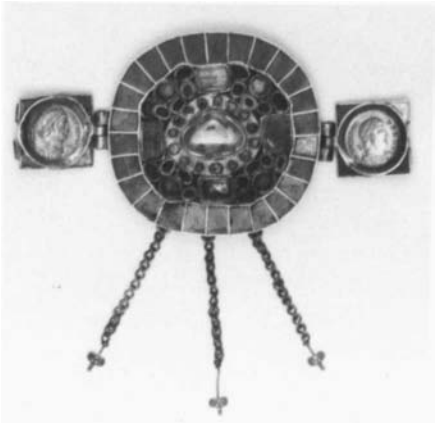
characters and Semitic letter-forms of the first text. Both amulets had been rolled up and worn as protective charms.

Roy Kotansky is preparing a study of these pieces for publication.

142. NINETEEN SILVER SHEETS WITH MAGICAL SIGNS WITH FRAGMENTS OF CAPSULES
Roman period
Silver, Varying Dimensions: W (approximately): 6–18 cm (2⅜″–7″)
83.AM.243.1–19, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The cache of lamellae, all of which were previously tightly rolled up with fragments of some of the capsules intact, is the largest of its kind from the same site (Asia Minor?). A unique feature of the collection is that several groups of the thin slips of silver foil were duplicated by being placed one on top of another and engraved simultaneously. The designs on the individual tablets show a progression of sophistication, from simple X's and O's to more complex, though primitivistic, representative *figurae magicae,* probably figures meant to depict demons from which the wearers sought protection.

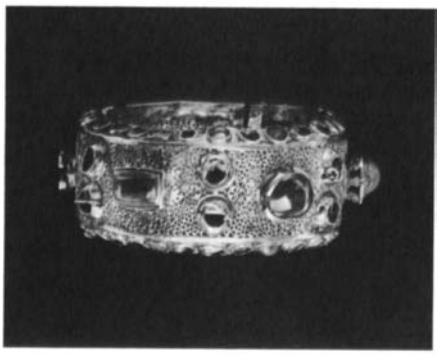
Roy Kotansky is preparing a study of these pieces for publication.



143a (1—detail)

143b (2—detail)

143c (3—detail)



143d (5[2])

143. LATE ANTIQUE JEWELRY
Late fourth-early fifth century A.D.
Gold, precious stones, and enamel
83.AM.224–228

COMMENTARY: The set of jewelry consists of fourteen objects, as follows:

1. Belt with central medallion. L (belt): 76.5 cm (30⅛″); Maximum Diam (medallion): 7.5 cm (3″). The medallion is made of precious stones, inset within a quasi-circular gold frame enclosing dark green enamel squares; the belt consists of twenty-two gold coins mounted within gold-framed squares whose corners are filled with green enamel.
2. Woven gold chain necklace. L (necklace): 42.4 cm (16⅝″); Diam (medallion): 6.3 cm (2½″). The necklace contains a circular pendant displaying a frontal female bust crowned by two victories to left and right, surrounded by a frame with inset precious stones.
3. Woven gold chain necklace. L (necklace): 55.4 cm (21 13/16″); Diam (pendant): 4.4 cm (1¾″). The necklace contains an oval pendant consisting of a chalcedony cameo showing the busts of a facing male, left, and a female, right, surrounded by an a jour frame with inset precious stones.
4. Gold chain necklace. L: 47.3 cm (18⅝″). The necklace consists of simple pendants made to hold pearls or precious stones.
5. Three gold bracelets: (1) Diam: 7.2 cm (2⅞″); with inset cabochon precious stones. (2) Diam: 6.8 cm (2⅝″); with inset precious stones and a jour work. (3) Diam: 6.3 cm (2½″); with a jour work only.
6. Seven gold rings; three with engraved stones, one with an engraved bezel, two with simple lentolid stones, one with mother-of-pearl.

The jewelry is consistent as a group, although several of the engraved ring stones are from the imperial period. The form of the belt is similar to that worn by women on a late fourth-century diptych in Milan. Other elements recall objects recovered from Szilagyi Somlyo in Hungary and from Kerch in southern Russia and dating to the end of the fourth century A.D.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

144a (342)

144b (347)

144. TWO EARLY BYZANTINE SILVER PLATES
Fifth century A.D.
Silver
342—45 x 28.5 cm (17¾″ x 11¼″)
347—Diam: 60 cm (23⅝″)
83.AM.342 and 347

COMMENTARY: Two seated philosophers are represented on 342, and their names are inscribed in Greek: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟϹ ЄΡΜΗϹ. Ptolemaios and Hermes (Trismegistos?) are discussing an astrolabe in the presence of two female figures (one of whom is inscribed: ϹΚЄΨΙϹ). Another draped male is seated above the astrolabe. On the rim is inscribed:]ΡΩΝ ЄΡΜ[.... Under the foot, markings are found perhaps indicating weight.

Plate 347 retains traces of its original gilding and is inspired by a Hellenistic prototype. It depicts a seated fisherman taking a fish off the hook.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

GEMS

145. SIXTY-FOUR ENGRAVED GEMS AND SEAL IMPRESSIONS
Various periods, Minoan-Mycenaean to Roman
Primarily stone, but including individual objects of glass, ivory, metal, and terracotta
83.AN.437, presented by D. Mezzacappa and J. Kagan

COMMENTARY: The objects fall into nine categories, as follows:

1. Greek gems
   A. Minoan-Mycenaean (one engraved gem)
   B. Geometric (one engraved ivory)
   C. Archaic (one engraved gem in silver ring)
   D. Classical (one glass scaraboid)
2. Greek rings with engraved bezels: classical and Hellenistic (three silver and bronze rings)
3. Graeco-Persian and Achaemenid (two scaraboids, one glass conical stamp seal)
4. Graeco-Phoenician (one glass, two jasper scarabs)
5. Near Eastern (one agate in gold mount)
6. Etruscan and Italic (one scarab, one ring stone)
7. Roman republican and imperial:
   A. Intaglios (twenty-five)
   B. Cameos (two)
8. Magic gems (seventeen, mostly with Egyptian cult and syncretistic deities, figures, symbols, etc.)
9. Terracotta impressions (bullae—four)

The group of gems and seal impressions represents part of a collection of 162 acquired in 1983 and 1984 (the remaining 98 will be noted in the next *Getty Museum Journal*). While fine early Greek and Etruscan objects are included in the collection, its focus is on Roman period material, which the Museum has until now lacked. A full publication of the gems and seals in the Museum is planned.

146. SET OF TWO GEMS AND EIGHT CAMEOS
First-third century A.D.
83.AN.256, anonymous donation

147. SET OF ELEVEN ENGRAVED ROMAN GEMS
Second-third century A.D.
83.AN.353, presented by William Eagleton

COMMENTARY: The subject matter of the group is given primarily to mythological figures (Nike, Hermes, Tyche, etc.); however, a private female portrait and two gems with standing birds are included. The typology and workmanship of the gems suggest a provincial (probably North African) origin.

148. SMALL CRYSTAL AMPHORA
Late first century B.C.
H: 5.7 cm (2¼″); Diam: 3.2 cm (1¼″)
83.AN.331, anonymous donation

AMBER

149. EIGHTEEN CARVED AMBERS FROM MAGNA GRAECIA
Late fifth century B.C.
Greatest Extent (range): 1.9–7.8 cm (¾″–3 1/32″)
83.AO.202, presented by Vasek Polak

GLASS

150. TWENTY-SEVEN FRAGMENTS OF MILLEFIORI GLASS
Mostly late first century B.C.
H (range): 1.3–5.1 cm (½″–2″)
83.AF.28, anonymous donation

FRESCOES

151. GROUP OF FRAGMENTARY ROMAN FRESCOES
First century A.D.
83.AG.222

COMMENTARY: Several panels represent Dionysiac figures in a landscape. Others consist of ornamental fragments.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

MOSAICS

152. INTARSIA PANEL
After the first century A.D.
36.8 x 51.4 cm (14½″ x 20¼″)
83.AH.39

COMMENTARY: The panel represents a parrot in a cage.

VARIA

153. SET OF ETRUSCAN AND PRE-ETRUSCAN IMPLEMENTS
Eighth-fifth century B.C.
83.AI.290, anonymous donation

154. SET OF VARIOUS GREEK IMPLEMENTS
Fifth century B.C.
83.AI.306, anonymous donation

155. FRAGMENTS OF CARBONIZED WOOD FROM HERCULANEUM
First century A.D.
83.AI.293, anonymous donation

156. TWELVE MUMMY WRAPPINGS
Ptolemaic-early Roman period
Linen
83.AI.47, presented by H. P. Kraus.

COMMENTARY: Ten of the mummy wrappings have vignettes and hieratic texts from the Book of the Dead.

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas Phillipps, London (eleven).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. P. Kraus, *Papyri from the Library of Sir Thomas Phillipps,* inserted in *Bibliotheca Phillippica: Manuscripts on Vellum and Paper from the Ninth to the Eighteenth Century from the Celebrated Collection formed by Sir Thomas Phillipps, the Final Selection* (New York, 1979), (eleven). One is unpublished.

157. EIGHT FRAGMENTARY INSCRIBED PAPYRI
Dynasty XX through the Ptolemaic period
Papyrus
83.AI.46

COMMENTARY: The group consists of six hieratic and two hieroglyphic fragments. One contains the text of a late XXth Dynasty letter; seven include various chapters from the Book of the Dead.

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas Phillipps, London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. P. Kraus, *Papyri from the Library of Sir Thomas Phillipps,* inserted in *Bibliotheca Phillippica: Manuscripts on Vellum and Paper from the Ninth to the Eighteenth Century from the Celebrated Collection formed by Sir Thomas Phillipps, the Final Selection* (New York, 1979), with full references.

158. LEAD SHEET INSCRIBED WITH A LOVE-SPELL IN GREEK
Third century A.D.
13.8 x 16.3 cm (5⅜″ x 6⅜″)
83.AI.244, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: Roy Kotansky is preparing a study of this piece for publication.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Robert, "Amulettes grecques," *Journal des Savants,* 1981, 35–36 n.1 (where he gives lines 20–27 and mentions its provenance as Carthage or Hadrumetum).

NON-CLASSICAL

159. GANDHARAN HEAD OF A MAN
Third century A.D.
Dark schist, H: 23.7 cm (9⅜″)
83.AJ.390, presented by Idele and Sidney Port

IMITATIONS

160. FRAGMENT OF A FONDO D'ORO
Modern
Glass, Diam: 5.2 cm (2″). Inscribed *Innocenti.*
83.AK.29, anonymous donation

161. SET OF GEMS AND CAMEOS
Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries
H (range): 0.9–4.8 cm (⅜″–1⅞″)
83.AL.257, anonymous donation

MODERN

162. PATERA HANDLE IN THE FORM OF A SMALL KOUROS
Modern
Bronze, L: 16.4 cm (6½″)
83.AK.233, anonymous donation

163. SHEET WITH A GREEK INSCRIPTION IMITATING A CATALOGUE OF EPHEBOI
Modern
Silver, L: 7.6 cm (3″)
83.AK.234, anonymous donation

164. HERM PORTRAIT OF THE BLIND HOMER
Modern
Marble, H: 45.4 cm (17⅞″)
83.AK.239, presented by Leon Levy

PROVENANCE: Sale, Christie's, New York, May 11, 1983, lot 339.

DECORATIVE ARTS

FRENCH

1

1. TABLE
French, circa 1670–1675
Oak veneered with ivory, blue-painted horn, and ebony, with gilt-bronze moldings, 63.5 x 48.5 x 35.5 cm (2′11″ x 1′7⅛″ x 1′2″)
83.DA.21

COMMENTARY: This small table is fitted with a drawer divided into compartments to contain writing implements and a velvet-covered top that can be raised and held by an iron support. It is described in a posthumous inventory of the possessions of Louis XIV, written in 1718; the measurements given correspond exactly to those of this table. While its blue-and-white decoration calls to mind the furniture painted *à la façon de porcelaine* that was made for the Trianon de Porcelaine, it is not clear where this table originally stood. It may have been used in any one of Louis XIV's establishments. A larger table in blue wood and ivory was made at this date by the cabinetmaker Pierre Golle (d. 1683), and this smaller table can also be attributed to him.

PROVENANCE: Louis XIV; Damour and Baudoint family, Château de Cornillion, Loire; [Bernard Barouch Steinitz, Paris].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gillian Wilson, "Two Newly Discovered Pieces of Royal French Furniture," *Antologia di Belle Arti* (forthcoming, 1985).

2

2. TABLE
French (Paris), circa 1675–1680
Oak veneered with ebony, tortoiseshell, horn, brass, pewter, ivory, and marquetry of various woods, 82 x 116.5 x 66 cm (2′8¼″ x 3′9⅞″ x 2′2″)
83.DA.22

COMMENTARY: The table has a recessed removable top, which is veneered with contemporary marquetry. It appears originally to have been a stand for a cabinet. A medal cabinet of the same date, decorated with vases of flowers in multicolored wood marquetry and having precisely the same dimensions as the inner edge of the top of the stand, is in the Medal Cabinet of the Residenz, Munich. It is possible that the Museum's "table" was formerly a stand for this cabinet and that both can be attributed to André-Charles Boulle (1642–1732).

PROVENANCE: Electors of Bavaria, Munich (?); [Bernheimer, Munich]; Graf Hermann von Arnim, Munich.

3. SET OF FIVE TAPESTRIES, *The Story of the Emperor of China*
French (Beauvais), circa 1690–1705
Wool and silk, 336—*The Collation* 422.9 x 309.8 cm (13′10½″ x 10′2″); 337—*The Harvesting of Pineapples*, 415.2 x 257.8 cm (13′7½″ x 8′5½″); 338—*The Astronomers* 419.1 x 318.7 cm (13′9″ x 10′5½″); 339—*The Emperor on a Journey*, 415.2 x 254 cm (13′7½″ x 8′4″); 340—*The Return from the Hunt*, 417.8 x 289.5 cm (13′8½″ x 9′6″). *The Collation* bears VERNANSAL.INT. ET.PU woven at the bottom center, *The Harvesting of Pineapples* and *The Return from the Hunt* bear the woven signature BEHAGLE at the bottom right.
83.DD.336–340

COMMENTARY: This set of tapestries portrays five of the subjects from the series *The Story of the Emperor of China* woven at the Beauvais Manufactory after cartoons by Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer (1636–1699), Jean-Baptiste Belin de Fontenay (1653–1715), Guy-Louis Vernansal (1648–1729), and one other artist who remains unknown. The series is thought to be the earliest example of chinoiserie woven by the French royal factories. These five tapestries were originally part of a set of

3 (336—*The Collation*)

ten commissioned by the illegitimate son of Louis XIV, Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon, the comte de Toulouse; they bear his arms and monogram woven in the borders. Two more of the original ten, the *Audience of the Emperor* and the *Emperor on a Journey,* are conserved in the Palais de Compiègne, France.

PROVENANCE: Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon, comte de Toulouse, Château de Rambouillet; by descent to Louis Philippe, King of the French (sale, Paris, January 28, 1852, lots 8 and 13); duchesse d'Uzès, Paris and New York; private collection, Newport, Rhode Island; [Rosenberg and Stiebel, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Adolph S. Cavallo, "The Emperor on a Journey, from the Series: The Story of the Emperor of China," *Tapestries of Europe and of Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1967), vol. 1, 170–176; Edith Standen, "The Story of the Emperor of China: A Beauvais Tapestry Series," *MMAJ* 2 (1976), 103–117; G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 173–180.

4

4. PAIR OF THREE-LEAF SCREENS
French (Savonnerie), circa 1714–1740
Knotted wools; the interior wooden frame, studs, and velvet are of a later date, 273.05 x 194.3 cm (8′11½″ x 6′4½″); W (each leaf): 63.5 cm (2′1″)
83.DD.260.1–2

COMMENTARY: The screens were made at the Manufacture Royale de Savonnerie. The cartoons were designed by Jean-Baptiste Belin de Fontenay (1653–1715), and it is likely that the designs for the birds were provided by François Desportes (1661–1743).

Eight different designs were produced for *paravents* at the Savonnerie, and the Getty screen is an example of the largest. One hundred and thirty-eight panels of this design were made between 1714 and 1740. They were for the sole use of the king and queen and the princes of the blood and were usually placed in the dining rooms or anterooms of the palaces.

Each panel has a yellow ground, while the leaves, flowers, birds, and trophies are in natural colors. These colors are bright and in comparison to other existing screens, remarkably unfaded.

PROVENANCE: Madame d'Yvon, Paris (sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 30–June 4, 1891, lot 673); [Société Seligmann, Paris] (sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, March 9–12, 1914, lot 343); [François-Gerard Seligmann, Paris] (sale, Sotheby's, Monte Carlo, June 14–15, 1981, lot 54); [Dalva Brothers, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, *Louis XIV, Faste et Decors,* ex. cat. (Paris, May–October, 1960), 155, no. 774, pl. 102; G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, *GettyMusJ* 12(1984), 180–183.

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5. TAPESTRY, *Char de Triomphe*
French (Gobelins), 1715/16
Wool and silk, 347 x 267 cm (13′1″ x 8′9¼″). A portion of the original lining is inscribed: N° 194. Port[s] Du Char/6: Sur 3: au [?] de Haut/2: au ½ de cours.
83.DD.20

COMMENTARY: This tapestry is one of a series of sixty-six *portières* that were woven between 1662 and 1724 at the Manufacture Royale des Gobelins from a cartoon by Baudrain Yvart (1611–1690) after a design made in 1659 by Charles Le Brun (1619–1690). The original cartoon was commissioned by the finance minister Nicolas Fouquet and was intended to be woven at his tapestry works at Maincy. Upon Fouquet's dismissal in 1661 and the seizure of his tapestry workshop by the crown, Louis XIV had the design adapted for his own use. It depicts a chariot, which bears the trophies of victory and supports the arms of Louis XIV, King of France and Navarre. The number *194* identifies this *portière* in the *Journal du Garde Meuble de la Couronne* as one of four delivered on October 27, 1717.

PROVENANCE: French royal collection, 1717; private collection, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maurice Fenaille, *Etat Général de la Manufacture des Gobelins, 1600–1900* (Paris, 1904), vol. 2, 16ff.; G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 183–187.

6. PAIR OF WALL LIGHTS
French (Paris), circa 1715–1720
Gilt bronze, 51 x 35.5 x 25 cm (1′10⅛″ x 1′2″ x 9¹³⁄₁₆″)
83.DF.195.1–2

COMMENTARY: The wall lights are not marked with a maker's name, but the lower portion closely follows a design by André-Charles Boulle (1642–1732) published circa 1725 by Pierre Mariette in *Nouveaux Deisseins de Meubles et Ouvrages de Bronze et de Marqueterie Inventés et gravés par André Charles Boulle.* Each of the drip pans and candle holders is of a different model, a feature commonly found on French wall lights of the early eighteenth century. A similar model of wall light appears in the painting by Jean-François De Troy (1679–1752) *La lecture de Molière* (collection of the Marchioness of Cholmondeley, Houghton Hall, Norfolk).

PROVENANCE: Samuel Kahn, Paris; [Bernard Barouch Steinitz, Paris].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 187.

7. MODEL FOR A VASE
French, circa 1725–1730
Terracotta, 32.4 x 29.8 x 29.8 cm (1′¾″ x 11¾″ x 11¾″)
83.DE.36

COMMENTARY: The front of the terracotta vase is sculpted with the arms of Louis-Henri de Bourbon, seventh prince de Condé (1692–1740), surrounded by the collars and orders of the Toison d'Or, Saint Michel, and the Saint-Esprit, beneath the remains of a crown backed by a fleur-de-lys. The back of the vase bears the prince de Condé's initials, LH.

The vase may have been a preliminary model for a silver vessel, and it is possible that it was made after a design by Juste-Aurèle Meissonier (circa 1693–1750). He had executed designs for silver for the prince in 1723.

PROVENANCE: Louis-Henri de Bourbon, prince de Condé; D. David Weill, Paris; [Didier Aaron, Paris].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 187–194.

8. CARTONNIER AND SERRE-PAPIER WITH CLOCK
French (Paris), circa 1745–1749
Oak carcass decorated with black, red, and gold *vernis Martin*, gilt, painted and lacquered bronze, 192 x 103 x 41 cm (6′3⅝″ x 3′4⁹⁄₁₆″ x 1′4⅛″). Both the *cartonnier* and the *serre-papier* are stamped BVRB for Bernard van Risenburgh (master before 1730, died 1765/66) and E.J.CUVELLIER for another eighteenth-century *ébéniste*. The dial and movement of the clock are signed

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by Etienne Le Noir (born 1699, *maître* 1717, died after 1778).
83.DA.280

COMMENTARY: One other *cartonnier* of this model stamped BVRB for Bernard van Risenburgh is known in the State Hermitage, Leningrad. It is surmounted by a *serre-papier* of different form, which is stamped JOSEPH for the *ébéniste* Joseph Baumhauer. The Hermitage example is decorated with wood veneers unlike the Museum's, which has a varnish of sandarac, a resin taken from juniper trees. The Museum's *cartonnier* and *serre-papier* are surmounted by a clock, the case of which is decorated with lacquered and painted bronze figures of Orientals.

PROVENANCE: Angela, Baroness Burdett-Coutts (1814–1906), London, by 1835, possibly a gift from her father, Sir Francis Burdett (1770–1844); bequeathed to her husband the Rt. Hon. William Burdett-Coutts, M.P. (1851–1921) (sold after his death, Christie's, London, May 9, 1922, lot 144, for 4,200 guineas, to H. J. Simmons); private collection, Paris (confiscated by the Third Reich after 1940); José and Vera Espirito Santo, Lausanne, mid-1970's until 1983; [Didier Aaron, Paris].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 194–197.

9

9. COMMODE
French (Paris), circa 1750
Oak veneered with *bois satiné*, with gilt-bronze mounts and a marble top, 87.7 x 151.4 x 65 cm (2′10½″ x 4′ 11⅝″ x 2′2⅝″). Stamped RESTAURE PAR P. SPOHN.
83.DA.356

COMMENTARY: The commode is firmly attributed to Jean-Pierre Latz (circa 1691–1754). A commode of precisely the same model, similarly mounted and veneered and stamped I.P.LATZ, is in the Palazzo Quirinale, Rome. The latter commode can be dated to between 1745 and 1749, as it bears the tax stamp of the crowned C on its mounts. In 1753, it was brought to the Palazzo Colorno in Parma by Louise Elisabeth (Madame Infante), daughter of Louis XV. It is likely that the Museum's commode was made shortly after the Quirinale example and before Latz's death in 1754.

PROVENANCE: Sir Anthony de Rothschild, Bt.; by descent to his daughter the Hon. Mrs. Annie Yorke, London (sale Christie's, London, May 5, 1927, lot 138 to [M. Founés, Paris]); Mme Duselschon, Switzerland; Mme Rouvière, Switzerland; [Maurice Segoura, Paris].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 197–198.

10

10. PAIR OF ARMCHAIRS
French (Paris), circa 1750–1755
Gilded beechwood, 104.7 x 76.2 x 59.6 cm (3′5¼″ x 2′6″ x 1′11½″). Each stamped *IAVISSE* beneath the back seat rail.
83.DA.230.1–2

COMMENTARY: Each chair is stamped for Jean Avisse (1723, *maître* 1745, died after 1796), a leading *menuisier* of the eighteenth century. He worked for the crown and other aristocratic patrons including the duchesse de La Tremoille, the marquise de Chabannes, and the comtesse de Fontenay. The frames of these chairs are carved throughout with rococo motifs: shells, cartouches, scrolls, flowerheads, and palmettes. The foot of each leg is carved with auricular foliage in a manner that resembles a *sabot* mount. The upholstery is modern. Another pair of armchairs and a settee, all en suite, are known to exist.

PROVENANCE: [Mathew Schutz, Ltd., New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 198–199.

11

11. PAIR OF VASES
Italian or French, circa 1765–1770
Porphyry and red marble, with gilt-bronze mounts, 38.75 x 41 x 27.75 cm (1′3¼″ x 1′4⅛″ x 10¾″)
83.DJ.16.1–2

COMMENTARY: The vases were apparently made after a design by Eunemond-Alexandre Petitot (1727–1801), the neoclassical architect and ornamentalist. Petitot, having left France in 1753, became architect to the court of Parma and remained in Italy for the rest of his life. His design for an exactly similar vase was one of a set of thirty-one vases engraved by Benigo Bossi in 1764. Two other porphyry bowls, similarly mounted, are at Houghton Hall, Norfolk, the seat of the Marquess of Cholmondeley.

PROVENANCE: Sir Everard Radcliffe, Bt., Rudding Park, Yorkshire; [Lovice Reviczky AG, Zurich].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 199–201.

12

12. WRITING TABLE
French (Paris and Sèvres), circa 1778
Oak carcass veneered with tulipwood; gilt bronze; set with fourteen soft paste Sèvres porcelain plaques, 77.5 x 131.2 x 62 cm (2′6½″ x 4′3⅝″ x 2′⅜″). The table bears the partly obliterated stamp M.CARLIN for Martin Carlin (*maître* 1766, died 1785), *JME* for the *juré* of the guild of *menuisiers-ébénistes* and the printed paper trade label of the *marchand-mercier* Dominique Daguerre. The plaques are variously marked with the crossed L's of the Sèvres Manufactory in red, the date letters AA for 1778, and the gilder's mark of Jean-Baptiste-Emmanuel Vandé (active at Sèvres 1755–1779). Nine plaques bear paper labels printed with crossed L's and inked with the prices *96* and *30 livres.*
83.DA.385

COMMENTARY: This table is notable for its unusual form and Sèvres porcelain decoration. Another table of this shape and size by Carlin is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; it is decorated with black and gold lacquer panels in place of the porcelain plaques found on the Museum's table. The shaped plaques at the sides are of a model not repeated by Sèvres, and they were probably specially commissioned by the *marchand-mercier* Dominique Daguerre for this table. He had a near monopoly in the purchasing of plaques such as these; the survival of his trade label, pinned underneath the table, is uncommon. The provenance of this table is well documented, and we can identify its owners from the eighteenth century to the present day. The Grand Duchess Maria-Feodorovna of Russia (wife of Czar Paul I) certainly visited Daguerre's shop, *A La Couronne d'Or,* on the rue Saint-Honoré in Paris on May 25, 1784, and she most probably purchased the table then. It is listed in the 1795 inventory of the Palace of Pavlovsk, near Saint Petersburg, as standing in the czarina's bedroom.

PROVENANCE: Grand Duchess Maria-Feodorovna of Russia (later czarina of Paul I), Palace of Pavlovsk, near Saint Petersburg, in 1784; Russian imperial collections, Pavlovsk (sold by the Soviet government to [Joseph Duveen, 1931]); Mrs. Anna Thompson Dodge, Rose Terrace, Grosse Pointe Farms, Michigan, 1931 (sold by her heirs, Christie's, London, June 24, 1971, lot 135); Habib Sabet, Geneva (sale, Christie's, London, December 1, 1983, lot 54, to the J. Paul Getty Museum).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alexandre Benois, *Les Trésors d'Art en Russie* (Saint Petersburg, 1907), vol. 3, 373, vol. 7, 186, pl. 20 (this includes Grand

Duchess Maria-Feodorovna's *Description of Pavlovsk* of 1795); Denis Roche, *Le Mobilier Français en Russie* (Paris, 1913), vol. 2, pl. 55; G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 201-207.

13

13. PAIR OF WALL LIGHTS
French (Paris), circa 1780-1785
Gilt bronze, 108 x 57 x 30 cm (3′6½″ x 1′10⅜″ x 11⅞″)
83.DE.23.1-2

COMMENTARY: The chasing, gilding, and burnishing on these wall lights is of exceptional quality. It is not certain who made them, but some elements of the design can be seen on wall lights documented as made by Pierre-Philippe Thomire (1751-1843). Other examples of this model of wall light are in the Petit Trianon at Versailles and in the Wallace Collection in London.

PROVENANCE: Comtes de Mortemart Rochechouart, Château de Saint Vrain, France, by repute since the eighteenth century; [Maurice Segoura, Paris, 1982].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 207-211.

14

14. PAIR OF VASES
French (Sèvres), circa 1785
Soft paste porcelain, painted with polychrome enamels and gilded, 25.5 x 22.5 x 15.9 cm (10″ x 7⅞″ x 6¼″).
The vases are painted beneath with the crossed *L*'s of the Sèvres Manufactory and a cursive *h*, all in blue; each of the upper vases is incised with *25* and one of the base sections with O, the marks of the *répareurs*.
83.DE.341.1-2

COMMENTARY: This model of vase, known as a *vase hollandais nouveau* first appears in the inventory of new models at Sèvres on January 1, 1759. It was a development of the *vase hollandais*, which was first produced in 1754. A popular form, it was sold in great quantities up to the time of the Revolution. The cursive *h* was probably the mark of the artist Jacques-François-Louis de Laroche (active 1758-1800). The flowers and birds are painted in polychrome, mainly in bluish pinks, while the ground color is *bleu céleste*. The form of decoration employed here appears to be unique and is not found on any other objects produced at Sèvres.

PROVENANCE: Baroness Alexis de Goldschmidt-Rothschild, Switzerland; [Lovice Reviczky AG, Zurich].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 211-214.

ITALIAN

15

15. BACCHUS AND ARIADNE
Italian (Florence), circa 1690
Patinated bronze, 40 x 29.5 x 21.5 cm (1′3¾″ x 11⅝″ x 8½″)
83.SB.333

COMMENTARY: Giovanni Battista Foggini (1652-1740) was *primo scultore* at the Medici court in Florence from 1687. After Foggini's death, his son Vincenzo sold his stock of molds and models to his employers, the Ginori Porcelain Manufactory at Doccia, near Florence. In a 1780 inventory of the manufactory's stock, this model is described as being by Foggini. Two other bronze examples of this model are known in American collections, and the group was also produced in porcelain.

PROVENANCE: [David Peel, London, by 1967]; [Daniel Katz, London, 1982].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jennifer Montagu, "Hercules and Iole and Some Other Bronzes by Foggini," *Apollo*, March 1968, 170-175, fig. 7; Karl Lankheit, *Die Modellsammlung der Porzellanmanufaktur Doccia* (Munich, 1982), 127; G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 214.

16

16. SIDE CHAIR
Italian (Piedmontese), circa 1700–1710
Gilt wood, the corded and ribboned silk a modern replacement, 128.5 x 55.6 x 69.5 cm (4′2⅝″ x 1′9⅞″ x 2′3⅜″)
83.DA.281

COMMENTARY: The chair appears to have been part of a fairly large set, of which nine examples exist today. One is in the Castello Racconigi, outside Turin. Racconigi's contents have remained largely undisturbed and have not been added to in recent times; therefore, the existence of a chair in that locale would indicate that the set had been made for a large *salone* or *galleria* in that castle. Until recently the Museum's chair bore its original upholstery, but it has since been replaced with a carefully made replica.

PROVENANCE: House of Savoy, Castello Racconigi, outside Turin (?); Major-General Sir George Burns, North Mymms Park (sale, Christie's, North Mymms Park, September 24–26, 1979, lot 215); [Partridge (Fine Arts) Ltd., London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 214–216.

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17. COMMODE
Italian (Venice), circa 1750–1760
Wood, gilded and painted with polychrome flowers, with silvering and a *faux marbre* top, 81.5 x 147 x 62.5 cm (2′8⅛″ x 4′9⅞″ x 2′⅝″)
83.DA.282

COMMENTARY: This painted and gilded commode is typical of the exaggeratedly *bombé* forms produced in Venice in the mid-eighteenth century. The painting and gilding are remarkably well preserved for a commode of this type, though much of the silvering on the raised moldings has blackened. The arrangement of the front as one continuous surface for decoration is unusual, as is the rather formal positioning of the flowers in swags and pendants.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Saint-Malo, 1982; anonymous sale, Sotheby's, London, July 15, 1983, lot 114.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 216–217.

GERMAN

18. GARNITURE OF FIVE VASES
German (Meissen), circa 1730
Hard paste porcelain. Pair of open vases, 27.6 x 17.8 cm (10⅞″ x 7″); pair of lidded vases, 32.2 x 19.4 cm (1′11/16″ x 7⅝″); single lidded vase, 37.3 x 24.1 cm (1′2 11/16″ x 9½″). Each vase is painted under the base with the monogram AR in blue for Augustus Rex. The larger lidded vase is incised under the base with the mark of the molder Schiefer.
83.DE.334.1–5

COMMENTARY: These vases are decorated with seventy-two separately painted scenes of chinoiserie figures and six scenes of European harbors and landscapes. This type of decoration was developed at Meissen by the chief artist Johann Gregor Höroldt (born 1696, active at Meissen from 1720, died 1775). A sketchbook which contains designs used at Meissen for figures such as these survives in the Museum des Kunsthandwerks, Leipzig. It is known as the Schulz Codex and at least

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fifteen of the scenes painted on the Museum's vases can be identified in it. Vases of the same model and with similar decoration are in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, and in the Schnieder collection at Schloss Lustheim, Munich.

PROVENANCE: Made for Augustus II, Elector of Saxony, or as a royal gift; anonymous collection (sale, Sotheby's, London, March 5, 1957, lot 123); [Antique Porcelain Company, London, 1957]; private collection, Milan, late 1950's to 1982; [Antique Porcelain Company, London, 1982].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 217–222.

19

19. GROUP OF JAPANESE FIGURES
German (Meissen), 1745
Hard paste porcelain; gilt-bronze base and parasol shaft, 45.1 x 29.5 x 21.7 cm (1′5¾″ x 11⅝″ x 8 9/16″). The gilt-bronze base conceals any marks that may exist underneath it.
83.DE.271

COMMENTARY: This unusually large figure group is described in a list of work carried out by Johann Joachim Kändler (born 1706, active 1731, died 1775) during 1745 at the Meissen Porcelain Manufactory. He received twenty-four *reichstallers* for creating the model for this group, which is specifically described as being of Japanese figures rather than Chinese. Another example of this model is in the Museo Civico of Turin. The design of this group is probably taken from a French eighteenth-century engraving that has not yet been identified. The same source was used at the Derby Porcelain Manufactory in England for a group of figures called *Hearing* and a pair of figures of Chinese musicians.

PROVENANCE: Anonymous private collection, Europe (sale, Sotheby's, London, March 2, 1982, lot 168); [Winifred Williams, London, 1982].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), 000.

DRAWINGS

Note: More complete publication of the drawings purchased by the Museum in 1983 will appear in George R. Goldner, *Drawings I. 1981–1984,* The J. Paul Getty Museum Catalogue of the Collections (Malibu, forthcoming).

DUTCH

1a (recto)

1b (verso)

1. ABRAHAM BLOEMAERT
   Dutch, 1564–1651
   Three Studies of Women (recto); *Four Studies of Hands and a Counterproof of a Kneeling Young Man* (verso), circa 1620–1630
   Red chalk heightened with white, 25.1 x 17.1 cm (9⅞″ x 6¾″). Inscribed *76* on the recto and *77* on the verso.
   83.GB.375

PROVENANCE: A. Giroux, Paris; L. Delteil, Paris; private collection, Geneva.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Galerie Claude Aubry, *Dessins des Ecoles du Nord,* ex. cat. (Paris, 1974), no. 12.

2

2. PIETER LASTMAN
   Dutch, 1583–1633
   Study of a Kneeling Man, circa 1625
   Red chalk, 11.3 x 9.4 cm (4⁷⁄₁₆″ x 3¾″)
   83.GB.268

PROVENANCE: Sabattino Abate, Boston.

3

3. REMBRANDT VAN RIJN
   Dutch, 1606–1669
   Two Studies of an Old Man, 1626
   Pen and ink, 9 x 15 cm (3⁹⁄₁₆″ x 5¹⁵⁄₁₆″)
   83.GA.264

PROVENANCE: Sabattino Abate, Boston.

4

4. REMBRANDT VAN RIJN
   Dutch, 1606–1669
   The Mocking of Christ, 1650–1655
   Pen and ink, 18.2 x 24.5 cm (7³⁄₁₆″ x 9⅝″). Collection mark of Léon Bonnat at the lower left.
   83.GA.358

PROVENANCE: P. Crozat, Paris; E. V. Utterson, London; C. Gasc, Paris; Léon Bonnat, Paris; F. Widal, London; J. Widal, London (sale, Sotheby's, London, December 10, 1968, lot 58); C. G. Boerner, Düsseldorf; private collection, U.S.A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Lippmann and C. Hofstede de Groot, *Original Drawings by Rembrandt van Rijn* (London and Berlin, 1888–1911), vol. 3, no. 21; W. R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt: Des Meisters Handzeichnungen* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1934), vol. 2, no. 475; O. Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt,* 2nd ed. (London, 1973), vol. 5, no. 1024.

5

5. REMBRANDT VAN RIJN
   Dutch, 1606–1669
   Landscape, circa 1651–1652
   Pen and ink and wash, 9.7 x 21.7 cm (3¹³⁄₁₆″ x 8⁹⁄₁₆″)
   83.GA.363

PROVENANCE: Paul Jodot; Otto Gutekunst, London; Baron Robert von Hirsch, Basel (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 21, 1978, lot 35); art market, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O. Benesch, *Rembrandt, Selected Drawings* (London, 1947), vol. 1, 37, no. 177; C. White, *Rembrandt as an Etcher* (London, 1969), 212; O. Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, 2nd ed. (London, 1973), vol. 6, no. 1267.

6

6. REMBRANDT VAN RIJN
Dutch, 1606–1669
Christ and the Canaanite Woman, circa 1652–1653
Pen and brush with white chalk highlights, 19.9 x 27.9 cm (7⅞″ x 11″). Collection marks of Jonathan Richardson, Jr., Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Thomas Hudson at the lower right.
83.GG.199

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson, Sr., London; Jonathan Richardson, Jr., London; Thomas Hudson, London; Sir Joshua Reynolds, London; H. E. Morritt, Rockeby Park (sale, Christie's, London, July 29, 1937, lot 15); sale, Sotheby's, London, December 4, 1969, lot 20; sale, Christie's, London, April 12, 1983, lot 157.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. R. Valentiner, *Des Meisters Handzeichnungen* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1925), vol. 1, no. 416; O. Benesch, *Rembrandt, Werk und Forschung* (Vienna, 1935), 55; J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), 213; O. Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, 2nd ed. (London, 1973), vol. 5, no. 921.

FLEMISH

7

7. STRADANUS (Jan van der Straet)
Flemish/Italian, 1523–1605
The Arno with Fishermen, circa 1578
Black chalk, pen and brown ink, and blue wash heightened with white, on gray paper, 21.4 x 30.6 cm (8 7/16″ x 12″). Inscribed *J. Stradanus* at the lower left.
83.GG.380

PROVENANCE: W. A. Baillie Grohman, London; sale, Christie's, Amsterdam, November 15, 1983, lot 3.

8

8. ROELANDT SAVERY
Flemish, 1576–1639
Landscape with Waterfall, circa 1604–1613
Black chalk with red-brown wash, 29 x 41 cm (12 9/16″ x 16 3/16″). Signed *SAVERY FE* in the lower foreground.
83.GB.381

PROVENANCE: Dutch private collection (sale, Christie's, Amsterdam, November 15, 1983, lot 12).

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9. ROELANDT SAVERY
Flemish, 1576–1639
Seated Woman, 1604–1605
Pen and ink over black chalk underdrawing, 15.3 x 17.6 cm (16 1/16″ x 6 15/16″). Inscribed *grise mus-swartte purperren-swardtten mantel-swartte purperren Rock-blauue Rock* by Savery.
83.GA.383

PROVENANCE: Martin Reinicke collection, Darmstadt (sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 15, 1983, lot 145).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Dreyer in *Pieter Bruegel d.Ä. als Zeichner*, ex. cat. (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 1975), 162–163, no. 239; J. A. Spicer, "The Drawings of Roelandt Savery" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1979), no. C 186.

10

10. ROELANDT SAVERY
Flemish, 1576–1639
Seated Man, 1607–1608
Pen and ink over black chalk underdrawing, 14.9 x 17.6 cm (5⅞″ x 6 15/16″). Inscribed *svardtte mus-swartte rock-witte doeckker-nar hedt leuen* by Savery.
83.GA.382

PROVENANCE: Martin Reinicke collection, Darmstadt (sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 15, 1983, lot 144).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Dreyer in *Pieter Bruegel d.Ä. als Zeichner*, ex. cat. (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 1975), 162–163, no. 238; J. A. Spicer, "The Drawings of Roelandt Savery" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1979), no. C 227.

11

11. PETER PAUL RUBENS
Flemish, 1577–1640
Assumption of the Virgin, 1613–1616
Pen and ink and wash with black chalk, 30 x 19 cm (11 13/16″ x 7½″)
83.GG.198

PROVENANCE: T. Philipe; Forbes collection, Scotland (sale, Christie's, London, April 12, 1983, lot 155).

12. PETER PAUL RUBENS
Flemish, 1577–1640
Korean Man (with a small sketch of a boat at the left background), circa 1617
Black chalk with touches of red chalk in the face, 38.4 x 23.5 cm (15⅛″ x 9¼″). Collection marks of Jonathan Richardson, Sr., and Jonathan Richardson, Jr., at the lower right.
83.GB.384

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson, Sr., London; Jonathan Richardson, Jr., London; John Barnard, London; Christopher Head, London; Lady du Cane, London (sale, Christie's, London, November 29, 1983, lot 135).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. S. Wortley, "Rubens's Drawings of Chinese Costumes," *Old Master Drawings* 9 (December 1934), 40–47; J. Held, *Rubens, Selected Drawings* (London, 1959), vol. 1, 137–138; L. Burchard and R.-A. D'Hulst, *Rubens Drawings* (Brussels, 1963), vol. 1, 231.

12

FRENCH

13

13. NICOLAS POUSSIN
French, 1594–1665
Apollo and the Muses on Parnassus, circa 1626–1632
Pen and brown ink and brown wash, 17.8 x 24.6 cm (7″ x 9 11/16″).
Collection marks of Defer-Dumesnil and Louis Deglatigny at the lower right and left corners.
83.GG.345

PROVENANCE: Pierre Defer, Paris; Henri Dumesnil, Paris; Louis Deglatigny, Paris; [Georges Wildenstein, New York]; [Daniel Wildenstein, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Friedländer and A. Blunt, *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin* (London, 1953), vol. 3, 20–21, no. 180, pl. 144, fig. 180; D. Mahon, "Poussiniana: Afterthoughts Arising from the Exhibition," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* VI période, 60 (July–August 1962), 86–92, 90, nn. 266, 267; A. Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin: A Critical Catalogue* (London, 1966), 90, cited under no. 129.

14

14. CLAUDE LORRAIN
French, 1600–1682
View of Tivoli (with the same scene in pen and ink on the verso), circa 1640
Black chalk with various browns and reddish brown washes, 21.3 x 31.1 cm (8⅜″ x 12¼″). Numbered *19* at the lower right and inscribed *Bril* at the lower left by later hands.
83.GB.357

PROVENANCE: Sixth Earl of Harewood, Harewood House (sale, Christie's, London, June 25, 1968, lot 73); private collection, U.S.A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Borenius, "Old Master Drawings in the Collection of Viscount Lascelles," *Apollo* 1 (1925), 193; T. Borenius, *Catalogue of Harewood House* (London, 1936), no. 89; M. Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Drawings* (Berkeley, 1968), no. 431.

15

15. FRANÇOIS BOUCHER
French, 1703–1770
Landscape with Figures, circa 1735
Red chalk on vellum, 30.5 x 50 cm (12″ x 19 11/16″)
83.GB.200

PROVENANCE: Earl Spencer, Althorp; Maurice Fenaille, Paris; art market, New York.

16

16. FRANÇOIS BOUCHER
French, 1703–1770
Reclining Male Figure, 1736
Black, red, and white chalk on blue paper, 28 x 44.5 cm (11″ x 17½″)
83.GB.359

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Geneva.

17

17. HUBERT ROBERT
French, 1733–1808
Landscape with Ruins, 1772
Sepia, sanguine, and watercolor, 57.1 x 78.1 cm (22½″ x 30¾″). Signed and dated 1772 in lower center.
83.GG.37

PROVENANCE: Comte de Bryas collection, Paris; de Jonge collection, Paris; [Samuels collection, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. L. Grayson, *Fragonard and His Friends,* ex. cat. (Museum of Fine Arts of Saint Petersburg, 1982), no. 53, pl. 53.

18

18. JEAN-BAPTISTE GREUZE
French, 1725–1805
The Father's Curse, circa 1778
Brush and gray wash, 48.9 x 27.5 cm (19¼″ x 24½″)
83.GG.231

PROVENANCE: Comte Adolphe Thibaudeau, Paris; Baron Salomon de Rothschild, Paris; René Fribourg, Paris; Harry Spiro, New York; Mr. and Mrs. Lester Francis Avnet, New York; art market, Paris.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Martin, *Catalogue Raisonné de l'Oeuvre Peint et Dessiné de Jean-Baptiste Greuze* (Paris, 1908), 13; E. Munhall, *Catalogue of the Jean-Baptiste Greuze Exhibition,* ex. cat. (Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum; San Francisco, California Palace of the Legion of Honor; and Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1977), 172.

19

19. JACQUES-LOUIS DAVID
French, 1748–1825
Paris and Helen, 1786
Pen and ink and wash, 18.3 x 22.9 cm (7 3/16″ x 9″). Signed and dated 1786 at the lower right.
83.GA.192

PROVENANCE: Sale, Moitte, Paris, June 7, 1810, lot 20; sale, Dumont, Paris, February 13, 1854, lot 118; sale, Couton, Paris, April 18, 1860, lot 182; sale, Flury-Hérard, Paris, May 13, 1861, lot 465; sale, Dreux, Paris, February 4, 1870, lot 28; [sale, Hôtel Drouot, March 22, 1983, lot 3].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. L. David, *Le Peintre Louis David* (Paris, 1880), 655.

20

20. BARON ANTOINE-JEAN GROS
French, 1771–1835
Napoleon at the Battlefield of Eylau, 1807
Pen and ink over black chalk, 27.7 x 44.9 cm (10 7/8″ x 17 11/16″). Inscribed at the upper left, *champ de bataille d'Elau,* and with the collection mark of Defer-Dumesnil at the lower left.
83.GG.361

PROVENANCE: Given by Baron Gros to the painter Debret Defer, Paris; Pierre Defer–Henri Dumesnil, Paris (sale, Paris, May 10–12, 1900, lot 154); [Strolin and de Bayser, Lausanne, 1983].

21

21. JEAN FRANÇOIS MILLET
French, 1814–1875
Shepherdess and Her Flock, 1865–1866
Charcoal and pastel, 36.4 x 47.2 cm (14 5/16″ x 18 5/8″). Signed *J. F. Millet* at the lower right.
83.GF.220

PROVENANCE: Secretan collection, Paris (sale, Sedelmeyer, Paris, July 1, 1889, lot 101); [Boussod, Valadon et Cie, Paris]; private collection, Newport, Rhode Island; [Auslander and Wittgenstein, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Herbert, *Jean-François Millet,* ex. cat. (London, Hayward Gallery, 1976), 143.

22

22. PAUL CÉZANNE
French, 1839–1906
Still Life, circa 1900
Watercolor, 47.8 x 63 cm (18 7/8″ x 24 7/8″)
83.GC.221

PROVENANCE: [Galerie Matthiesen, Berlin]; [Feuz, Zurich]; [Tanner, Zurich]; [Jacques Seligmann, Paris]; Lord Sieff of Brimpton (sale, Sotheby's, London, April 26, 1967, lot 18); Norton Simon, Los Angeles (sale, Sotheby Parke-Bernet, New York, May 2, 1973, lot 9); sale, Sotheby's, London, July 1, 1980, lot 5; Alain Delon, Geneva.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Bierman in *Der Cicerone* (Berlin, 1927), 151; L. Venturi, *Cézanne, Son Art—Son Oeuvre* (Paris, 1936), no. 1147.

GERMAN

23

23. UNIDENTIFIED GERMAN
Fifteenth century
Mary Magdalen Transported by Four Angels, circa 1470
Pen and ink with white highlights on prepared paper, 17 x 16.1 cm (6 11/16″ x 6 3/8″). Unidentified collector's mark at the lower right.
83.GG.355

PROVENANCE: J. H. Cremer and Monsieur F..., London (sale, Frederik Müller, Amsterdam, June 15, 1886); [Strolin and de Bayser, Lausanne].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Galerie Claude Aubry, *Dessins des Ecoles du Nord,* ex. cat. (Paris, 1974), no. 34.

24

24. HANS BALDUNG GRIEN
German, circa 1480–1545
A Monk Preaching, circa 1505
Pen and brown ink, 30.8 x 22.3 cm

25

(12⅛″ x 8¹³⁄₁₆″)
83.GA.194

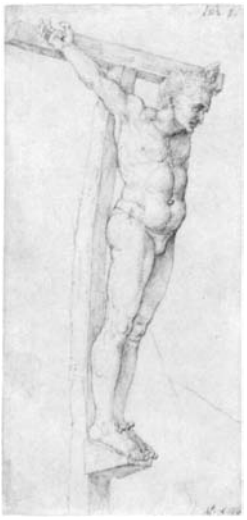
PROVENANCE: T. O. Weigel, Leipzig; G. Schwarting, Delmenhorst.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. A. Knappe, "Baldung als Entwerfer der Glasgemälde in Gross grundlach," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft,* 1961, vol. 15, 60, 76; K. Oettinger and K. A. Knappe, *Hans Baldung Grien und Albrecht Dürer in Nürnberg* (Nuremberg, 1963), 125, no. 25, pl. 75 (as *St. Vincent Ferrer Preaching*); C. Koch, *Hans Baldung Grien,* ex. cat. (Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle, 1959), no. 108; Kunsthalle Bremen, *Zeichnungen Alter Meister aus Deutschem Privatbesitz,* ex. cat. (Bremen, 1966) no. 64.

25. ALBRECHT DÜRER
German, 1471–1528
Stag Beetle, 1505
Watercolor and gouache, 14.2 x 11.4 cm (5⅝″ x 4½″). Signed with the monogram *AD* and date of 1505 at the lower left.
83.GC.214

PROVENANCE: Horace Walpole, Earl of Oxford, London and Strawberry Hill, Twickenham; Charles Sackville Bale, London; John Postle Heseltine, London; Henry Oppenheimer, London; G. Tyser, London (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 26, 1969, lot 53); Alain Delon, Paris.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Lippmann, ed., *Zeichnungen von Albrecht Dürer in Nachbildungen* (Berlin, 1883–1929), no. 169; F. Winkler, *Die Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers* (Berlin, 1936–1939), no. 370; W. Strauss, *The Complete Drawings of Albrecht Dürer* (New York, 1974), vol. 2, no. 1505/15.



26

26. ALBRECHT DÜRER
German, 1471–1528
Study of the Good Thief, circa 1505
Pen and ink, 26.9 x 12.6 cm (10⁹⁄₁₆″ x 4¹⁵⁄₁₆″). Inscribed with the monogram *AD* at the upper right and with some indecipherable letters and numbers at the lower right.
83.GA.360

PROVENANCE: William Mitchell, London; private collection, Munich.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Ephrussi, *A. Dürer et ses dessins* (Paris, 1882), 287, n. 1; F. Winzinger, "Eine unbekannte Akstudie Albrecht Dürers," *Pantheon* 20 (1962), 275–279; W. Strauss, *The Complete Drawings of Albrecht Dürer* (New York, 1974), vol. 2, 1507/7.

ITALIAN

27

27. GEORG PENCZ
German, circa 1500–1556
Study for a Stained Glass Window with the Arms of Marco Baro and His Forebears, circa 1530–1540
Pen and brown ink with brown wash on yellowish paper, Diam: 24.7 cm (9¾″). Inscribed on the board hanging from the tree: *STEMMATA.VI= RTVTI.ET.MVN= IFICENCIE.AD= AVCTA.HEROV* [*M*] *PROPRIA* (*The family trees of heroes grow greater through virtue and generosity*); and on the circular border: *INSIGNIA. MARCI.BARONIS. GENTILIV*[*M*].*Q*[*VE*]. *SVOR*[*VM*].*A.PARS.*
83.GA.193

PROVENANCE: B. S. (Lugt 414b, unidentified mark); G. Schwarting, Delmenhorst.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kunsthalle Bremen, *Zeichnungen Alter Meister aus Deutschem Privatbesitz,* ex. cat. (Bremen, 1966), no. 66.

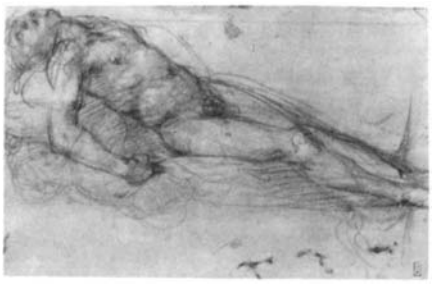
28

28. CORREGGIO (Antonio Allegri)
Italian, 1489–1534
Unidentified Mythological (?) Subject, circa 1515
Black chalk, 21.9 x 17.7 cm (8⅝″ x 6¹⁵⁄₁₆″)
83.GB.344

PROVENANCE: Philip Pouncey, London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Tan Bunzl, *Italian 16th Century Drawings from British Private Collections,* ex. cat. (Edinburgh, Scottish Arts Council, Edinburgh Festival Society, 1969), 15.

29a (recto)



29b (verso)

29. PONTORMO (Jacopo Carucci)
Italian, 1494–1556
Study of Saint Francis (recto); *Study of the Dead Christ* (verso), circa 1517–1518
Black chalk with some white heightening on the verso, 40.7 x 28.4 cm (16″ x 11³⁄₁₆″). The recto bears the collectors' marks of Jonathan Richardson, Jr., Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Thomas Hudson; there is an unidentified collector's mark on the verso at the lower right.
83.GG.379

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson, Jr., London; Sir Joshua Reynolds, London; Thomas Hudson, London; Michel Gaud, Saint-Tropez.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Forlani Tempesti, *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del Cinquecento: Il Primato del disegno,* ex. cat. (Florence, Palazzo Strozzi, 1980), 174; A. Forlani Tempesti, "Un Foglio del Pontormo," *Bollettino d'Arte* 66 (1981), 117–122; J. Cox-Rearick, *The Drawings of Pontormo,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1981), vol. 1, 357, nos. 48a, 67a.

30

30. GIOVANNI GIROLAMO SAVOLDO
Italian, circa 1480–1548
Study of the Head of a Bearded Man, circa 1530–1535
Black and white chalk on prepared paper, 30.5 x 22.9 cm (12″ x 9″). Collection mark of Giuseppe Vallardi at the lower left.
83.GB.17

PROVENANCE: Giuseppe Vallardi, Paris; Hans Calmann, Somerset; private collection, Geneva.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Galerie Claude Aubry, *Dessins Français et Italiens du XVIe et du XVIIe siècle,* ex. cat. (Paris, 1971), no. 99.

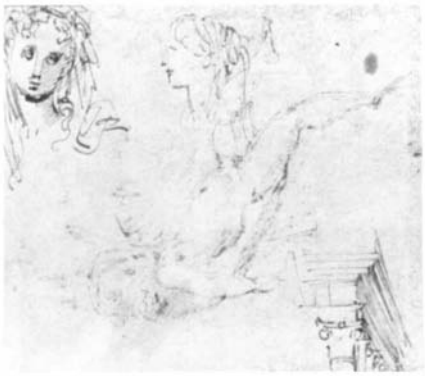
31. LORENZO LOTTO
Italian, circa 1480–1556
Saint Martin Dividing His Cloak with a Beggar, circa 1530
Brush and gray-brown wash, heightened with white and cream-colored wash, over black chalk, 31.4 x 21.9 cm (12⅜″ x 8⅝″). Signed . . . *entius Lotus* on the verso.
83.GG.262

PROVENANCE: S. Schwartz, New York; Sabattino Abate, Boston.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Schilling, "A Signed Drawing by Lorenzo Lotto," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* VI période, 41 (1953), 277–279; B. Berenson, *Lorenzo Lotto* (New York, 1956), 124; P. Pouncey, *Lotto disegnatore* (Vicenza, 1965), 13; J. Bean and F. Stampfle, *Drawings from New York Collections: The Italian Renaissance,* ex. cat. (New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1966), 39.

31

32a (recto)



32b (verso)

32. PARMIGIANINO (Francesco Mazzola)
Italian, 1503–1540
Studies of the Madonna and Child (recto); *Studies of the Madonna and of an Architectural Detail* (verso), circa 1534–1535
Pen and ink, 10.2 x 8.6 cm (4 1/16″ x 3 3/8″). Collection mark of Earl Spencer at lower right of recto.
83.GA.265

PROVENANCE: Earl Spencer, Althorp; Sabattino Abate, Boston.

EXHIBITIONS: Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, 1983.

33

33. ROSSO FIORENTINO (Giovan Battista de Rossi)
Italian, 1495–1540
Study of a Male Figure (Empedocles and/or Saint Roch), circa 1538
Red chalk with some traces of black chalk, 25.2 x 14.9 cm (9 7/8″ x 5 7/8″). Inscribed *Rosso* at bottom left.
83.GB.261

PROVENANCE: Jacques Petit-Horry, Paris; private collection, Paris.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Béguin, "Empédocle, un dessin inédit de Rosso," *Paragone* 317–319 (1976), 77–82; E. Carroll, "A Drawing by Rosso Fiorentino of Judith and Holofernes," *Los Angeles County Museum of Art Bulletin* 24 (1978), 25, nn. 8, 49; A. Forlani Tempesti, *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del Cinquecento: Il Primato del disegno*, ex. cat. (Florence, Palazzo Strozzi, 1980), 195, no. 461.

34

34. DOMENICO BECCAFUMI
Italian, 1486–1551
The Sacrifice of Isaac, 1547
Pen and wash, 15.3 x 9.3 cm (6 1/16″ x 3 11/16″). Collection mark of Richard Cosway at the lower right of the mount.
83.GG.18

PROVENANCE: Richard Cosway, London (sale, Sotheby's, London, November 15, 1961, lot 249); private collection, Geneva.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Sanminiatelli, *Domenico Beccafumi* (Milan, 1967), 154, no. 75; Galerie Claude Aubry, *Dessins Français et Italiens du XVIe et du XVIIe siècle*, ex. cat. (Paris, 1971), no. 8.

35

35. PAOLO VERONESE
Italian, circa 1528–1588
Christ Preaching in the Temple, 1548
Pen and brown ink, 7.8 x 17.6 cm (3 1/16″ x 6 15/16″). Collection mark of Jonathan Richardson, Sr., at the lower right.
83.GA.266

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson, Sr., London; S. Schwartz, New York and Boston; Sabattino Abate, Boston.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Bean and F. Stampfle, *Drawings from New York Collections: The Italian Renaissance*, ex. cat. (New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1966), 72; H. Tietze, "Nuovi disegni veneti del cinquecento in collezioni americane," *Arte Veneta* 2 (1948), 60; D. Rosand, "Three Drawings by Paolo Veronese," *Pantheon* 29 (1971), 203–204.

36

36. PARIS BORDONE
Italian, 1500–1571
Seated Male Figure with Putto and Armor, circa 1550
Black chalk on blue-gray paper, 17.4 x 29.6 cm (6 13/16″ x 11 5/8″)
83.GB.270

PROVENANCE: Sabattino Abate, Boston.

37. PAOLO VERONESE
Italian, circa 1528–1588
Sheet of Studies for the Martyrdom of Saint George, 1566
Pen and brown ink and wash, 29 x 21.7 cm (11 7/16″ x 8 9/16″). Inscribed on recto by Veronese, *trinitas in unitate* and *moro*; collection mark of Emile Wauters at the lower left.
83.GA.258

PROVENANCE: Freiherr Max Heyl zu Hernshein, Darmstadt; Emile Wauters, Paris (sale, Müller, Amsterdam, June 15–16, 1926, lot 33); Baron Robert von Hirsch, Basel (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 21, 1978, lot 26); Robert Smith, Washington.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. von Hadeln, *Venezianische Zeichnungen der Spätrenaissance* (Berlin, 1926), pl. 24; H. Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *The Drawings of the Venetian Painters* (New York, 1944; reprinted 1970), no. 2029; T. Pignatti, *Veronese* (Venice, 1976), 131, under no. 161.

37

38

38. FEDERICO ZUCCARO
Italian, circa 1542–1609
The Submission of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa to Pope Alexander III, circa 1585
Black chalk, pen and brown ink, and brown wash, on two attached sheets of paper, 55.5 x 53.7 cm (21 7/8″ x 21 1/8″). Collection mark of Sir Peter Lely at the lower center.
83.GG.196

PROVENANCE: Sir Peter Lely, London; Forbes collection, Scotland (sale, Christie's, London, April 12, 1983, lot 10).

39

39. GUIDO RENI
Italian, 1575–1642
Holy Family with an Angel, circa 1595–1598
Pen and ink, 14.3 x 20.3 cm (5⅝″ x 8″)
83.GA.267

PROVENANCE: Sabattino Abate, Boston.

40

40. CERANO (Giovanni Battista Crespi)
Italian, 1575–1632
Study of a Franciscan Monk (Saint Francis?), circa 1600
Red chalk, 20.8 x 17.5 cm (8³⁄₁₆″ x 6⅞″)
83.GB.269

PROVENANCE: Sabattino Abate, Boston.

41a (recto)

41b (verso)

41. FEDERICO BAROCCI
Italian, 1526–1612
Figure Studies (recto and verso), 1603–1608
Black and white chalks, 30.8 x 27.2 cm (12⅛″ x 10¹¹⁄₁₆″)
83.GB.279

PROVENANCE: Theodore A. Heinrich, London (sale, Christie's, London, July 6, 1982, lot 134); [Colnaghi and Company, London, June–July 1983].

42

42. CARLO SARACENI
Italian, circa 1580–1620
Allegorical Figure, 1616
Black chalk on green paper with some white highlights, 33.5 x 25 cm (13³⁄₁₆″ x 9¹³⁄₁₆″)
83.GB.263

PROVENANCE: [Lucien Goldschmidt, New York]; Sabattino Abate, Boston.

43

43. GIOVANNI BENEDETTO CASTIGLIONE
Italian, 1610–1663
The Expulsion of Hagar, circa 1645–1650
Brush drawing in red-brown paint with blue-green and white highlights, 28.8 x 41.6 cm (11⁵⁄₁₆″ x 16⅜″). Collection mark of the Marquis de Lagoy at the lower right.
83.GG.376

PROVENANCE: Marquis de Lagoy, Aix en Provence; V. C. collection (unidentified).

44

44. SALVATOR ROSA
Italian, 1615–1673
The Dream of Aeneas, 1663
Black and white chalk, 32.6 x 22.9 cm (12¹³⁄₁₆″ x 9″). Unidentified collection mark in lower right corner.
83.GB.197

PROVENANCE: Forbes collection, Scotland (sale, Christie's, London, April 12, 1983, lot 19).

45

45. CARLO DOLCI
Italian, 1616–1686
Portrait of a Girl, circa 1665
Black and red chalks on cream-colored paper, 15.5 x 12.6 cm (6⅛″ x 4 15/16″).
Collection mark of Count Gelosi at the lower right.
83.GB.374

PROVENANCE: Count Gelosi, Turin; private collection, Geneva.

MANUSCRIPTS

MANUSCRIPT ACQUISITIONS: THE LUDWIG COLLECTION

In 1983 the Museum was fortunate to have the opportunity to purchase the entire illuminated manuscript collection of Peter and Irene Ludwig, Aachen, West Germany. The Ludwigs are unrivaled in the scope of their artistic taste, which ranges from antiquities to American pop art. Their illuminated manuscript collection was the last of breadth and artistic distinction known in the private domain, as well as being the most distinguished of the collections assembled by the Ludwigs over the past twenty-five years.

The Ludwig manuscript collection forms the foundation for a Department of Manuscripts at the J. Paul Getty Museum. The 144 objects include codices dating from the eighth to the twentieth centuries, some portolan maps, a few documents, and a seventeenth-century globe. Nearly every Western European manuscript tradition is represented along with fine Byzantine, Armenian, and Persian examples. The most beautiful of the illuminated manuscripts date from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, and the German and Flemish schools are among those best represented. The treasures include a sacramentary from Mainz or Fulda (Ms. Ludwig V 2), the Helmarshausen Gospels (Ms. Ludwig II 3), an English Apocalypse (Ms. Ludwig III 1), the Hedwig Codex (Ms. Ludwig XI 7), the Llangattock Hours (Ms. Ludwig IX 7), and the Prayer Book of Albrecht of Brandenburg illuminated by Simon Bening (Ms. Ludwig IX 19).

A group of manuscripts will be on exhibition in Galleries 225 and 226 throughout the year; the installation will change every ten to twelve weeks. The size, variety, and artistic quality of the collection will enable the Museum to represent the history of European manuscript illumination from a broad range of artistic and historical perspectives.

The following are condensed descriptions based largely upon the catalogues of the Ludwig collection written by Joachim Plotzek and Anton von Euw. These authors generously shared information from their fourth and final volume, which is currently in preparation. The compiler is also grateful to Consuelo Dutschke, John Plummer, Linda Ogden, William Voelkle, and Gregory Clark.

Abbreviations

Warner: George Frederic Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1920).

Catalogus Librorum: Sir Thomas Phillipps, *The Phillipps Manuscripts. Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps, Bt.* (1837–1871; reprinted London, 1968).

Plotzek and von Euw: Joachim M. Plotzek and Anton von Euw, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, 3 vols. (Cologne, 1979–1982; vol. 4, forthcoming).

MISCELLANEOUS

1

1. A LEAF WITH REPRESENTATION OF CHRIST AND A DECORATIVE BORDER
   Southwestern Germany, late Carolingian or Ottonian
   Vellum, 37.5–35.3 x 26–30.5 cm. Pen drawing in brown ink.
   Ludwig Folia 1; 83.MS.48

PROVENANCE: Robert von Hirsch, Frankfurt and Basel; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O. Homburger in *Kunst des frühen Mittelalters*, ex. cat. (Berner Kunstmuseum, 1949), no. 69; H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art* (London, 1953), 45, fig. 98; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 15–18.

2 (*The Crucifixion*)

2. TWO LEAVES: THE CRUCIFIXION and SAINT ANTHONY ABBOT BLESSING THE ANIMALS, THE POOR, AND THE RICH
   Illuminated by the Master of Saint Veronica
   Cologne, circa 1400–1410
   Vellum, two single leaves, each 23.6 x 12–12.5 cm, trimmed along all sides to the gold borders of the miniature. Matted.
   Ludwig Folia 2; 83.MS.49

PROVENANCE: Robert von Hirsch, Frankfurt and Basel; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik* (Berlin, 1938), vol. 3, 81–82; F. G. Zehnder, *Vor Stefan Lochner. Die Kölner Maler von 1300–1430*, ex. cat. (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, 1974), 39, 83; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 19–24.

BIBLES

3. LEAVES AND CUTTINGS FROM A BIBLE
Tours, circa 845
Vellum, eleven single leaves, fragmentary and/or mostly reconstructed from cuttings; each probably originally approximately 48 x 34.5 cm, all now slightly or considerably smaller. Text area 36.2 x 27.8 cm, two columns, fifty-two lines. Latin vulgate text in Carolingian minuscule. One large illuminated initial; three smaller initials. Matted.
Ms. Ludwig I 1; 83.MA.50

COMMENTARY: Related leaves are in the Stadtbibliothek, Trier; Kunstbibliothek, Berlin; Staatsbibliothek, Berlin; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; Staatsarchiv, Koblenz; University College, London; Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York; and Lilly Library, Bloomington, Indiana.

PROVENANCE: Abbey of Saint Maximin, Trier; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 43–48.

4. FRAGMENTARY LEAVES FROM A BIBLE
Probably northwestern France, circa 840–850
Vellum, five incomplete leaves composed of cuttings, with six other strips with remains of text and twenty-two without text; the largest reconstructed leaf measures 28.7 x 31.7 cm. Text area 24.5 x 26 cm (trimmed at bottom edge), three columns, thirty-seven (surviving) lines. Latin vulgate text in Carolingian minuscule. Not illuminated. Matted.
Ms. Ludwig I 2; 83.MA.51

COMMENTARY: Related leaves are in the Stadtbibliothek, Trier and the Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York.

PROVENANCE: Abbey of Saint Maximin, Trier; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 49–52.

5. BIBLE (Incomplete)
Lambach Abbey, Austria, late eleventh or first half of twelfth century
Vellum, 133 leaves, 27 x 19 cm, fols. 39, 62, 80, 98, and 99 cut at lower edge. Text area 20.1 x 13.9 cm, one column, twenty-three lines (fols. 1 and 98 contain twenty-four lines by another twelfth-century scribe). Latin vulgate text in Carolingian minuscule. One full-page drawing; three modest decorated initials. Pigskin over wooden boards, blind-tooled, rhomboid pattern; old title in ink at top of front cover; Lambach, mid-fifteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig I 3; 83.MA.52

PROVENANCE: Lambach Abbey, Austria; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Holter, "Die romanische Buchmalerei in Oberösterreich," *Jahrbuch des Oberösterreichischen Musealvereins* 101 (1956), 228; K. Holter, "Die Handschriften und Inkunabeln," *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Gerichtsbezirkes Lambach*, ed. E. Hainisch, Österreichische Kunsttopographie 34 (Vienna, 1959), 214, n. 5, and 241; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 53–57.

6. NEW TESTAMENT WITH THE CANONS OF PRISCILLIANS
Probably the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny, France, circa 1170
Vellum, 195 leaves, 43 x 31.5 cm. Text area 30.3 x 24.2 cm, two columns, thirty-six lines. Latin vulgate text in Carolingian minuscule. Thirty large illuminated initials; twelve illuminated canon pages. Blue morocco, blind-tooled with simple inner and outer frames; by W. H. Smith.
Ms. Ludwig I 4; 83.MA.53

PROVENANCE: Abbey of Saint Marianus, Auxerre; Chartreuse, Dijon, until 1803; James Edwards, until 1815; William Roscoe, Liverpool, until 1816; Robert Benson; W. A. S. Benson; William Morris, by 1896; Laurence Hodson, Compton Hall, by 1898; C. H. St. John Hornby; J. R. Abbey, by 1933; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 58–62.

7 (fol. 191v)

7. NEW TESTAMENT
Probably Sicily, end of twelfth century
Vellum, 283 leaves, 24.7 x 15.8 cm. Text area 16.5 x 9.8 cm, two columns, thirty lines. Latin text in Italian minuscule. One full-page miniature; four historiated initials; twenty-one other illuminated initials. Red Italian silk brocade; fifteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig I 5; 83.MA.54

PROVENANCE: A cloister of the diocese of Bergamo, late fifteenth century; Franz Trau, Vienna; Lord John Jacob Astor of Hever; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Hoffman, *The Year 1200*, ex. cat. (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970), no. 286; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 63–71.

8. SINGLE LEAF FROM THE SHAH ABBAS BIBLE
France or possibly England, circa 1250
Vellum, 32.5 x 29 cm, trimmed on all sides (original format approximately 39 x 30.4 cm). Miniatures on both recto and verso. Unbound, matted; originally kept in red morocco binding by Katherine Adams.
Ms. Ludwig I 6; 83.MA.55

COMMENTARY: This is a leaf from the Bible in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (M. 638). Two other leaves are in Paris in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. nouv. acq. 2294).

PROVENANCE: Cardinal Bernhard Maciejowski, sixteenth century; Shah Abbas the Great, seventeenth century; Sydney C. Cockerell, by 1910; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

8 (recto)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sydney C. Cockerell, *Old Testament Miniatures,* foreword by John Plummer (London, 1970); Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 72–79.

9. BIBLE
Northern France, circa 1250–1260
Uterine vellum, 558 leaves, 16.8 x 11 cm, trimmed on all edges. Text area 11.4 x 7.5 cm, two columns, forty-eight lines. Latin vulgate text in French minuscule. Five historiated initials; seventy-two illuminated initials. Modern brown leather over wooden boards in the decorative style of the fifteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig I 7; 83.MA.56

PROVENANCE: Theodorus Phrearaeus, Cologne, early seventeenth century; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 80–84.

10. BIBLE (Three Volumes, Incomplete)
Northern France, probably Lille, circa 1270
Vellum, 273 leaves; vol. 1: fols. 1–99, vol. 2: fols. 100–202, vol. 3: fols. 203–273; approximately 47 x 32.2 cm, cut. Text area 34.8 x 22.8 cm, two columns, thirty lines. Latin vulgate text in textura. Vol. 1: one large half-page historiated initial and numerous smaller historiated and/or illuminated initials; vol. 2: numerous historiated initials and other illuminated initials; vol. 3: numerous historiated initials and other illuminated initials. Reddish brown pigskin in the Jansenist style; gilt edges; by Katherine Adams, 1920.
Ms. Ludwig I 8; 83.MA.57

PROVENANCE: Probably Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy; Monastery of Marquette, near Lille, fifteenth century; P. G.; William Morris; Edwin H. Lawrence, until 1898; Laurence Hodson, Compton Hall, until 1906; Sydney C. Cockerell; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. J. Beer, "Liller Bibelcodices, Tournai und die Scriptorien in der Stadt Arras," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 43 (1972), 190–226; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 85–92.

11. BIBLE (Concluding Volume)
Tournai, Arras, or Lille, circa 1260–1270
Vellum, thirty-five leaves, approximately 46.5 x 34.5 cm. Text area 33.8 x 22 cm, two columns, thirty lines. Latin vulgate text in textura. Brown pigskin with blind-stamping in Jansenist style, gilt edges, identical with Ms. Ludwig I 8; by Katherine Adams, 1920.
Ms. Ludwig I 9; 83.MA.58

PROVENANCE: (?) Reverend Joseph Degen, Saint Savior's Catholic Church, Leicestershire; Sydney C. Cockerell; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. J. Beer, "Liller Bibelcodices, Tournai und die Scriptorien der Stadt Arras," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 43 (1972), 191, 211, 221–222; W. B. Clark, "A Re-united Bible and Thirteenth-Century Illumination in Northern France," *Speculum* 50 (1975), 33–47; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 93–98.

12. A LEAF FROM A BIBLE
Tournai, Arras, or Lille, circa 1260–1270
Vellum, 48.1 x 35.1 cm. Text area 33.8 x 22.5 cm, two columns, thirty lines. Latin vulgate text in textura. Historiated initial with *Moses Sacrificing a Lamb.* Unbound.
Ms. Ludwig I 10; 83.MA.59

PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Branner, "A cutting from a Thirteenth-Century French Bible," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 58–59 (1971), 221, 224–225; Carl Nordenfalk et al., *Medieval and Renaissance Miniatures from the National Gallery of Art,* ex. cat. (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1975), 136–138; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 99–103.

13. BIBLE
Bologna, circa 1280–1290
Vellum, 574 leaves, 37.5 x 24.8 cm. Text area 23.4 x 14.3 cm, two columns, fifty-one lines; fols. 540v–574v, four columns. Latin vulgate text in littera Bononiensis. More than 150 historiated and other illuminated initials. Modern

red velvet cover.
Ms. Ludwig I 11: 83.MA.60

PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kunsthalle, Cologne, *Weltkunst aus Privatbesitz,* ex. cat. (Cologne, 1968), no. D 63; Carl Nordenfalk et al., *Medieval and Renaissance Miniatures from the National Gallery of Art,* ex. cat. (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1975), 12, 14; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 104–111.

14. BIBLE
Northern Netherlands, middle of fifteenth century
Vellum, 159 leaves, 31 x 21.5 cm, trimmed. Text area 20.1 x 13.7 cm, two columns, thirty-five lines. Latin vulgate text in textura. One illuminated initial; numerous decorated initials in pen and body color. Modern brown calf, blind-stamped in the style of the fifteenth century; two brass clasps.
Ms. Ludwig I 12; 83.MA.61

PROVENANCE: William Morris; Richard Bennett; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 112–116.

15 (fol. 3—detail)

15. BIBLE
Cologne, circa 1450
Vellum, 455 leaves, 36.7 x 25.3 cm. Text area 24.7 x 16.4 cm, two columns, fifty-five lines. Latin vulgate text in textura rotunda. Numerous historiated and other illuminated initials and borders. Original brown calf, middle field split up in lozenges, filled in with blind-stamping (a paschal lamb, eagle, peacock, dragon, heraldic lily, and rosette); open-worked corner and middle ornamental fittings of brass with underlying colored vellum in yellow, green, red, and blue; two leather clasps.
Ms. Ludwig I 13; 83.MA.62

PROVENANCE: Cologne Cathedral Library; presumably Ferdinand von Plettenberg, Schloss Nordkirchen; Count Franz Esterhazy-Galantha, Westphalia; Duke Engelbert of Arenberg, Schloss Nordkirchen; Duke of Arenberg, Belgium; Otto Schäfer, Schweinfurt; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Knaus, "Die Arenbergbibel. Lochner und die Windesheimer," in *Festschrift für Claus Nissen* (Wiesbaden, 1973), 423–450; H. Knaus, "Die Besitzungsgeschichte der Arenberg Bibel," *Kölner Domblatt* 42 (1977), 314–315; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 117–123.

16 (fol. 20v)

16. BIBLE
Written by Baghram and Ep'rem; illuminated by Malnazar and Aghap'ir
Isfahan, 1637–1638
Vellum, 610 leaves (disruption in numerical sequence from 330 to 340; two pages are numbered 538; 619 is cut out and stuck on the back cover), 25.2 x 18 cm. Text area 20.5 x 12.6 cm, two columns, forty-nine lines. Armenian text in borlorgir minuscule. Eight full-page miniatures; six illuminated canon pages; numerous pages with border decoration and illuminated initials. Reddish brown morocco over original wooden boards, blind-stamping on the front and back covers; spine restored.
Ms. Ludwig I 14; 83.MA.63

PROVENANCE: Family of Xoja Abdulē and his brother Baghēr, Isfahan; Hagop Kervorkian, New York; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Der Nersessian, *The Chester Beatty Library, A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts with an Introduction on the History of Armenian Art* (Dublin, 1958), xl, n. 3, 11, n. 1, E. F. Rhodes, *An Annotated List of Armenian New Testament Manuscripts* (Tokyo, 1959), 148, no. 1136; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 124–133.

17 (fol. 8v)

17. EPISTLES OF SAINT PAUL
Illuminated by the 1520's Hours Workshop
France, circa 1520–1530
Vellum, 114 leaves, first and last leaf stuck on the front and back endpaper of the volume, 16.2 x 10.3 cm. Text area 11.5 x 5.6 cm, one column, twenty-nine lines. Latin text in calligraphic Roman script. Two full-page miniatures; two illusionistic borders with gold grounds. French seventeenth-century red morocco, gold tooled; two silver clasps; gilt edges.
Ms. Ludwig I 15; 83.MA.64

PROVENANCE: John Broadley; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 134–139; Myra Orth in *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts: Treasures from the British Library,* ed. Thomas Kren, ex. cat. (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, and the British Library, London, 1983), 191, n. 1.

GOSPELS

18. GOSPELS
Lorsch Abbey, Germany, second quarter of ninth century
Vellum, 164 leaves, 32 x 23.5 cm. Text area 22 x 18 cm, two columns, thirty lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. Twelve decorated canon tables; four incipit pages with large

rubrics in gold or red. Old oak boards with large rectangle and smaller circle carved out, partly covered with leather; four brass bosses on the back cover, the fifth (middle) removed; ivory and metal plaques removed.
Ms. Ludwig II 1; 83.MB.65

PROVENANCE: Bishop Folcwich of Worms (circa 826–838); Iriarte; Marquis d'Astorga; John Cochran; Thomas Phillipps (Ms. 3015); Martin Bodmer; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. N. L. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library up to the Year 1840,* Phillipps Studies (Cambridge, 1954), vol. 3, 48, 150; B. Bischoff, "Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften," *Münchner Beiträge zur Mediavistik und Renaissance-Forschung. Beiheft* (Munich, 1974), 35–36, 38, 76, n. 61f., cf. pp. 53f; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 147–148.

19. A LEAF WITH THE OPENING LINE OF THE GOSPEL OF SAINT JOHN
Abbey of Farfa, Italy, circa 1100
Vellum, 31 x 22.5 cm. Text area 22.5 x 15–16.6 cm, one column, twenty-eight lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. One illuminated initial page. Matted.
Ms. Ludwig II 2; 83.MB.66

PROVENANCE: A. Chester Beatty, Dublin; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 150–152.

20 (fol. 83v)

20. GOSPELS
Abbey of Helmarshausen, Germany, circa 1120–1140
Vellum, 168 leaves, 22.8 x 16.4 cm. Text area 16.5 x 9.8 cm, one column, twenty-eight lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. Four full-page miniatures; four decorated text-opening pages; sixteen historiated canon tables. Brown calf; France, eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig II 3; 83.MB.67

PROVENANCE: A Norman nobleman, sixteenth century; Archbishop of York, seventeenth century; French collection, eighteenth century; Charles Fairfax Murray; C. W. Dyson Perrins; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Franz Jansen, *Die Helmarshausener Buchmalerei zur Zeit Heinrichs des Löwen* (Hildesheim and Leipzig, 1933), 21ff.; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 153–158.

21. GOSPELS WITH LETTERS AND LIVES OF THE APOSTLES
Written by Theoktistos
Monastery of Saint John Prodromos, Constantinople, 1133
Vellum, 280 leaves, 22 x 18 cm. Text area 16–18 x 13–15.5 cm, one column, twenty-six lines. Greek text in minuscule (echo of small Gothic book hand). Four full-page miniatures; twelve illuminated canon tables. Olive green calf; eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig II 4; 83.MB.68

PROVENANCE: Library of the Dionysiu Monastery, Mount Athos (Ms. 8); Oscar Meyer collection, Los Angeles; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. N. Friend, Jr., "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," *Art Studies* 5 (1927), 125; F. Dölger and E. Weigand, *Mönchsland Athos* (Munich, 1942), 194–195; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 159–163.

22 (fol. 45v)

22. GOSPELS
Byzantine, early and late thirteenth century
Vellum, 241 leaves, 20.5 x 15 cm. Text area 13.5–16 x 10–12 cm, one column, twenty-five lines. Greek text in minuscule. Nineteen full-page miniatures; eight decorated canon tables; numerous other illuminated pages; many decorated borders. Heavily worn, light brown velvet over old wooden boards.
Ms. Ludwig II 5; 83.MB.69

PROVENANCE: The Greek monk Laurentios and Pope Manuel; Frederick North, Fifth Earl of Guilford, Corfu; Thomas Phillipps, by 1830; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hugo Buchtal, "An Unknown Byzantine Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century," *Connoisseur* 155 (1964), 217–224; G. Vikan, ed., *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann,* ex. cat. (Princeton University, Art Museum, 1973), no. 51; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 164–170.

23. GOSPELS
Written and possibly also illuminated by Petros, School of Van
Armenia, 1386
Paper, 260 leaves, 24 x 16.5 cm. Text area 17.5 x 12 cm, two columns, twenty-two lines. Armenian text in borlorgir minuscule. Twenty-three nearly full-page miniatures; seven decorated canon tables. Dark brown kidskin over wooden boards, blind-tooling, cross in the form of an *arbor vitae;* brass boss and fittings in the shape of a cross; partly restored in 1542.
Ms. Ludwig II 6; 83.MB.70

PROVENANCE: The Armenian monk and scribe Petros; Church of Saint John and Saint Stephen; the monastery Manuk surb Nšan, Kajberuni, Armenia; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 171–176.

24. GOSPELS
Written and illuminated by Hayrapet and by Mesrop of Xizan
Isfahan, 1615
Glazed paper, 246 leaves, 23 x 17.5 cm. Text area 19.5 x 12.8 cm, two columns, twenty-three lines. Armenian text in borlorgir minuscule. Four full-page miniatures; eight illuminated pages;

numerous other decorated pages. Brown calf over wooden boards, blind-tooling on covers; traces of lost ornamental fittings; presumably 1737.
Ms. Ludwig II 7; 83.MB.71

PROVENANCE: Ust'ay Martiros; an Armenian bibliophile, after 1737; acquired in Isfahan by Jacques de Morgan; Jean Pozzi; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Macler, "Notices de manuscrits arméniens vu dans quelques bibliothèques de l'Europe Centrale," *Journal Asiatique* 2 (1913), 643–651, no. 46; S. Der Nersessian, *The Chester Beatty Library, A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts with an Introduction on the History of Armenian Art* (Dublin, 1958), no. 576; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 177–181.

APOCALYPSE

25 (fol. 36)

25. APOCALYPSE
With commentary by Berengaudus
Abbey of Saint Albans, England, circa 1250
Vellum, forty-one leaves, 31.9 x 22.5 cm. Text area approximately 11.3 x 15 cm, two columns, eighteen to nineteen lines. Latin text in textura. Eighty-two half-page miniatures, approximately 10.6 x 16.1 cm, each two columns wide. Red morocco with gold tooling; by Katherine Adams.
Ms. Ludwig III 1; 83.MC.72

PROVENANCE: Charles Fairfax Murray; C. W. Dyson Perrins; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. R. James, *The Apocalypse in Latin. Ms. 10 in the Collection of Dyson Perrins* (Oxford, 1927); G. Henderson, "Studies in English Manuscript Illumination, Part III: The English Apocalypse II," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 31 (1968), 103–113; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 191–198.

GOSPEL LECTIONARIES AND EPISTOLARIES

26 (fol. 94v)

26. GOSPEL LECTIONARY
Rhine-Maas region, early ninth century
Vellum, 111 leaves, 24 x 18 cm. Text area 17 x 13.2 cm, one or two columns, twenty-two lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. Fols. 1–4 stained purple with silver and gold ink; every leaf has a continuous illuminated border; numerous modest illuminated initials. Modern red velvet over wooden boards, gold-painted brass clasp with idealized portrait bust of Charlemagne; formerly on the front cover, an ivory panel with symmetrical double tendrils, inset with modern violet, red, and green glass; Metz school, third quarter of the ninth century.
Ms. Ludwig IV 1; 83.MD.73

PROVENANCE: Joseph Barrois, Lille; Bertram, Fourth Earl of Ashburnham; Charles Fairfax Murray; C. W. Dyson Perrins; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Warner, no. 22; B. Bischoff, "Eine karolingische Prachthandschrift in Aachener Privatbesitz," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 32 (1966), 46ff; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 203–205.

27. EVANGELARY
North Italy, end of twelfth or beginning of thirteenth century
Vellum, 172 leaves, 29.5 x 19 cm. Text area 20 x 11 cm, one column, twenty-two lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. One illuminated initial. Wooden boards with restored leather spine.
Ms. Ludwig IV 2; 83.MD.74

PROVENANCE: Paolo Giovio, Bishop of Nocera, sixteenth century; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 206–208.

28. THE EPISTLES FOR THE YEAR
Written and illuminated by Madelyn Walker
England, circa 1930
Vellum, twenty-one leaves, 36.4 x 25.3 cm. Text area 22.5 x 16.5 cm, two columns, thirty-six lines. English text in calligraphic minuscule. Illuminated title page; numerous illuminated initials. Red morocco with gold tooling by Roger Powell and Peter Waters, 1966.
Ms. Ludwig IV 3; 83.ME.75

PROVENANCE: Rev. A. J. Whitehead, London; J. R. Abbey; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 209–211.

SACRAMENTARIES, MISSALS

29 (fol. 2v)

29. SACRAMENTARY
Use of Beauvais
Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, first quarter of eleventh century
Vellum, ten leaves, 23.2 x 17.8 cm. Text area 16 x 11.5 cm, one column, eighteen lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. First letters in gold; two full-page miniatures; three illuminated initials; two illuminated pages written in gold against black and one in gold on purple. Brown morocco with gold tooling; signed by Katherine Adams.
Ms. Ludwig V 1; 83.MF.76

PROVENANCE: Probably Beauvais Cathedral; Walter Sneyd; Charles Fairfax Murray; C. W. Dyson Perrins; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Carl Nordenfalk, "A Traveling Milanese Artist in France at the Beginning of the Eleventh Century," *Arte del Primo Millenio. Atti del II° Convegno per lo Studio dell'Arte dell'Alto Medio Evo tenuto presso l'Università di Pavia nel Settembre 1950* (Turin, 1952), 374ff. F. Mütherich, "Malerei," in L. Grodecki, F. Mütherich, et al., *Die Zeit der Ottonen und der Salier. Universum der Kunst* (Munich, 1973), 125–126, 190, 196; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 219–222.

30 (fol. 20)

30. SACRAMENTARY
Mainz or Fulda, second quarter of eleventh century
Vellum, 178 leaves, 26.5 x 19.1 cm. Text area 17 x 13 cm, one column, twenty lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. Seven full-page miniatures; two illuminated pages written in gold on purple ground; numerous large and small illuminated initials. Oak covers, 27.3 x 19.8 cm; red silk on the spine and back cover, fitted with hammered and engraved silver and copper. On the front, gilt-copper frame, with evangelists' symbols engraved in the corners and busts of angels in between and a relief with Christ enthroned in the center (restored in 1975), hammered silver, partially gilded, engraved halo. On the back, gilt-copper bands with the Lamb of God in hammered silver in the center, badly damaged, but possibly from the original covers. The remainder of the cover decoration, dating circa 1150, probably restored by the fourteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig V 2; 83.MF.77

PROVENANCE: Seminary of Saint Alban, Namur; Duke of Arenberg; Jacques Seligmann; Martin Bodmer; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Swarzenski, "Recent Literature, Chiefly Periodical, on Medieval Minor Arts, Pre-Carolingian, Carolingian, and Ottonian Periods," *Art Bulletin* 24 (1942), 293; H. Schnitzler, "Fulda oder Reichenau?," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* 19 (1957), 102, 120, n. 610; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 223–230.

31. A LEAF FROM A SACRAMENTARY
Southwest Germany or Switzerland, third quarter of twelfth century
Vellum, 29 x 19.7 cm, considerably trimmed at the lower edge. Text area 23 x 11.8 cm, one column, twenty-one lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. One historiated initial. Matted.
Ms. Ludwig V 3; 83.MF.78

PROVENANCE: Richartz collection, Amsterdam; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Köllner, *Miniaturen des 11. bis 18. Jahrhunderts aus einer Amsterdamer Sammlung*, typescript ex. cat. (Marburger Universitäts-museum, 1965/66), no. 3; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 231–233.

32. MISSAL WITH LECTIONARY
Steinfeld Abbey, Germany circa 1180
Vellum, 145 leaves, 25 x 17.5 cm. Text area 16.5 x 11.5 cm, one column, sixteen/seventeen lines or twenty/twenty-one lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule or textura. One full-page miniature; many large illuminated initials. Brown calf roll-tooled with vines and fleur-de-lys (placed horizontally); two leather and brass clasps; fifteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig V 4; 83.MG.79

PROVENANCE: Steinfeld Abbey; W. Morris; Charles Fairfax Murray; C. W. Dyson Perrins; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Bloch, "Das Steinfeld-Missale," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 22 (1961), 37–60; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 234–239.

33. PLENARY MISSAL
Lyons, between 1254 and 1262
Vellum, 252 leaves, 24.6 x 16.6 cm. Text area 16.5 x 11 cm, two columns, thirty-seven lines. Latin text in textura. Two full-page miniatures; nine historiated initials; numerous smaller illuminated initials. Purple velvet over paper boards with gold tooling; brass fasteners; signed by the noted Parisian binder *SIMIER R[UE] DUROL*, circa 1825.
Ms. Ludwig V 5; 83.MG.80

PROVENANCE: Probably the Dominican church Notre-Dame de Confort, Lyons; J. Janin; A. Rosset; Maurice Loncle, Paris; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: V. Leroquais, *Exposition des Manuscrits à Peintures du VIe au XVIIe siècle*, ex. cat. (Bibliothèque de la Ville de Lyon, 1920), no. 11; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 240–244.

34 (fol. 147v)

34. MISSAL FROM THE COLLEGIUM DUCALE
Vienna, circa 1420–1430
Vellum, 307 leaves, 41.7 x 30.5 cm. Text area 27.8 x 19.9 cm, two columns, thirty-two lines. Latin text in textura. One full-page miniature; several historiated initials. Green velvet; four corner pieces and two clasps in silver; open work, engraved and punched; seventeenth century.
Ms. Ludwig V 6; 83.MG.81

PROVENANCE: Collegium Ducale, Vienna; J. Rosenthal; P. Graupe; A. Chester Beatty, Dublin; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. G. Millar, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1930), no. 81, appendix 2; G. Schmidt, "Neues Material zur österreichischen Buchmalerei der Spätgotik in slowakischen Handschriften," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst and Denkmalpflege* 18 (1964), 36–37; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 245–249.

35. MISSAL OF BISHOP ANTONIO SCARAMPI
Written and illuminated by Fra Vicentius a Fundis
Nola, 1567
Vellum, 109 leaves, 41 x 27.7 cm. Text area 29.5 x 19 cm, one column, eighteen lines. Latin text in textura rotunda. One full-page miniature; numerous illuminated initials; some historiated. Original brown morocco with gold tooling and four lost clasps. On the recto and verso a coat of arms carried in a laurel crown by two angels, inscription above: *A[NTO-NIUS] SCA[RAMPUS] EP[ISCO]PUS NOLAN[US]*.
Ms. Ludwig V 7; 83.MG.82

PROVENANCE: Bishop Antonio Scarampi; F. Pierleoni; Horace Landau, Florence; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 250–252.

36. PRAYERS OF THE MASS
Written and illuminated by Jean-Pierre Rousselet
Paris, circa 1720–1730
Paper, thirty-eight leaves, 11.9 x 7.2 cm. Text area with frame 8 x 5 cm, one column, fourteen/fifteen lines. French text in calligraphic Roman script. Illuminated title page; two full-page miniatures; three small miniatures. Original dark blue morocco outside, inside red morocco, in Fanfare style with gilded geometric and vegetable patterns; by Padeloup, Paris.
Ms. Ludwig V 8; 83.MG.83

PROVENANCE: E. Rahir, Paris (sale, May 7–9, 1930, lot 219); M. L. Schiff; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 253–256.

ANTIPHONALS

37. ANTIPHONAL
Written and illuminated by Jacobellus, called Muriolus of Salerno
Bologna, circa 1270
Vellum, 228 leaves, 44.5 x 32 cm, trimmed(?). Text area for text and music 33.5 x 23.5 cm, one column, six lines. Latin text in textura rotunda. Nine historiated initials; several historiated borders. Old brown calf over wooden boards; brass corner and center pieces.
Ms. Ludwig VI 1; 83.MH.84

PROVENANCE: K. Arnhold; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

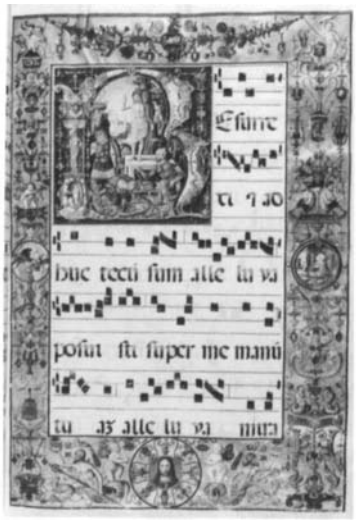
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 262–265.

38. ANTIPHONAL
Venice, circa 1460–1480
Vellum, on the hair side yellow, on the flesh side white, 161 leaves, 60.5 x 44 cm. Text area for text and music 41 x

26 cm, one column, five lines. Latin text in broad Italian textura. Five historiated initials; numerous illuminated initials; hundreds of calligraphic initials. Brown morocco with blind-tooling over wooden boards; five brass bosses on each cover; blind-tooled lozenge outlined with smaller bosses; spine reinforced with eight leather straps; in the front, two star-shaped holders for clasps, which are now lacking; corner reinforcements.
Ms. Ludwig VI 2; 83.MH.85

PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 266–269.



39 (fol. 16)

39. ANTIPHONAL
Illuminated by Antonio da Monza
Rome, late fifteenth or early sixteenth century
Vellum, 188 leaves, 63.5 x 43.5 cm. Text area for text and music 42 x 30 cm, one column, five lines. Latin text in textura rotunda. One large historiated initial with elaborate illuminated border. Brown leather over original wooden covers; brass ornamental fittings with stamped rosettes in the form of the inscription *IHS* and half-length depictions of the Virgin and Child.
Ms. Ludwig VI 3; 83.MH.86

PROVENANCE: Monastery of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome; probably James de Rothschild and Edmond de Rothschild; Alexandrine de Rothschild; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. A. Brown, "The London Madonna of the Rocks in the Light of Two Milanese Adaptations," in *Collaboration in Italian Renaissance Art*, ed. W. Stedman Sheard and J. T. Paoletti (New Haven, 1978), 175–176, nn. 24, 27; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 270–275.

40. ANTIPHONAL FOR THE MASS
Probably Antwerp, 1479
Vellum, 222 leaves, 44.5 x 31.5 cm. Text area for text and music 36 x 23 cm, one column, ten lines. Latin text in textura. One full-page miniature; twelve historiated and nine illuminated initials, some with illuminated borders. Calf on wooden boards with blind-tooling; five quatrefoil bosses; two clasps as well as corner edge reinforcements in brass, front and back; sixteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig VI 4; 83.MH.87

PROVENANCE: Monastery of Saint Salvator, Antwerp; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Lehmann-Haupt, *Gutenberg and the Master of the Playing Cards* (New Haven and London, 1966), 42–43; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 276–279.

41. LEAVES AND CUTTINGS FROM AN ANTIPHONAL
Tournai, Arras, or Lille, circa 1260–1270
Vellum, nineteen single leaves and three loose initials, 48 x 34.5 cm. Text area for text and music 36 x 23.5 cm, one column, eight lines. Latin text in textura. Sixteen historiated and two illuminated initials. Individually matted.
Ms. Ludwig VI 5; 83.MH.88

PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 280–284.

42 (fol. 94—detail)

42. ANTIPHONAL
Florence, end of thirteenth century
Vellum, 243 leaves, 58.2 x 40.5 cm. Text area for text and music 38.2 x 27.5 cm, one column, six lines. Latin text in textura rotunda. Twelve historiated and numerous other illuminated initials. Black-stained sheepskin, rebacked, over original wooden boards; heavy iron bosses on brass escutcheons with central brass cut-out disk on sides and back edges reinforced; leather and brass clasps.
Ms. Ludwig VI 6; 83.MH.89

PROVENANCE: K. Arnhold; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kunsthalle, Cologne, *Weltkunst aus Privatbesitz*, ex. cat. (Cologne, 1968), no. D 64; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 285–287.

BENEDICTIONALS, PONTIFICALS

43. BENEDICTIONAL
Regensburg, circa 1030–1040
Vellum, 117 leaves, 23.2 x 16 cm. Text area 16 x 12 cm, one column, fourteen lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. Nine full-page miniatures; four decorated pages; numerous illuminated initials. White pigskin, Renaissance or later.
Ms. Ludwig VII 1; 83.MI.90

PROVENANCE: Bishop Engilmar of Parenzo; Karl II, Prince Öttingen-Wallerstein; K. Arnhold; Otto Schäfer, Schweinfurt; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Bauerreiss, "Gab es eine 'Reichenauer Malschule' um die Jahrhundertwende?," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 68 (1957), 44, 53, 72; H. Köllner, "Eine wiedergefundene Handschrift aus Muri," in *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener zum 60. Geburtstag* (Marburg an der Lahn, 1967), 309–311; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 293–296.

44. PONTIFICAL
Written and probably also illuminated by Father Petrus Luchter
Constance, 1489
Vellum, eighty-three leaves, 28 x 20 cm. Text area 19.5 x 13.5 cm, one column, twenty-nine/thirty lines. Latin text in textura. One historiated and other illuminated initials; various motifs in the borders. Red-stained sheepskin over wooden boards, blind-stamping, heavily abraded; brass clasps lost.
Ms. Ludwig VII, 2; 83.MJ.91

PROVENANCE: Daniel Zehnder, Constance; Constance Cathedral; Thomas Phillipps; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

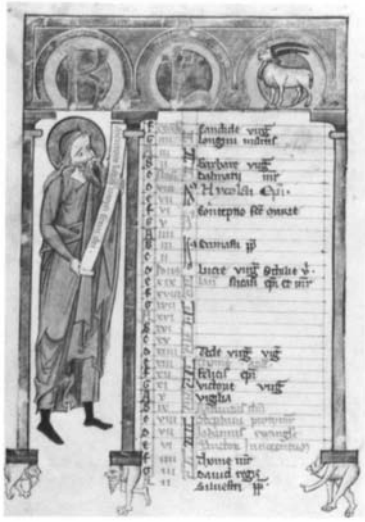
BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Catalogus Librorum,* no. 4782; A. N. L. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library up to the Year 1840,* Phillipps Studies 3 (Cambridge, 1954), 47, 159; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 297–301.

PSALTERS

45. A LEAF FROM A PSALTER
Northern Italy, third quarter of ninth century
Vellum, 30 x 21.3 cm. Text area for text and music 25 x 16.5 cm, two columns, thirty lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. Two illuminated initials. Matted.
Ms. Ludwig VIII 1; 83.MK.92

PROVENANCE: Ferdinand Kremer, Cologne; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 308–310.



46 (fol. 7v)

46. PSALTER WITH CANTICA AND OFFICIUM PARVUM
Würzburg, circa 1240–1250
Vellum, 192 leaves, 21.5 x 15.5 cm. Text area 13.5 x 9.6 cm, one column, seventeen lines. Latin text in Gothic minuscule. Twelve decorated calendar pages, each with a large figure of a minor prophet; six full-page miniatures; four full-page and eight two-thirds page historiated initials; four smaller initials; numerous large gold initials. Brown calf with blind-tooling: globes, an owl, three-quarter length male and female figures, other motifs, and the initials *J.* and *K.*; sixteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig VIII 2; 83.MK.93

PROVENANCE: Karl II, Prince Öttingen-Wallerstein; K. Arnhold; Otto Schäfer, Schweinfurt; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Haseloff, *Eine thüringisch-sächsische Malerschule des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Strasbourg, 1897), 30, 42, 89, 97, 176, 188ff; H. Swarzenski, *Die lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts in den Ländern an Rhein, Main und Donau* (Berlin, 1936), 69–74, 122, n. 1, 155–156; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 301–316.

47. PSALTER
Engelberg Abbey, Germany, third quarter of thirteenth century
Vellum, 179 leaves, 21.5 x 15.5 cm. Text area 13.5 x 9.8 cm, one column, nineteen lines. Latin text in late Romanesque minuscule. Twelve illuminated calendar pages; two full-page historiated initials; numerous illuminated initials. Brown calf richly tooled; leather closures with metal fittings; early sixteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig VIII 3; 83.MK.94

PROVENANCE: Heinrich von Ellerbach; monastery of Buxheim, near Memmingen; Count Waldbott-Bassenheim, by 1803, until 1883; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

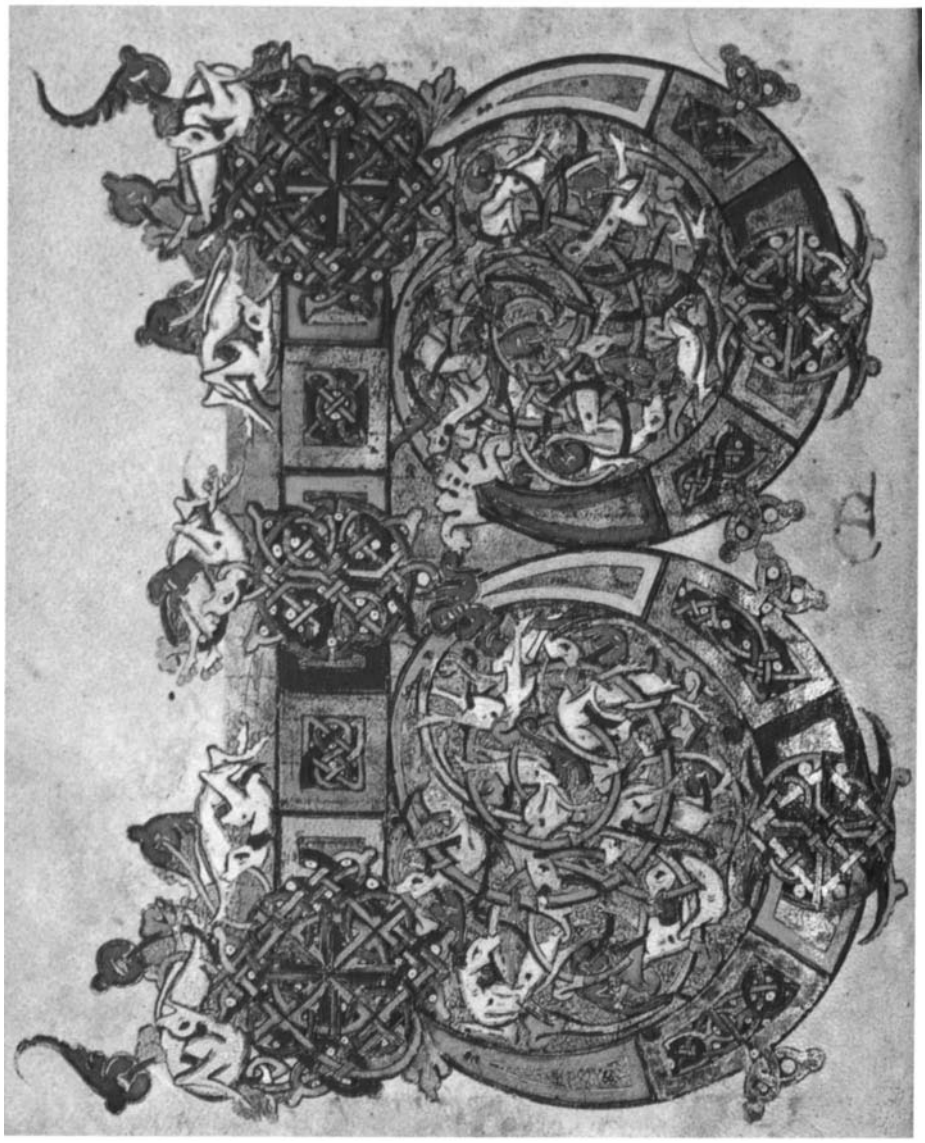
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 318–321.

48 (fol. 28v)

48. PSALTER
Paris, circa 1250–1260
Vellum, 203 leaves, 19 x 13 cm. Text area 12.7 x 8.5 cm, one column, twenty lines. Latin text in textura. Twelve decorated calendar leaves; twenty-one full-page miniatures (divided into compartments); numerous large historiated initials; hundreds of smaller illuminated initials. Deep violet morocco, gold-tooled; probably English or Scottish, circa 1700.
Ms. Ludwig VIII 4; 83.MK.95

PROVENANCE: Possibly Wenzeslaus III and Lajos I, kings of Hungary; Wilhelm van der Meersch, Bruges; J. Vernon, London; J. Phillips, Esq., Edstone; C. W. Dyson Perrins; Otto Schäfer, Schweinfurt; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of St. Louis* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1977), 86, 98–102, 107–108, 116, 118, 129, 223, 228, 272–273; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 322–329.



50 (fol. 140v)

49. PSALTER
Paris or Bourges, circa 1390
Vellum, 199 leaves, 22.2 x 16.8 cm.
Text area 14.9 x 10.5 cm, one column, nineteen lines. Latin text in textura.
One miniature; four historiated initials; one large illuminated initial.
Old red velvet.
Ms. Ludwig VIII 5; 83.MK.96

PROVENANCE: K. Arnhold; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 330–335.

BREVIARIES, BOOKS OF HOURS, PRAYER BOOKS

50. BREVIARY
Use of Monte Cassino
Written by Sigenulfus
Monte Cassino Abbey, Italy, circa 1153
Vellum, 328 leaves, 19.1 x 13.2 cm, trimmed at upper edge. Text area 13.5 x 7.2 cm, one column, twenty-seven lines. Latin text in Beneventan script.
Four full-page illuminated initials; twenty-four half-page illuminated initials; hundreds of smaller illuminated initials, some of them historiated. Marbled calf, gold-tooling on spine; eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 1; 83.ML.97

PROVENANCE: Abbot Raynaldus II, Monte Cassino; Monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno, fourteenth century; returned to Monte Cassino in 1505 by Loysius de Raymo, until 1799; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Newton, "The Discovery of a Lost Montecassino Ms.," *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 53 (1973), 457–458; E. A. Lowe. *The Beneventan Script. A History of South Italian Minuscule* (Oxford, 1914), 346; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 49–62.

51 (fol. 50)

51. ROMAN BREVIARY, WINTER SECTION
Use of Châlons-sur-Marne
Paris, circa 1320–1325
Vellum, 383 leaves, 16.6 x 11.1 cm, trimmed. Text area 11 x 6.8 cm, two columns, thirty-three lines. Latin text in textura. Twenty-eight historiated initials on twenty-seven pages with twenty-seven *bas-de-pages* of secular scenes; numerous smaller illuminated initials with illuminated borders.
Brown morocco, gold-tooled on spine; by Lewis, nineteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 2; 83.ML.98

PROVENANCE: Possibly a prominent cleric of the diocese of Châlons-sur-Marne (coat of arms on fols. 25v, 33, 58v, 135, 139, 264); Duke of Newcastle; André Hachette, Paris (sale, December 16, 1953, lot 5); Maurice Loncle, Paris; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. G. Millar, *Souvenir de l'exposition de manuscrits français à peintures organisée à la Grenville Library*, Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures (Paris, 1933), vol. 17, 9, 25, pl. XXVI; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 64–73.

52 (fol. 37v)

52. BOOK OF HOURS
Probably use of a northern French diocese
Northern France, beginning of fourteenth century
Vellum, 128 leaves, 26.2 x 18.4 cm, trimmed. Text area 15.7 x 9.9 cm, one column, fourteen lines. Latin text in large textura hand. Twelve small miniatures of occupations of the months; forty-five miniatures of saints; fifty-six historiated initials. Wooden boards with dark red leather back, ornamental blind-tooled pattern with gold dots; by Douglas Cockerell, twentieth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 3; 83.ML.99

PROVENANCE: John Ruskin, before 1853; Arthur Severn; Sydney C. Cockerell; A. Chester Beatty, Dublin; Dudley Colman; J. R. Abbey; Paul Getty; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, ex. cat. (London, 1908), no. 141; E. G. Millar, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1930), vol. 2, 103–114, pls. CXC–CXLIII; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 74–83.

53. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Le Mans
Paris or Le Mans, circa 1400–1410
Vellum, 179 leaves, 18.8 x 13.2 cm, trimmed at upper edge. Text area 9.9 x 6.8 cm, one column, thirteen/fourteen lines except in calendar (sixteen). Latin text in textura. Sixteen half-page miniatures. Renaissance brown calf, richly tooled with gold in the manner of Lyons; in the middle of each cover is a small gilt relief of a young man crowned (possibly early fourteenth century); second half of sixteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 4; 83.ML.100

PROVENANCE: Patroness depicted on fol. 105, her coat of arms unidentified; K. Arnhold; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Schnitzler, ed., *Grosse Kunst des Mittelalters aus Privatbesitz*, ex. cat. (Cologne, Schnütgen-Museum, 1960), no. 110; Colloque Liège et Bourgogne, *Liège et Bourgogne. Actes du colloque tenu à Liège les 28, 29, et 30 Octobre 1968* (Paris, 1972), no 212; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 84–91.

54 (fol. 136v)

54. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Paris
Illuminated by the atelier of the Boucicaut Master and a follower of the Egerton Master
Paris, circa 1410
Vellum, 197 leaves and four flyleaves, 19 x 14 cm. Text area 10.3 x 6.5 cm, one column, fifteen lines. Latin and French texts in textura. Twenty-four illuminated calendar pages; forty-six half-page miniatures; illuminated borders with marginal figures on every page. Red morocco, elaborately gold-tooled with inlaid borders and central ornaments; English, late eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 5; 83.ML.101

PROVENANCE: Lord Clifford of Chudleigh; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. The Boucicaut Master* (London, 1968), 137–138; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 84–102.

55. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Paris
Paris, circa 1440–1450
Vellum, 225 leaves, 23.5 x 16 cm. Text area 10 x 6.9 cm, one column, fourteen lines. Latin and French texts in textura. Thirty-six roundels and *bas-de-pages* in calendar; eighteen half-page miniatures; forty-four smaller miniatures. Old red velvet cover; gilt edges.
Ms. Ludwig IX 6; 83.ML.102

PROVENANCE: Baron Lajos Hatvany; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 103–114.

56 (fol. 58v)

56. BOOK OF HOURS
(Llangattock Hours)
Use of Rome
Bruges or Ghent, circa 1450–1460
Vellum, 169 leaves, 26.4 x 18.4 cm. Text area 12.7 x 8.2 cm, one column, eighteen lines. Latin text in textura. Fourteen full-page miniatures; thirteen historiated initials; numerous large illuminated initials. Original brown calf over wooden covers, richly tooled in a manner typical of fifteenth-century Flemish bindings; gilt silver clasps with mounts for large stones, now filled with glass; signed by Lievin Stuvaert, Ghent, circa 1450, on the inside front cover.
Ms. Ludwig IX 7; 83.ML.103

PROVENANCE: Folpart van Amerongen and Geertruy van Themseke; Second Baron Llangattock; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Schilling, "Das Llangattock-Stundenbuch. Sein Verhältnis zu van Eyck und dem Vollender des Turin-Mailänder Stundenbuches," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 23 (1961), 211–256; F. Gorissen, *Das Stundenbuch der Katharina von Kleve. Analyse und Kommentar* (Berlin, 1973), 49–51, 112, 148, 149, 154, 172, 180, 182, 183, 192, 211, 217, 397, 411, 452, 464, 629, 1051–1059; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 115–141.

57. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Sarum
Illuminated by Willem Vrelant
Bruges, circa 1460
Vellum, 265 leaves, 25.5 x 17.2 cm, trimmed. Text area, circa 13.3 x 7.6 cm, one column, twenty lines. Latin text in textura. Forty-seven large and thirty smaller miniatures. Purple velvet; silver clasps with filigree; eight corner pieces; gold edges; early nineteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 8; 83.ML.104

PROVENANCE: Dukes of Arenberg, Brussels; Otto Schäfer, Schweinfurt; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Friedrich Winkler, *Die Flämische Buchmalerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1925), 71; V. Leroquais, *Le Bréviaire de Philippe le Bon* (Brussels, 1929), 153, 155; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 142–159.

58. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Utrecht
Northern Netherlands, circa 1440–1450
Vellum, 203 leaves, 17.2 x 12.2 cm. Text area 8.8 x 5.5 cm, one column, sixteen lines. Dutch text in textura. Twelve illuminated calendar pages; five full-page miniatures; twenty-three historiated initials with illuminated borders. Brown calf with plate stamp and other blind-tooled decoration; brass clasps engraved with relief decoration; fifteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 9; 83.ML.105

PROVENANCE: Ferdinand van Spoelberch; Carolus a Spoelberch; Mary A. Holland, Holland House; given to Edward Cheney, 1861; C. W. Dyson Perrins; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, ex. cat. (London, 1908), no. 245; Warner, no. 109; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 160–170.

59. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Utrecht
Utrecht, circa 1460
Vellum, 314 leaves, 16.3 x 11.7 cm. Text area 9.5 x 6.5 cm, one column, fourteen lines. Dutch text in textura. One full-page miniature; five historiated initials; numerous illuminated initials. Brown calf over wooden boards with faint pattern of diagonals, probably sixteenth century; two decorative silver clasps, circa 1700; corner and center pieces lost.
Ms. Ludwig IX 10; 83.ML.106

PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. M. J. Delaissé, *A Century of Dutch Manuscript Illumination* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), 45, fig. 99; O. Pächt and U. Jenni, *Die illuminierten Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek I*, vol. 3 *Holländische Schule* (Vienna, 1975), 82; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 171–179.

60 (fol. 85)

60. BOOK OF HOURS (Hours of Jacques of Luxembourg)
Use of Poitiers
France, circa 1466–1470
Vellum, 140 leaves, 16.4 x 11.5 cm. Text area 8.1 x 5.8 cm, one column, thirteen lines, calendar seventeen lines. Latin and French texts in textura. Twelve illuminated calendar pages; twenty-seven half-page miniatures; numerous illuminated borders. Red velvet over wooden boards; gilt edges with stamped patterns; nineteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 11; 83.ML.107

PROVENANCE: Jacques of Luxembourg; Ralph Esmerian, New York; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 180–195; J. Plummer, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts 1420–1530 from American Collections*, ex. cat. (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1982).

61. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Rome
Catalonia, circa 1440
Vellum, 361 leaves, 17.1 x 12 cm. Text area 8.1 x 5.6 cm, one column, fourteen lines, calendar eighteen lines. Latin text in Gothic rotunda with a prayer in Catalan. Twelve illuminated calendar pages; forty-four full-page miniatures; numerous large and small illuminated initials. Brown calf, elaborately tooled and stamped with gold; brass clasps with restored leather bands; Spanish, sixteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 12; 83.ML.108

PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 196–206.

62 (fols. 3v–4)

62. BOOK OF HOURS
(Gualenghi-d'Este Hours)
Use of Rome
Illuminated by Taddeo Crivelli, Guglielmo Giraldi, and others
Ferrara, circa 1470
Vellum, 211 leaves, 10.8 x 7.9 cm. Text area 6.4 x 3.6 cm, one column, fourteen/fifteen lines. Latin text in textura. Twenty-one full-page miniatures with decorative borders; four historiated initials; numerous illuminated initials and borders. Dark red morocco over wooden boards; gold-tooled frame on outer edge with intertwined vines; gilt lettering on green field on spine.
Ms. Ludwig IX 13; 83.ML.109

PROVENANCE: A member of the Gualenghi family in Ferrara, probably Andrea Gualenghi; Walter Sneyd; Charles Fairfax Murray; C. W. Dyson Perrins; Otto Schäfer, Schweinfurt; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts,* ex. cat. (London, 1908), no. 253; Warner, no. 72; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 207–216.

63. DIURNAL
Use of Passau
Probably workshop of Ulrich Schreier
Austria, circa 1485
Vellum, 302 leaves, 17.6 x 13.1 cm. Text area 12.1 x 9 cm, one column, thirty-three or twenty-two lines. Latin text in textura. One historiated initial with illuminated border; thirteen large illuminated initials with illuminated borders. Brown calf with blind-tooled knotwork; four engraved, open-worked, silvered, brass corner pieces, plus one similar ornamental piece in the center of front and back covers; clasps of leather and engraved, silvered brass.
Ms. Ludwig IX 14; 83.ML.110

PROVENANCE: Pretterschnegger family(?) coat of arms throughout manuscript; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 217–224.

64. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Paris
France, probably Rouen, circa 1500
Vellum, 170 leaves, 16 x 10.8 cm. Text area 8.6 x 5.2 cm, one column, seventeen lines. Latin text in textura with several prayers in French. Twelve zodiacal signs and twelve other scenes in the calendar; fifteen half-page and sixteen smaller miniatures; illuminated borders on every page. Modern brown leather with older front and back covers in dark brown morocco, gold-tooled in geometric, Fanfare style; Paris, late sixteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 15; 83.ML.111

PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 225–234.

65. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem
Strasbourg, beginning of sixteenth century
Vellum, 239 leaves, 13.5 x 10.5 cm, slightly trimmed. Text area 8 x 6.6 cm, one column, twenty/twenty-one lines. Latin text in *bâtarde.* Twelve small calendar miniatures, each with an occupation of the month and zodiacal sign; nineteen full-page miniatures with floral borders and smaller miniatures in calendar. Crimson morocco blind-tooled, with gold-gilt edges; signed by the German binder G. Trautz-Bauzonnet (1808–1879), Paris.
Ms. Ludwig IX 16; 83.ML.112

PROVENANCE: Baron James de Rothschild; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Dogaer, "Einfluss der Randverzierung der sog. Gent-Brügger Schule auf die deutsche Buchmalerei um 1500," in Gunther Pflug et al., *Buch-Bibliothek-Geschichte. Kurt Köster zum 65. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt, 1977), 214; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 235–243.

66. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Utrecht
Written in Cologne; probably illuminated in Ghent, circa 1500
Vellum, 141 leaves, 15.3 x 11.2 cm. Text area 8.7 x 6.1 cm, one column, eighteen lines. Text in Cologne dialect in textura. Twenty-four illuminated calendar pages; four full-page miniatures; nine historiated initials; one large illuminated initial with border; numerous illuminated initials. Modern white vellum; gilt edges.
Ms. Ludwig IX 17; 83.ML.113

PROVENANCE: Von Aussem family, Cologne(?); William Tite, acquired in 1866; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 244–255.

67 (fol. 64v)

67. BOOK OF HOURS (Spinola Hours)
Use of Rome
Probably Ghent or Malines, circa 1515
Vellum, 312 leaves, 23.2 x 16.6 cm. Text area 10.9 x 7.4 cm, one column, seventeen lines. Latin text in rotunda. Thirty-nine large miniatures, either full-page or with historiated borders, thirty-two large miniatures with decorated borders; twelve calendar miniatures; one full historiated border. Red morocco with gold-tooled arms of the Spinola family; gilt edges; Genoa, eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 18; 83.ML.114

PROVENANCE: Possibly Margaret of Austria; Spinola family, Genoa, eigthteenth century; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. M. de Winter, "A Book of Hours of Queen Isabella la Católica," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 67 (1981), 417, fig. 20, 145, n. 44; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 256–285; T. Kren, ed., *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts: Treasures from the British Library,* ex. cat. (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, and The British Library, London, 1983), 8–9, 46, 48, n. 19, 63, 67, 68, 120, ills. 9, 64.

68. PRAYER BOOK OF CARDINAL ALBRECHT OF BRANDENBERG
Illuminated by Simon Bening
Bruges, circa 1525–1530
Vellum, 337 leaves, 16.8–14 x 11.5–9.6 cm. Text area 10.1 x 6.3 cm, one column, nineteen lines. German text in rotunda. Forty-two full-page miniatures; forty-two, mostly historiated, borders. Red velvet on wooden boards, nineteenth century; with richly chased and silver-gilt

68 (fol. 123v)

mounts and clasps, possibly original, early sixteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 19; 83.ML.115

PROVENANCE: Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, his coat of arms appears on fol. 1; probably Archbishop of Mainz; presumably acquired by Elector Lothar Franz von Schönborn, founder of the Schönborn'schen Bibliothek, Schloss Gaibach, Pommersfelden; Anselm Rothschild, Vienna; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Friedrich Winkler, "Das Gebetbuch des Kardinals Albrecht von Brandenburg," *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 24–25 (1962–1963), 7–82; Joachim Plotzek, *Das Gebetbuch des Kardinals Albrecht von Brandenburg* (Mainz, 1980); Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 286–313.

69. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Rome
Paris, 1544
Uterine vellum, 106 leaves, 14.3 x 8.1 cm. Text area 11.4 x 5.5 cm, one column, twenty-four lines. Latin text in small humanistic rotunda. Thirteen full-page miniatures; each page with a rectangular gold border with masks. Dark red morocco over thin wooden boards, gold-tooled in delicate filigree; outer silver corner pieces and two silver clasps, all with floral pieces; Paris, seventeenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 20; 83.ML.116

PROVENANCE: A member of the Bourbon household; Crewe Hall; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 314–322.

70. LE SETTE ALLEGREZZE DELLA GRAN MADRE DI DIO MARIA
Illuminated by Luigi di Lavende
Paris or Brussels, seventeenth century
Vellum, twenty-one leaves, 10.9 x 8.1 cm, trimmed. Text area 7.3 x 4.5 cm, one column, eight to fourteen lines. Latin and Italian texts in calligraphic Roman rotunda. Title page with letters in gold; seven full-page miniatures in vertical ovals; pairs of tiny landscapes in remaining pages; black borders with gold ornament on every page. Vellum, covered with a thin rose varnish, over paper boards; spine with elaborate blind-tooled ornament, torn; narrow iron clasps extending the width of the covers; gilt edges; third quarter of seventeenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 21; 83.ML.117

PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.

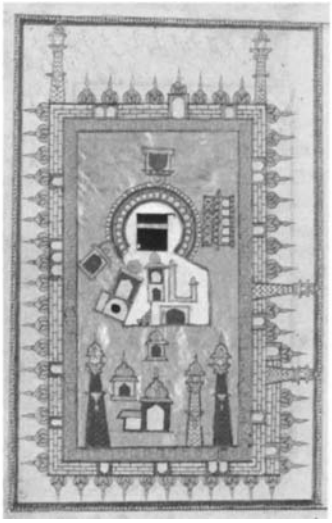
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 323–327.

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS

71. LEAVES FROM A KORAN
Syria or Tunisia, first quarter of tenth century
Vellum, ten leaves (unbound), 14.5 x 20.5 cm. Text area 9.5 x 14.5 cm, one column, five lines. Arabic text in Middle Kufi script. Two illuminated pages.
Ms. Ludwig X 1; 83.MM.118

PROVENANCE: Sultan Mahmud II(?), nineteenth century; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 15–18.



72 (fol. 6)

72. MUHAMMAD IBN ABĪ BAKR IBN SULAIMĀN AL-ĞAZŪLĪ,
Illuminated by Dalā il al-hairāt
Persia, possibly Isfahan, dated 1728
Oriental paper, twenty-four leaves (unbound), mostly single leaves, some bifolia, 23.2 x 15 cm. Miniature dimensions and text area (with frames) 21 x 12.7 cm, one column, seven lines. Arabic text (in part with Persian headings) in later Nashī-Ğalī script. Two full-page miniatures; several illuminated papers. Red morocco case.
Ms. Ludwig X 2; 83.MM.119

PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 19–22.

THEOLOGY

73. LUCIUS CAECILIUS FIRMIANUS LACTANTIUS, *Divinae institutiones, De ira Dei, De opificio,* and *Carmen de ave Phoenice*
Florence, circa 1460
Vellum, 225 leaves, 32.9 x 22 cm. Text area 20.5 x 13 cm, one column, thirty-two lines. Latin and Greek texts in humanistic rotunda. Two-page illuminated frontispiece with historiated initial and miniatures in white vine border; eight other initials. Red, gold-tooled morocco; by Bradel, circa 1800.
Ms. Ludwig XI 1; 83.MN.120

PROVENANCE: Justin de MacCarthy-Reagh; I. Heard, 1815; Thomas Phillipps (Ms. 137); A. Chester Beatty, Dublin; E. Rosenthal, 1933; W. Schab; Thomas E. Marston, 1958; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. de Bure, *Catalogue des livres rares et précieux de la Bibliothèque de feu M. le Comte de MacCarthy Reagh* (Paris, 1815), no. 511; *Catalogus Librorum,* 2; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 47–51.

74. SOPHRONIUS EUSEBIUS HIERONYMUS, letters, hagiographical and polemical writings
Florence, circa 1430–1440
Vellum, 355 leaves, 35.3 x 25.5 cm. Text area 22.5 x 16.5 cm, one column, thirty-five lines. Latin text in delicate humanistic rotunda. One large illuminated initial; one decorated border; numerous small initials throughout. Old red velvet cover, rebacked.
Ms. Ludwig XI 2; 83.MN.121

PROVENANCE: Possibly Bernardo Bembo; C. H. St. John Hornby; J. Rosenthal; J. R. Abbey; Peter and Irene Ludwig

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. J. G. Alexander and A. C. de la Mare, *The Italian Manuscripts in the Library of Major J. R. Abbey* (London, 1969), 29–31, no. 8, Ms. 3227; R. Romer, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus, II/1.2 Grossbrittanien and Irland,* Sitzungsberichte der phil. hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 276 (Vienna, 1972), 281; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 52–56.

75. SOPHRONIUS EUSEBIUS HIERONYMUS, epistles, hagiographical and polemical writings
Ferrara, 1467
Vellum, 228 leaves, 28 x 19.2 cm. Text area 20 x 12 cm, one column, thirty-six lines. Latin text in small humanistic rotunda. One large initial and decorated border on the first page of text. Brown morocco, blind-stamped, in the style of the fifteenth century; by Leighton.
Ms. Ludwig XI 3; 83.MN.122

PROVENANCE: Giovanni Grassi; Battista Panezzio, Ferrara; the Carmelite monastery of San Paolo, Ferrara; Francesco Mainardi, 1810; an Austro-Hungarian nobleman, 1877; Charles Fairfax Murray, 1900; C. W. Dyson Perrins, 1906; A. Rau, 1959; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Warner, no. 73; Bénédictins du Bouverets, *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVIe siècle,* Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia 4 (Fribourg, 1973), no. 9894; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 57–61.

76. GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Dialogorum libri quattuor*
Probably central Italy, first half of twelfth century
Vellum, 130 leaves, 26 x 19 cm. Text area 22.3 x 13 cm, one column, twenty-eight lines. Latin text in Romanesque minuscule. Four large initials; four large drawings of Saint Gregory, Saint Benedictus of Nursia, Saint Paulinus of Nola, and the Virgin and Child. Brown calf spine with gold tooling; eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig XI 4; 83.MN.123

PROVENANCE: Saint Magnus Monastery, Fondi; Monte Cassino Abbey, 1807; Thomas Thorpe; Thomas Phillipps (Ms. 7328); Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. N. L. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library up to the Year 1840,* Phillipps Studies 3 (Cambridge, 1954), 162; *Catalogus Librorum,* 111; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 62–65.

77. ALDHELM OF MALMESBURY, a leaf from *De virginitate*
Probably Canterbury or Worcester, beginning of ninth century
Vellum, one bifolio, 17.8 x 13.2 cm, cut. Text area 14 x 10 cm, one column, twenty-two lines. Latin text in Anglo-Saxon minuscule with commentary in Old English from second half of tenth century. No decoration. Brown morocco with gold-tooling; signed by C. C. MacLeish.
Ms. Ludwig XI 5; 83.MN.124

COMMENTARY: Other leaves from this manuscript are in the Beinecke Library, Yale University, Mss. 401 and 401a; Cambridge, University Library, Add. Ms. 3330; and Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Ms. Lat. th. d. 24 and Don. f. 481; Free Library, Philadelphia, John Frederick Lewis Collection; and British Library, London, Add. Ms. 50483K.

PROVENANCE: James Tregaskis, London; Wilfred Merton, Slindon, 1921; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. A. Lowe, "Membra disiecta," *Revue Bénédictine* 39 (1927), 191–192; R. L. Collins, *Anglo-Saxon Vernacular Manuscripts in America* (New York, 1976), 33–35; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 66–69.

78. EADMER OF CANTERBURY, *De vita et conversatione Anselmi Cantuariensis*
Abbey of Saint-Martin, Tournai, circa

78 (fol. 2v)

1140–1150
Vellum, ninety-six leaves, 18 x 11 cm. Text area 12.5 x 7 cm, one column, twenty-two lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule of the twelfth century. Two full-page miniatures and three large illuminated initials. Old brown calf over wooden boards; old rebacking; bosses removed; modern leather clasp.
Ms. Ludwig XI 6; 82.MN.125

PROVENANCE: Abbey of Saint-Martin, Tournai; Count Guillaume de Hemricourt de Grunne, Brussels; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Philibert Schmitz, "Un manuscrit retrouvé de la 'Vita Anselmi' par Eadmer," *Revue Bénédictine* 40 (1928), 225–234; A. Boutemy, "Les miniatures de la *Vita Anselmi* de Saint-Martin de Tournai," *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 13 (1943), 117–122; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 70–73.

79. LIFE OF SAINT HEDWIG OF SILESIA (Hedwig Codex)
Court atelier of Duke Ludwig I of Liegnitz and Brieg
Silesia, 1353
Vellum, 204 leaves, 33.8 x 24.5 cm. Text area 24.5 x 18 cm, two columns, twenty-four lines. Latin text in textura. One full-page miniature (25 x 17.5 cm); sixty-four half-page miniatures; one double-page genealogical table. Original red-stained pigskin over wooden boards; rebacked.
Ms. Ludwig XI 7; 83.MN.126

PROVENANCE: Duke Ludwig I of Liegnitz and Brieg; cathedral of Saint Hedwig, Brieg, circa

79 (fol. 12v)

1398, given by J. Breuner to Duke Christian of Brieg, 1630; Franz Gottfried von Troilo, Lassoth; Duke Julius Heinrich of Saxe-Lauenburg, Schlackenwerth, near Karlsbad, middle seventeenth century; by descent to Maria Benigna, wife of Ottavio Piccolomini; Piarist monastery, Schlackenwerth, 1701; Stadtbibliothek Schlackenwerth, 1876; Rudolf Ritter von Guttman, Vienna; confiscated from him in 1938 and placed in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, ser. nov. 2741; returned to Guttman, 1947, with him in Royal Oak, Canada, until 1964; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Braunfels, ed., *Der Hedwigs-Codex. Sammlung Ludwig*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1972); Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 74–81.

80. INVENTION ET TRANSLATION DU CORPS DE SAINT ANTOINE
Probably Bruges or Ghent, circa 1460–1470
Vellum, fifty-six leaves, 24.5 x 17.3 cm. Text area 15.5 x 11 cm, one column, twenty-two lines. French text in *bâtarde*. Two half-page miniatures; eight smaller miniatures; nineteen historiated initials. Saffron-colored doeskin; two leather ties removed; gilt edged; possibly eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig XI 8; 83.MN.127

PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Schnitzler, ed., *Grosse Kunst des Mittelalters aus Privatbesitz*, ex. cat. (Cologne, Schnütgen-Museum, 1960), no. 113; A. Legner, "Zur Präsenz der grossen Reliquienschreine in der Ausstellung Rhein und Maas," in Schnütgen-Museum *Rhein und Maas* (Cologne, 1973), vol. 2, 70, 83; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 82–88.

81. LE MIROIR DE HUMAINE SALVATION
French translation of *Speculum humanae salvationis*
France or Netherlands, circa 1450–1460
Vellum, ninety-five leaves, 31 x 22 cm. Text area (including miniatures) 22 x 13.5–14.5 cm, two columns, twenty-four lines. French text in *bâtarde*. One hundred ninety half-page miniatures; numerous illuminated initials. White morocco with blind-ruled borders; by Anthony Gardner, Chiddingfold, 1955.
Ms. Ludwig XI 9; 83.MN.128

PROVENANCE: Henri Batault, 1861; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 89–94; Adrian Wilson and Joyce Lancaster Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror: Speculum humanae Salvationis* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, forthcoming).

82 (fol. 2)

82. SAINT AUGUSTINE, *Cité de Dieu*
French translation of *De civitate Dei* with commentary by Raoul de Presles
Nantes, 1440 or after 1450
Vellum, 262 leaves, 35.8 x 27 cm. Text area 23 x 16.5 cm. Text area of decorated pages with *fleuronnée* 31.5 x 23 cm, two columns, fifty-two lines. French text in *bâtarde*. One half-page miniature, ten smaller miniatures (one column wide). Worn red velvet cover; gilt edges; nineteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig XI 10; 83.MN.129

PROVENANCE: (?) Jean du Bellay; Bishop of Poitiers, fifteenth century; private collection, Paris, twentieth century; Henri Schiller, 1951; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Schaefer, "Le Maître de Jouvenal des Ursin (Coppin Delf?), Illustrateur du 'Speculum historiale' de Vincent de Beauvais," *Arquivos de Centro cultural português* 8 (1974), 99ff; E. Konig, *Französische Buchmalerei um 1450* (Berlin, 1982), 50, 70–75, 79, 91, 94–95, 104, 106, 158, 165, 169, 178, 183, 190, 197, 210, 216, 242–245, 251, 253–254; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 95–101.

83. GUILLELMUS, TEXTORIS DE AQUISGRANO, *Praticande circa agoniam morituri aut infirmum morti proximum*
Aachen, June 5, 1501 (with additions)
Vellum, eighty-three leaves, 17.7 x 12.6 cm. Text area 13.8 x 9.1 cm, one column, thirty lines. Latin text in Gothic script. Original brown calf binding with blind-stamping; rebacked and upper corners restored; remains of a single brass fore-edge clasp; paper label on front corner printed with *2*; brown calf fragment removed from spine, possibly original.
83.MN.191; Ludwig XI 11 (not in catalogue)

PROVENANCE: Library of the Collegiate Church of Saint John the Baptist, Aachen; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

PHILOSOPHY

84. ARITHMETIC TABLE
Probably northern Italy, first half of fourteenth century
Wood, 30 x 24 cm (D: 2.5 cm). Modern green box.
Ludwig Instrumenta 1; 83.MI.143

PROVENANCE: A. Figdor, Vienna; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. W. Tuer, *History of the Horn-Book* (London, 1896), 147–148; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 133–136.

85. MISCELLANY
Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus, *Institutiones II*, and Saint Augustine, *Excerpts*
Probably Abbey of Saint-Germain, Auxerre, third quarter of ninth century
Vellum, 109 leaves, 24.5 x 18 cm. Text area 19.5 x 13 cm, one column, twenty-one lines. Latin and Greek texts in Carolingian minuscule. Many diagrams in text. Brown calf with gold tooling.
Ms. Ludwig XII 1; 83.MO.130

PROVENANCE: Bouché, before 1852; Guglielmo Libri; Thomas Phillipps (Ms. 16278); Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Catalogus Librorum*, 313; R. A. B. Mynors, ed., *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones* (Oxford, 1937), xxxi, xxxiii; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 137–140.

86. ISIDOR OF SEVILLE, *Etymologiae*
Probably Spain, middle of thirteenth century
Vellum, 129 leaves, 30 x 20 cm. Text area (outer, double ruled) 29 x 17 cm. Text area (text) 22 x 14 cm, two columns, forty-six lines. Latin text in

early Gothic textura. Small diagrams and pen drawings; numerous pen-and-ink initials. Probably original wooden boards with the remains of a red-stained sheepskin; restored in the late Middle Ages with undyed leather.
Ms. Ludwig XII 2; 83.MO.131

PROVENANCE: A. Chester Beatty, Dublin; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 141–144.

87. VENERABLE BEDE, *Computus, Kalendarium, De natura rerum, De temporibus, De temporum ratione* with commentary and scholium, *Abbreviatio Chronicae, Annales Laudunenses, Annales Trevirensis*
Laon, shortly after 876; Trier, ninth and tenth centuries
Vellum, ninety-seven leaves, 26 x 22.5 cm. Text area 21.2 x 17 cm, one column, forty-three to thirty-four lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. Calendar tables, diagrams, drawings, and map. Possibly the original oak boards with pigskin cover; blind-stamping, dated *1750* on the front cover.
Ms. Ludwig XII 3; 83.MO.132

PROVENANCE: Probably Manno (b. 843), Laon and subsequently Trier; Abbey of Saint Maximin, Trier; Joseph Gorres, Koblenz, by 1805, until 1902; Thomas Freiherr von Cramer-Klett, Hohenaschau; Harrison D. Horblit; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Chroust, *Monumenta Palaeographica, Denkmäler der Schreibkunst des Mittelalters,* pt. 1, 2nd ser. (Munich, 1909?), vol. 3, pl. 9; J. J. Contreni, "The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930. Its Manuscripts and Masters," *Münchner Beiträge zur Mediavistik und Renaissance-Forschung* 29 (Munich, 1978), 68, n. 13, 124, 137ff., 150–151, 174–75, no. 121; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 145–153.

88. AMBROSIUS THEODOSIUS MACROBIUS, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*
Southern Germany, second half of tenth century
Vellum, thirty-two leaves, 26.5 x 19.5 cm. Text area 22.5 x 14 cm, one column, thirty-seven lines. Latin and some Greek in Carolingian minuscule. Nine diagrams. Brown calf cover with blind-stamping; eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig XII 4; 83.MO.133

PROVENANCE: Hans Albrecht von Dershau, Nuremberg; Thomas Phillipps (Ms. 1287); Harrison D. Horblit; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Catalogus Librorum,* 213; M. Destombes, *Mappemondes A.D. 1200–1500. Monumenta Cartographica Vetustioris Aevi* (Amsterdam, 1964), vol. 1, 43 (no. 2 = no. 4), 322; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 154–157.

89 (fol. 151v)

89. COLLECTION OF TEXTS BY PLINY, ISIDOR, EUCLID, BOETHIUS, GUIDO MACROBIUS, AND HYGINUS
England, early twelfth century with supplements from early thirteenth as well as fifteenth/sixteenth century
Vellum, 219 leaves, 24 x 15.2 cm, heavily trimmed. Text areas 21 x 12.5, 22.5 x 14, 19 x 12.5, and 20.5 x 13 cm; one column; forty-nine/fifty, thirty-three, thirty-five, or forty-four lines. Latin text in Carolingian and early Gothic minuscule as well as cursive. Thirty-one pen drawings of constellations; numerous tables and diagrams. Brown, gold-tooled calf; probably seventeenth century.
Ms. Ludwig XII 5; 83.MO.134

PROVENANCE: John Huntly de Balyol, seventeenth century (?); Ford Abbey, Devonshire, nineteenth century; Thomas Phillipps (Ms. 12 145); Robert B. Honeyman, Jr., San Juan Capistrano, California, 1955; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. U. Faye and W. H. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1962), 19, no. 1; "Bulletin Codicologique," *Scriptorium* 18 (1964), 306, no. 676; *Catalogus Librorum,* 213, no. 12145; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 158–169.

90. MISCELLANY
Part 1: Gaudefredus di Meldis, *Calendar, Construction of Astrolabes;* Johannes de Sacrobosco, *Algorismus* and *De sphaera, De epicyclis et eccentricis, Astronomica*
France, first half of fourteenth century
Part 2: Summa Dictaminis, after Bernardus Magdunensis
France, second half of thirteenth century
Vellum, 133 leaves, 18 x 11.7 cm. Text area of part 1, 13 x 8 cm, of part 2, 15 x 8.5 cm; one column, thirty-one/thirty-two lines. Latin and French text in textura and textualis in part 1, early Gothic minuscule in part 2. Four diagrams; numerous tables. Brown leather, blind-tooled and stamped; four bosses and two clasps of leather and brass lost; probably French, second half of fourteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig XII 6; 83.MO.135

PROVENANCE: Piloseti(?), fifteenth century; Harrison D. Horblit; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 170–175.

91. COLLECTION OF ASTRONOMICAL AND RELATED TREATISES
Ptolemaic constellation cycles and calendar; Nicholas of Lynn, *Tabulae astronomicae* and *Canones super kalendarium;* William Reade, *Tabulae mediorum motuum planetarum A.O.*
England, probably Oxford or Worcester, late fourteenth century
Vellum, eighty leaves, 21.5 x 15.5 cm. Text area 16–15.5 x 10.5–11 cm, one and two columns, thirty-five/thirty-six lines. Latin text in textura and *bâtarde.* Forty-six pen and ink drawings of constellations; numerous tables, charts, and diagrams in pen and ink. Black morocco with simple gold-tooled border; by Katherine Adams, 1920.
Ms. Ludwig XII 7; 83.MO.136

PROVENANCE: Probably a member of Merton College, Oxford University;(?) Radulphus Moulder and Thomas Gloucester, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; Sydney C. Cockerell; Mrs. Schilling; Harrison D. Horblit; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Saxl and H. Meier, *Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters*, vol. 3, *Handschriften in englishen Bibliotheken*, 2 parts, ed. H. Bober (London, 1953), xxx, 275–279 and LXXI, figs. 178–180; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 176–182.

92. MISCELLANY
Beschreibung des Menschen and Liber synonimorum; Planeten—und Planeten Kinder, Tierkreis und Kometen; Namenmantik und Geomantie
Ulm, third quarter of fifteenth century
Paper, 184 leaves, 30 x 21.5 cm. Text area 23.2 x 15.5 cm, one or two columns, thirty or thirty-nine/forty lines. German text in *bâtarde*. Seven half-page drawings in pen and watercolor; numerous other drawings in pen and watercolor; many tables in pen. Original pigskin cover, with tooled flowers and leafed rosettes, acorns, lilies, and banderoles with the inscription: *maria*.
Ms. Ludwig XII 8; 83.MO.137

PROVENANCE: Probably Anton Schermar, Ulm, seventeenth century; Ulm Cathedral, where Schermar's library was kept, nineteenth century; Stadtbibliothek, Ulm; again Ulm Cathedral, 1903; Dr. Eitel Albrecht Schad von Mittelbiberach, administrator of the Schermar Foundation, Gauting, 1959; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Hauber, *Planetenkinderbilder and Sternbilder. Zur Geschichte des menschlichen Glaubens und Irrens*, Studien zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte 194 (Strasbourg, 1916), 43ff., 124, 128, 133, 135, 139, 141; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 183–187.

93. JOHANNES REGIOMONTANUS,
Kalendarium und Almanach
Probably Austria, circa 1475–1485
Paper, 377 leaves, 16.2 x 12 cm. Text and table text area 12–13 x 8.5–9 cm, one or several columns, thirty-five lines. Latin text in *bâtarde*. Astronomical tables. Original brown leather, blind-ruled and blind-stamped; restored on spine; engraved brass and leather clasps.
Ms. Ludwig XII 9; 83.MO.138

PROVENANCE: Count Gabor von Festetics de Tolna, Keszthely, Lake Balaton, nineteenth century; Harrison D. Horblit; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 188–191.

94. THEORICA PLANETARUM
Volvelles and diagrams of the calculation of the movements of the planets, based upon the *Almagest* of Ptolemy
Italy, last quarter of the sixteenth century
Paper, thirty-three leaves, 40 x 29 cm. Latin titles and diagram captions in humanist cursive. Volvelles and full-page diagrams in pen and ink on every other page. Original parchment cover.
Ms. Ludwig XII 10; 83.MO.139

PROVENANCE: M. Giovanelli(?), nineteenth century; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 192–195.

95. JOHANNES BALBUS IANUENSIS,
Catholicon
Written by Heinrich Lengfelt
Augsburg, completed 1458
Vellum, 326 leaves, 53 x 36 cm. Text area 41 x 26.5 cm, two columns, sixty-eight lines. Latin text in Gothic-antiqua; one historiated initial; several other large and smaller illuminated initials. Original calf, blind-stamped in a panel pattern.
Ms. Ludwig XII 11; 83.MO.140

PROVENANCE: The Augustinian monastery of Heiligen Kreuz (Creutzherren), Augsburg, circa 1783; Albert Natural, Geneva; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Gercken, *Reisen durch Schwaben, Baiern, angrenzende Schweiz, Franken, und die Rheinische Provinzen etc. in den Jahren 1779–1782*, ed. I. Theil (Stendal, 1783), 258f.; J. W. Bradley, *A Dictionary of Miniaturists, Illuminators, Calligraphers, and Copyists* (London, 1887–1889; reprinted New York, 1973), vol. 2, 190; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 196–200.

96. TRAICTE DE ALKIMIE
Paris, circa 1539
Vellum, eighty-six leaves, 19.5 x 12.3 cm. Text area 13.7 x 7.2 cm, one column, fourteen lines. French text in humanist book hand. Half-page illuminated coat of arms. Original brown leather; blind-tooling in oxidized silver; fleur-de-lys pattern surrounding coat of arms on front cover; pattern with winged beast on back cover.
Ms. Ludwig XII 12; 83.MO.141

PROVENANCE: Anne de Montmorency, sixteenth century; Blanchemain; Baron Jerome Pichon; Guyot de Villeneuve; Edmond Rahir, Paris; Cortland Field Bishop (Ms. 79); Lathrop C. Harper; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. J. Wilson, "Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Alchemical Manuscripts in the United States and Canada," *Osiris* 6 (1939), 649–655, no. 15; Samaran and R. Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste* (Paris, 1959), vol. 1, 179; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 201–204.

97. VICTOR MELIAND,
Conclusiones ex philosophia universa
Written by Nicolas Jarry; illuminated by Nicolas Robert; with appended printed edition containing etchings after Robert by Pierre Daret
Paris, 1647
Vellum, twenty leaves, 46.5 x 34.3 cm. Text area (with frames) 35.5 x 24.7, (without frames) 25.3 x 16.3 cm, one column, mostly thirty lines. Latin text in humanist minuscule. Illuminated title page over full-page miniature; twelve pages with full illuminated borders; one full-page painting of a crown imperial flower. Fifteen pages of etchings after the illuminated originals. Green morocco with gold-tooling; gilt edge; by Nicolas-Denis Derôme the Younger, eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig XII 13; 83.MO.142

PROVENANCE: Armand de Bourbon, seventeenth century; Justin de MacCarthy-Reagh; L. Wilmerding; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. W. Bradley, *A Dictionary of Miniaturists, Illuminators, Calligraphers, and Copyists* (London, 1887–1889; reprinted New York, 1973), vol. 2, 148; R. Portalis, "Nicolas Jarry et la calligraphie au XIIIe siècle," *Bulletin du Bibliophile et du Bibliothécaire*, 1896, 644–645, no. 104; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 205–208.

HISTORY

98. PETRUS COMESTOR, *Historia scholastica*
Austria, circa 1300
Vellum, 346 leaves, 34.2 x 24.4 cm. Text area 24.5 x 16 cm, two columns, thirty-eight lines. Latin text in textura. Sixteen historiated initials; two large illuminated initials with dragon figures. White pigskin with blind-tooling; four brass and leather clasps and corner fittings; eighteenth century.

Ms. Ludwig XIII 1; 83.MP.144

PROVENANCE: Cistercian monastery of Hohenfurt, South Bohemia (Ms. CXXXVIII), until the 1920's; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Schmidt, "Ein Buchmaleratelier der 'Übergangszeit'," in Wiener Neustedt, *Die Zeit der frühen Habsburger Dome und Klöster 1279–1379* (Vienna, 1979), no. 210, 418–419; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 226–229.

99. BROTHER PHILIPP, a leaf from the *Life of the Virgin*
Bavaria, circa 1330–1350
Vellum, 32.5 x 22 cm. Text area 23.5 x 15.5 cm, two columns, forty-one lines. Middle High German text in textura. One illuminated *bas-de-page*. Matted; modern red morocco case.
Ms. Ludwig XIII 2; 83.MP.145

COMMENTARY: The leaf belongs to Ms. 303 (2897) of the Schönborn'schen Bibliothek, Schloss Gaibach, Pommersfelden.

PROVENANCE: Richartz collection, Amsterdam; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Köllner, *Miniaturen des 11. bis 18. Jahrhunderts aus einer Amsterdamer Sammlung*, typescript ex. cat. (Marburger, Universitätsmuseum, 1965/66), no. 16; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 230–233.

100. HISTOIRE ANCIENNE JUSQU'A CESAR
Paris, circa 1400
Vellum, six leaves with original red foliation on the upper edges of recto and verso, 38 x 29.5 cm. Text area 25 x 19 cm, two columns, forty-two lines. French text in *bâtarde*. Nine miniatures. Matted.
Ms. Ludwig XIII 3; 83.MP.146

PROVENANCE: Antoine Moriau, Paris, eighteenth century; Charles Gillet, Lyons; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: V. Leroquais, *Exposition des manuscrits à peintures du VIe au XVIIe siècle*, ex. cat. (Bibliothèque de la Ville de Lyon, 1920), no. 23; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 234–237.

101. CHRONIQUE DE NORMANDIE
Paris, circa 1400–1415
Vellum, 144 leaves, 29 x 19 cm. Text area 19.2 x 12.8 cm, two columns, thirty-three to thirty-five lines. French text in *bâtarde*. Illuminated title page; one two-column miniature; eleven smaller *grisaille* miniatures (one-column wide); six large initials; later frontispiece with arms of Claude de Lorraine, Duc d'Aumale. Brown morocco; blind-tooling in the style of the fifteenth century with lilies and tendril borders; by Francis Bedford (1799–1883), London.
Ms. Ludwig XIII 4; 83.MP.147

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by David de Rambures; Thomas Meredyth; Claude de Lorraine, Duc d'Aumale, sixteenth century; Thomas Jones of Hafod, early nineteenth century; fourth Duke of Newcastle; Earl of Lincoln; Martin Bodmer; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 238–242.

102. VINCENT DE BEAUVAIS, *Miroir historial* (Volume One)
French translation of *Speculum historiale* by Jean de Vignay
Ghent, circa 1475
Vellum, vol. 1: 191 leaves, vol. 2: 232 leaves, both 43.8 x 30.5 cm. Text area 29 x 20 cm, two columns, forty-two lines. French text in *bâtarde*. Many large miniatures (two-columns wide); numerous smaller miniatures (one-column wide). Brown morocco with partially gilt blind-tooling; by Francis Bedford (1799–1883), London.
Ms. Ludwig XIII 5; 83.MP.148

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Lannoy, Picardy; Antoine de Lannoy, sixteenth century; Jean de Lannoy and heirs; William Horatio Crawford, Lakelands, Cork; Charles Fairfax Murray, 1891; C. W. Dyson Perrins, 1906; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Warner, no. 101; D. J. A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus* (London, 1963), 22; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 243–249.

103. HISTOIRE DE CHARLES MARTEL
Compiled and written by David Aubert in Brussels, 1463–1465; illuminated in Bruges by Pol Fruit and Loyset Liédet, 1470–1472
Vellum, fifteen leaves, all cut down, originally 41.3 x 29.5 cm, now mostly 23.5/22.5 x 19.5/18.5 cm. Original text area 26.4–26.7 x 17–17.4 cm, one column, twenty-nine lines. French text in *bâtarde*. Fifteen half-page miniatures. Matted.
Ms. Ludwig XIII 6; 83.MP. 149

COMMENTARY: These leaves belong to the nearly complete manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royal Albert, Brussels, Ms. 6–9. Another leaf is in the Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, inv. no. 1345.

PROVENANCE: Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy; Charles the Bold; Library of Burgundy; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 250–256.

104. JEAN FROISSART, *Chroniques* (Volume Three)
Bruges, circa 1480–1483
Vellum, 366 leaves, 48 x 35 cm. Text area 29 x 19.3 cm, two columns, thirty-nine lines. French text in *bâtarde*. Twenty-five half-page miniatures; thirty-nine smaller miniatures. Green morocco with gold-tooling in the rectangular style; corner and center ornaments; London, seventeenth century.
Ms. Ludwig XIII 7; 83.MP.150

COMMENTARY: This is the third of four volumes. Volumes two and four are in the British Library, London, Royal Ms. 18E.I.II. The whereabouts of the first is unknown.

PROVENANCE: Possibly King Edward IV of England and possibly in the Royal Library, Richmond Palace, sixteenth century; James de Rothschild; Edmond de Rothschild; Alexandrine de Rothschild; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 257–266.

105. GAIUS JULIUS CAESAR, *Bellum Gallicum, Bellum civile, Bellum Alexandrinum, Bellum Africanum,* and *Bellum Hispaniense*
Florence, circa 1460–1470
Vellum, 187 leaves, 32.7 x 28.8 cm. Text area 21 x 12.8 cm, one column, thirty-two lines. Latin text in humanistic rotunda. Two-page illuminated frontispiece with historiated initial and decorative border; several illuminated initials. Gold-tooled vellum covers; probably from the eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig XIII 8; 83.MP.151

PROVENANCE: Probably Rodolfo Baglioni, Florence; Sir George Shuckburgh; Major N. D. Martin; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

104 (fol. 274v)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. C. de la Mare, "Vespasiano da Bisticci, Historian and Bookseller," (Ph.D. diss., London, 1965), 459; V. Brown, "Portraits of Julius Caesar in Latin Manuscripts of the Commentaries," *Viator* 12 (1981), 341, no. 12; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 267–271.

106. MATTHIAS VON KEMNAT, *Chronik Friedrichs I*
Heidelberg, circa 1475–1576
Paper, ninety-eight leaves, 32.5 x 21.5 cm. Text area 24–27 x 14.5–15 cm, one column, forty-seven to fifty-one lines. Latin and German texts in prose and verse, in *bâtarde* and humanist cursive. Numerous pen and ink diagrams. Original red sheepskin over wooden boards; stamped and with polished blind lines; four corner pieces with bosses; squared rosette in center with boss; brass and metal clasps; by the Augsburg court binder Albertus, active circa 1465–1482.
Ms. Ludwig XIII 9; 83.MP.152

PROVENANCE: Franz Melchior, Graf von Wiser, seventeenth century; Ferdinand Andreas, Graf von Wiser; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 272–276.

107. GENEALOGY, WITH PORTRAITS OF THE REGENTS OF BAVARIA, GUELPH, AND WITTELSBACH (Incomplete)
Probably Munich, second half of sixteenth century
Paper, twenty-four single leaves, 20.5 x 15.5 cm. Twenty-eight portraits in pen, ink, and colored washes; ten portraits in pen and ink. Old parchment cover over paper boards.
Ms. Ludwig XIII 10; 83.MP.153

PROVENANCE: Savile family; Thomas Phillipps (Ms. 20760); Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Catalogus Librorum*, 384; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 277–281.

108. HAUSCHRONIK DER GRAFEN VON ZOLLERN
Probably illuminated by Jorg Ziegler
Augsburg and Rottenburg, circa 1570–1575
Vellum, thirty-six leaves, 35 x 28 cm. Illustrations approximately 33.5 x 27 cm; text area 24.5 x 16 cm, one column, varying number of lines. German text in *Reinkurrent* script. Twenty-one full-page, full-length portraits. Brown, gold-tooled calf; monogram *AK* in ligature on front cover above, dated 1572 below; two ties of green silk; probably Augsburg, 1572, or after 1574; similar to bindings by Jacob Kraus, Heinrich Preisenberger, and others.
Ms. Ludwig XIII 11; 83.MP.154

PROVENANCE: Karl I, Count von Zollern, and his wife Anna; their daughter Marie Jakobe and her husband Leonhard V. von Harrach, Rohrau; at Rohrau until the end of the nineteenth century; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 282–290.

109. GENEALOGY OF THE DERRER FAMILY
Nuremberg, circa 1626–1711
Vellum, 169 leaves, 37.5 x 26 cm. Text area 27 x 17 cm, one column, thirty-six lines. German text in *Fraktur* script. Illustrated title page; numerous full-page illustrations and coats of arms. Original dark brown velvet over wooden boards; gilt edges; eighteenth century, badly damaged.
Ms. Ludwig XIII 12; 83.MP.155

PROVENANCE: Christoph Derrer and his family, Nuremberg; James A. Rothschild; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 291–297.

110. HISTORIA HENNEBERGICO-COBURGICA
Genealogy with official portraits of the Counts of Henneberg
Thuringia, first half of eighteenth century
Paper, 133 leaves, 35 x 21 cm. Text

area 24.5 x 16 cm, one column, twenty-eight to thirty-one lines. Latin and German texts in humanist cursive and German cursive. Thirty-seven full-page drawings in wash and ink; one etching. Patterned paper with pigskin spine.
Ms. Ludwig XIII 13; 83.MP.156

PROVENANCE: Johann August Vackerodt of Frauenfels, 1774; Princes of Liechtenstein; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 298–301.

111. PETRUS ROSELLI, portolan map
Majorca, 1469
Vellum, one leaf, 111 x 66 cm. Colored inks; Latin headings in humanist minuscule. Wooden case.
Ms. Ludwig XIII 14; 83.MP.157

PROVENANCE: Harrison D. Horblit; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 302–304.

112. PORTOLAN ATLAS
Workshop of Battista Agnese
Venice, circa 1536–1538
Vellum, seven bifolia pasted together back-to-back, 40 x 56 cm; borders of the map 38 x 55 cm. Various inks and pigments, place names in Latin, Spanish, and Italian in humanist minuscule. Brown morocco, polished blind-ruled and gold-tooled borders; Venice, before 1541.
Ms. Ludwig XIII 15; 83.MP.158

PROVENANCE: Tommaso Campeggio, Bishop of Feltre; Paolo Giovio, Bishop of Nocera, sixteenth century; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 305–308.

113. MARTIN DE MURUA, *Historia general del Perú*
La Plata, circa 1611–1613
Paper, 397 leaves, 29 x 20 cm. Text area 25.5 x 15.5 cm, one column, thirty-one to thirty-five lines. Spanish text in humanist cursive. Many full-page drawings in pen and wash. Red, gold, and black, tooled morocco; by Winstanley and Robotti, 1961.
Ms. Ludwig XIII 16; 83.MP.159

PROVENANCE: Colegio Mayor de Cuenca, University of Salamanca; King Carlos IV of Spain; Joseph Bonaparte; Sir Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington; the Dukes of Wellington, Stratfield Saye, until 1979; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Ballesteros-Gaibrois, "La Historia General del Perú del Mercedario Fray Martín de Murúa," *Thirtieth International Congress of Americanists* (Cambridge, 1952), 239–242; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 309–313.

114. CERTIFICATES OF NOBILITY GRANTED BY KING CARLOS IV OF SPAIN
Charters in booklet form with seal
Madrid or Escorial, 1792
Vellum, seven leaves, 31 x 20.5 cm. Text area (outer frame) 22.2 x 14.5 cm and (inner frame) 18.2 x 10.8 cm, one column, twenty-one lines. Spanish text in Roman rotunda. Illuminated title page; three large illuminated initials. Red morocco, gold-tooled garland borders; red seal in a round silver box attached to a red cord.
Ms. Ludwig XIII 17; 83.MP.160

PROVENANCE: Marie Thérèse de Bourbon, niece of King Carlos IV; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 314–316.

115. GLOBE
Jodocus Hondius, Amsterdam, and Johann Baptist Vriendt, Antwerp
Amsterdam, 1601
Paper on wood, hollow, Diam: 21 cm. Topographical headings in Latin and Spanish. Engraved and painted.
Ludwig Instrumenta 2; 83.MT.161

PROVENANCE: Archduke Albrecht VII of Austria and his wife Isabella; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. C. Brown et al., *The Splendors of Dresden*, ex. cat. (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978), no. 9; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 317–319.

LAW

116. CANONES CONCILIORUM ET DECRETA PONTIFICUM
Italy, last third of eighth century
Vellum, ninety-four leaves, 22 x 17 cm. Text area 16.5 x 13 cm or 17.5 x 13.5 cm, one column, twenty-four/twenty-five or nineteen/twenty lines. Latin text in pre-Carolingian half-uncials with additions in Roman cursive. Some initials in brown ink, modeled in green. Brown morocco, gold-tooled, by Lortic.
Ms. Ludwig XIV 1; 83.MQ.162

PROVENANCE: Thomas Phillipps; Martin Bodmer; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini antiquiores* (Oxford, 1935), vol. 2, no. 143; B. Bischoff, "Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen," in *Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, Wolfgang Braunfels, ed., vol. 2, *Das Geistige Leben* (Düsseldorf, 1965), 251, n. 139; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

117. GRATIAN, *Concordia discordantium canonum (Decretum Gratiani)*
Benedictine abbey of Saint-Colombe-les-Sens, France, circa 1180
Vellum, 239 leaves, 44 x 29 cm. Text area 27.5 x 15.5 or 30 x 27 cm, two columns plus glosses, fifty-nine/sixty lines. Latin text in textura. Two full-page miniatures, numerous historiated initials; other illuminated initials. Leather with blind-stamping, rebacked and corners repaired; sixteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig XIV 2; 83.MQ.163

PROVENANCE: Antoine Lacombe; C. W. Dyson Perrins; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Warner, no. 2; Kunsthalle, Cologne, *Weltkunst aus Privatbesitz*, ex. cat. (Cologne, 1968), no. D 57; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

118. GRATIAN, *Concordia discordantium canonum (Decretum Gratiani)*
Bologna, beginning of fourteenth century
Vellum, 369 leaves, 41.5 x 28 cm. Text area 25 x 14.5 or 39.5 x 25 cm, two columns plus glosses, fifty to one hundred lines. Latin text in littera Bononiensis. Thirty-six small miniatures, one-column wide. Brown calf, blind-ruled in a diaper pattern; rebacked.
Ms. Ludwig XIV 3; 83.MQ.164

PROVENANCE: Petrus Boyre, 1339; Johannes de Paca de Sicilia; Austrian imperial family; Joel Spitz, Glencoe, Illinois; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

119. VIDAL DE CANELLAS, *In excelsis Dei thesaurus (Vidal Mayor)*
Barcelona, circa 1260–1280
Vellum, 277 leaves, 36.5 x 24 cm. Text area 22.5 x 15–16.5 cm, two columns, thirty-three lines. Latin and Spanish texts in textura. Ten large historiated initials; numerous smaller historiated initials; hundreds of smaller illuminated initials. Modern green morocco, gold-tooled; by Riviere.
Ms. Ludwig XIV 4; 83.MQ.165

PROVENANCE: Don Luis Franco y López; Charles Fairfax Murray; C. W. Dyson Perrins; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Warner, no. 112; G. Tilander, *Vidal Mayor. Traducción aragonesa de la obra excelsis Dei thesaurus* (Lund, 1956); Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

120. JOHANNES MONACHUS (Jean Le Moine), *Apparatus sexti libri Decretalium*
France, first half of fourteenth century
Vellum, 108 leaves, 40.7 x 28 cm. Text area 30 x 18 cm, one column, sixty lines. Latin text in a littera Bononiensis resembling textura. Brown morocco, blind-tooled; probably Spanish, fifteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig XIV 5; 83.MQ.166

PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

121. JEREMIAS DE MONTAGNONE, *Compendium moralium notabilium*
Northern Italy, last third of fourteenth century
Vellum, 281 leaves, 36.8 x 25.6 cm. Text area 23 x 15.5 cm, two columns, thirty-four lines. Latin text in textura. Numerous historiated initials. Red velvet; gilt corner and center pieces; gilt edges.
Ms. Ludwig XIV 6; 83.MQ.167

PROVENANCE: Orseoli, Venice; Carthusian monastery near Padua; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

122. BARTOLO DE SASSOFERRATO, *Prima pars Infortiati*
Ferrara, circa 1400
Paper, 190 leaves, 41.5 x 28 cm. Text area 29 x 18 cm, two columns, sixty-five lines. Latin text in textura. One half-page miniature; several historiated initials. Red morocco, gold-tooled; French, eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig XIV 7; 83.MQ.168

PROVENANCE: Heinrich Kannegiesser, Cologne, fifteenth century; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

123. MISCELLANY: LEGAL TEXTS
Disputados de Aragon (assembled for Luys Diaz Daux, Señor de Sisamon); *Actos de Cort,* 1436 (assembled for King Juan of Navarre and Viceroy Alfonsos of Aragon); *Ordinances of Don Dalman* (assembled for the Archbishop of Saragosa)
Aragon, 1505
Vellum, sixty-four leaves, 35 x 25 cm. Text area 23 or 25.5 x 14.5 cm, one column, forty-one lines. Spanish text in textura. One large illuminated initial. Old dark brown morocco with elaborate blind-tooled designs.
Ms. Ludwig XIV 8; 83.MQ.169

PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

124. JACQUES LEGRAND (Jacobus Magnus), *Livre de Bonnes Meures*
Avignon, circa 1430
Vellum, eighty-eight leaves, 24.8 x 17.8 cm. Text area 15.5 x 11 cm, one column, twenty-nine lines. French text in *bâtarde;* five half-page miniatures. Blue morocco, gold-tooled; French, eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig XIV 9; 83.MQ.170

PROVENANCE: Justin de MacCarthy-Reagh; John Broadley; D. S. Ker; J. Vernon; Cortland F. Bishop; B. F. Stevens; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1937), vol. 2, 1658; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

LITERATURE

125. AESOP, fables and moral-theological writings
Southwestern Germany, circa 1450
Paper, 120 leaves, 28.9 x 21.6 cm. Text area 21.5 x 13.8 cm, one column, thirty to forty-two lines. Latin text in *bâtarde.* Contains 163 drawings in pen and wash. Pigskin, blind-ruled and stamped; brass bosses and clasp fixtures.
Ms. Ludwig XV 1; 83.MR.171

PROVENANCE: Stadtbibliothek, Trier; C. W. Dyson Perrins; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Warner, no. 122; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

126. BESTIARY AND RELATED TEXTS
Athanasios Monachos, *Physiologos,* and other texts by Athanasios, Johannes Chrysostomos, and Kyrillos of Alexandria
Probably eastern Mediterranean region, circa 1470–1480
Paper, 172 leaves, 21.7 x 15.8 cm. Text area about 16.5 x 11.5 cm, one column, twenty-four to twenty-seven lines. Greek text in archaic minuscule. One full-page drawing; thirty-two smaller drawings; twenty-one schematic figures. Probably original brown calf, blind-tooled.
Ms. Ludwig XV 2; 83.MR.172

PROVENANCE: Ignatios; Frederick North, Fifth Earl of Guilford; Thomas Phillipps; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

127. HUGO DE FOUILLOY, *Aviarium, Tractatus de pastoribus et ovibus,* and *Excerpta bestiarii*
Northeastern France, circa 1270
Vellum, 102 leaves, 19.1 x 14.2 cm. Text area 13.5 x 9.4 cm, two columns, twenty-nine lines. Latin text in a Gothicizing Carolingian minuscule. One full-page miniature; several half-page miniatures; numerous smaller miniatures (one- and two-columns wide). Brown morocco, gold-tooled; by Katherine Adams.
Ms. Ludwig XV 3; 83.MR.173

PROVENANCE: Joseph Barrois, Lille; Bertram, Fourth Earl of Ashburnham; Charles Fairfax Murray; C. W. Dyson Perrins; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Warner, no. 26; M. R. James, *The Bestiary* (London, 1928), II; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

128. HUGO DE FOUILLOY, *Aviarium, Tractatus de pastoribus et ovibus,* and *Excerpta bestiarii;* Anonymous, *Mirabilia mundi;* Wilhelm von Conches, *Philosophia mundi*
Northeastern France, circa 1277
Vellum, 203 leaves, 23 x 16.4 cm. Text area 15.5 x 11.2 cm, three columns, forty-eight lines. Latin text in a Gothicizing Carolingian minuscule. Ninety-four miniatures, full-page and smaller. Paneled calf; England, eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig XV 4; 83.MR.174

PROVENANCE: Humphrey of Gloucester; Edmundus Lathamus; John Arundell of Trerice; Sion College, London; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford, 1969), vol. 1, 283ff; H. Stahl, "Le bestiaire de Douai," *Revue de l'Art* 8 (1970), 7ff; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

129. ROMAN DU BON CHEVALIER and TRISTAN FILS AU BON ROY MELYADUS DE LEONOIS
Paris, circa 1300
Vellum, 388 leaves, 39 x 30 cm. Text area 31.7 x 21.2 cm, three columns, forty-eight lines. French text in textura. Numerous miniatures; numerous illuminated initials. Tan calf, arms of Roxburghe gold-stamped on cover.
Ms. Ludwig XV 5; 83.MR.175

PROVENANCE: Guyon de Sardière; duc de la Vallière; John, Third Duke of Roxburghe; E. V. Utterson; R. Heber; Thomas Phillipps; Martin Bodmer; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

130. HELIE DE BORRON, *Roman du Roy Melyadus de Leonois*
Italy, middle of fourteenth century
Vellum, 288 leaves, 36 x 23.5 cm. Text area 27 x 16.8 cm, two columns, forty-six lines. French text in textura.
Ms. Ludwig XV 6; 83.MR.176

PROVENANCE: John, Third Duke of Roxburghe; Robert Lang, Portland Place, London; Thomas Phillipps; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

131. GUILLAUME DE LORRIS and JEAN DE MEUNG, *Roman de la Rose*
Paris, circa 1405
Vellum, 138 leaves, 36.7 x 26 cm. Text area 26 x 16.9 cm, two columns, forty-four lines. French text in textura. One hundred and one miniatures, one-column wide. Red morocco, gold-tooled; France, eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig XV 7; 83.MR.177

PROVENANCE: Jean du Rueil; Louis-Jean Gaignat; Charles-Adrien Picard, Paris; Claude-Joseph Clos; William Beckford; Alexander, Tenth Duke of Hamilton; Royal Museum, Berlin; Albert de Naurois; Adolphe Bordes; Jacques Guerin; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. de Ricci, "Les Pérégrinations d'un Manuscrit du Roman de la Rose," *Revue des Bibliothèques* 20 (1910), 81–82; E. Langlois, *Les Manuscrits du Roman de la Rose* (Lille and Paris, 1910), 211–212; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

132. QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS, *Historia Alexandri Magni Macedonis*
French translation by Vasco de Lucena
Written by Jean du Quesne in Lille, after 1474; illuminated in the workshop of the Master of Margaret of York in Bruges, circa 1475–1480
Vellum, 237 leaves, 43 x 32.5 cm. Text area 25.7 x 20.8 cm, two columns, thirty-two lines. French text in *bâtarde.* One full-page miniature; ten half-page miniatures; three smaller miniatures (one-column wide). Old red velvet; engraved brass clasps; gilt edges.
Ms. Ludwig XV 8; 83.MR.178

PROVENANCE: Probably Antoine de Croy; Prince Rudolf Kinsky; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

133. RUDOLF VON EMS, *Barlaam and Josaphat*
Workshop of Diebold Lauber
Hagenau, 1469
Paper, 379 leaves, 28.5 x 20.5 cm. Text area 18 x 11 cm, one column, twenty-one to twenty-five lines. German text in *bâtarde.* One hundred thirty-eight full-page miniatures. Old pigskin, roll-stamped; traces of clasps and brass bosses.
Ms. Ludwig XV 9; 83.MR.179

PROVENANCE: Hans von Falkenstein, Alsace; Martin Bodmer; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

134. TOURNAMENT BOOK AND HERALDIC TEXTS
Jacob Püterich von Reichertshausen, *Der Ehrenbrief,* and Johann Holand, *Collection of Coats of Arms*
Southern Germany, third quarter of the sixteenth century
Tournament book with woodcuts mostly by Jost Amman, Frankfurt, printed in 1578
Paper, fifty leaves, 30.5 x 19.2 cm. Text area and lines variable. German text in calligraphic Renaissance cursive script. Two full-page illustrations; numerous smaller illustrations (mostly half-page); hundreds of coats of arms. Old vellum binding.
Ms. Ludwig XV 10; 83.MR.180

PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

135. J. D. RAMIER DE RAUDIERE, *Le Triomphe de la Sympathie*
Written by Ramier de Raudière
Aachen, 1780
Paper, eighty-two leaves, 23.3 x 18 cm. Text area 19.8 x 15.2 cm, one column, seventeen lines. French text in calligraphic script. One calligraphic title page. Original morocco, gold-tooled.
Ms. Ludwig XV 11; 83.MR.181

PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

136. OLIVE SCHREINER, *The Story of a Hunter*
Written by Graily Hewitt; illuminated by Florence Cockerell
England, 1908
Vellum, eighteen leaves, 21.7 x 13.5 cm. Text area 12.4 x 8.3 cm, one column, twenty lines. English text in calligraphic Roman minuscule. Illuminated frontispiece; one full-page and four smaller miniatures. Blue morocco, gilt-tooled; by Katherine Adams.

Ms. Ludwig XV 12; 83.MR.182

PROVENANCE: C. W. Dyson Perrins, who commissioned the manuscript; J. R. Abbey; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

137. FIORE FURLAN DEI LIBERI DA PREMARIACCO, FIOR DI BATTAGLIA
Probably Ferrara, circa 1410
Vellum, forty-seven leaves, 28 x 20.5 cm. Text area 20.5 x 16.4 cm, two columns, unlined. Italian text in *bâtarde*. Illuminated frontispiece; two illuminated initials; nearly three hundred pen drawings, mostly quarter-page, many with burnished-gold details. Light brown calf, blind-tooled; Italian, circa 1800.
Ms. Ludwig XV 13; 83.MR.183

PROVENANCE: Possibly Nicolo III of Ferrara; Nicolo Marcello di Santa Marina, Venice; Apostolo Zeno; Luigi Celotti; Thomas Phillipps; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

138. TOURNAMENT BOOK
Augsburg, third quarter of sixteenth century
Paper, sixty-six leaves, 43 x 28.7 cm. Text area and lines variable. German text in Gothic print. Full-page illustrations in watercolor on nearly every page, many as double folio compositions. Original brown calf, blind-tooled; rebacked.
Ms. Ludwig XV 14; 83.MR.184

PROVENANCE: Octavius Betta, 1574; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

139. BONUS SOCIUS
Northern France, end of fourteenth century
Vellum, 104 leaves, 24.5 x 16.6 cm. Text area 16.2 x 10.1 cm, one column, thirty-two lines. French text in cursive book hand. Half-page illustrations of chess strategies on all but two pages. Brown morocco with gold-stamping; rebacked.
Ms. Ludwig XV 15; 83.MR.185

PROVENANCE: George Douglas, Kelso, Scotland; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

140. CHESS BOOK AND OTHER TEXTS
Jacobus de Cessolis, *Ludus schaccorum;* Isidor of Seville, *Imago mundi;* Petrarch, poetry; Bonus de Luca, *Computus lunaris*
Written by Franciscus Gennay
Northern Italy, 1409
Vellum, 175 leaves, 19 x 12 cm. Text area 13.1 x 7.7 cm, one column, twenty-six to forty-two lines. Latin text in textura. Twelve illustrations in pen. Dark brown calf, gold-tooled; seventeenth-century.
Ms. Ludwig XV 16; 83.MR.186

PROVENANCE: Thomas Phillipps (Ms. 4570); Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming); Dennis Dutschke, ed., *Census of Petrarch Manuscripts in the United States* (Padua, forthcoming 1984).

DOCUMENTS

141. PAPAL BULL OF POPE INNOCENT IV
Pro vestro Collegio
Civita Castellana, June 20, 1244
Vellum, one leaf, 23.4 x 24.5 cm. Latin text in chancery script. Without seal.
Ludwig Document 1; 83.MU.187

PROVENANCE: Minorite monastery, Cologne; Thomas Phillipps; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

142. PAPAL BULL OF INNOCENT IV
Quoniam uit ait Apostolus
Lyons, February 15, 1245
Vellum, one leaf, 27 x 29.4 cm. Latin text in chancery script. Without seal.
Ludwig Document 2; 83.MU.188

PROVENANCE: Minorite monastery, Cologne; Thomas Phillipps; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

143. PAPAL LETTER OF ALEXANDER IV
Intimantibus nobis
Anagni, April 29, 1259
Vellum, one leaf, 23.5 x 30.5 cm. Latin text in chancery script. Without seal.
Ludwig Document 3; 83.MU.189

PROVENANCE: Minorite monastery, Cologne; Thomas Phillipps; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

144. PAPAL BULL BY NICOLAS IV
Quoniam uit ait Apostolus
Rieti, September 5, 1289
Vellum, one leaf, 37.5 x 46.5 cm. Latin text in chancery script.
Ludwig Document 4; 83.MU.190

PROVENANCE: Minorite monastery, Cologne; Thomas Phillipps; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

PAINTINGS

ITALIAN

1

1. DOSSO DOSSI (Giovanni de' Luteri)
Italian, active 1512–died 1542
Mythological Scene, 1530's
Oil on canvas, 160 x 132 cm (63″ x 52″)
83.PA.15

COMMENTARY: The acquisition of this Ferrarese painting allows us for the first time to study the details of its mystifying subject as well as its origins and condition—a process that will take some months to complete. Initial cleaning and X-ray photography have revealed that the composition, as it appears now and has been known for the past century or more, is not what Dosso intended. The enigmatic woman at the left, dressed in green and wearing a breastplate with a red cape swirling around her, was originally painted out by the artist and was only revealed much later when someone scraped away the landscape and lake that covered her. X-rays show that she once held a viola da gamba that is still mostly covered by the tree. Also revealed were a suit of armor that hung on the tree and is now painted out and various other changes of a more minor nature. The realization that the final composition was intended to contain just three figures makes it easier to accept Gibbons' theory that the subject of the painting is Pan and Echo, although this remains uncertain. Research may eventually help determine whether the Museum's painting could have belonged to a known series of mythological canvases in Ferrara, presumably commissioned by the Este family, but even by itself, the Getty canvas represents one of the pinnacles of cinquecento painting in Italy.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Italy; William, Fourth Marquess of Northampton, Ashby Castle, by circa 1855; by descent to the Seventh Marquess of Northampton.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Mendelsohn, *Das Werk der Dossi* (Munich, 1914), 140–142; A. Mezzetti, *Il Dosso e Battista ferrarese* (Milan, 1965), 45–46, 76; F. Gibbons, *Dosso and Battista Dossi* (Princeton, 1968), 86–92, 170.

2

2. DOMENICHINO (Domenico Zampieri)
Italian, 1581–1641
Christ Carrying the Cross, circa 1610
Oil on copper, 53.7 x 68.3 cm (21⅛″ x 26⅝″)
83.PC.373

COMMENTARY: This painting, executed around 1610 on a large copper plate, is one of the most important easel paintings from the early part of Domenichino's career. Nothing is known about its origins beyond the fact that a number of figure studies for it exist at Windsor in the royal collections. It has long been considered by historians to be one of the artist's masterpieces, a work to which he gave particular care. The figure of Christ is rendered with an extraordinary sense of volume, and the strong coloring has retained its impact because of the copper support, the condition of which is superb. A comparison with old prints after the painting suggests that the composition may have been trimmed around the sides; but since the current dimensions match precisely those recorded in the eighteenth century, it is equally possible that the painting was temporarily enlarged with additions that have since been removed.

PROVENANCE: Abbé de Camps, Paris, in 1699; Marquis de Seignelay; duc d'Orléans, Paris, by 1727 (sale, Lyceum, London, December 26, 1798, lot 89); Duke of Bridgewater; by descent to Earl of Ellesmere, London (sale, Christie's, London, October 18, 1946, lot 83); private collection, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Germain Bazin, *L'ideale classico del Seicento in Italia e la pittura di paesaggio,* ex. cat. (Città di Bologna V mostra biennale d'arte antica, Palazzo dell' Archiginnasio, 1962), 100–101, no. 20; E. Borea, *Domenichino* (Florence, 1965), 168, no. 24; Richard Spear, *Domenichino*

(London and New Haven, 1982), vol. 1, 56, 172, no. 36.

3

3. GIULIO CESARE PROCACCINI
Italian, 1574–1625
Coronation of the Virgin, late 1610's(?)
Oil on panel, 97 x 72 cm
(38¼″ x 28¼″)
83.PB.24

COMMENTARY: This painting is still unpublished, and nothing is known about its early history. On the reverse it carries an inscription and a seal with a coat of arms that may eventually reveal its origin. In the meantime one can only conjecture about its role in Procaccini's oeuvre. It is apparently not a *modello* for a larger painting, as the very elaborate finish and wooden support indicate that it was intended as an autonomous work. Procaccini painted other independent small-scale works of this type, and they are generally considered to be his most successful productions. Hugh Brigstocke has verbally suggested that such paintings were responsible for the considerable influence that Procaccini had on the artists of other cities, such as Genoa, where Strozzi and Valerio Castello, among others, adopted his brilliant technique. Brigstocke also dates our panel fairly late in the artist's career, after the Modena *Circumcision* of 1616. A drawing for the three principal figures in the *Coronation of the Virgin* was in the Dubini collection in Milan, but it shows them composed slightly differently.

PROVENANCE: De Jong family, Brussels and Paris; Jacques-Henri de Jong, Geneva; Jean-Pierre Selz, Paris and New York.

4

4. BERNARDO CAVALLINO
Italian, 1616–circa 1656
The Shade of Samuel Invoked by Saul, circa 1650–1656
Oil on copper, 61 x 86.5 cm (24″ x 34″). Monogrammed *BC* at lower left.
83.PC.365

COMMENTARY: The subject of this painting is taken from 1 Sam. 26:7–12. It shows Saul consulting the spirit of Samuel about the outcome of an impending battle against the Philistines. The painting is said to have come from a Spanish collection, along with the *Mucius Scaevola before Porsenna* also by Cavallino (Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum); *Jonah Preaching before Ninevah* by Vaccaro (location unknown); and a fourth copper of an unknown subject (location unknown). The unusual subjects are linked by a common theme: a king, warned that his course of action will lead to his death and the destruction of his people, repents and averts disaster. Warnings against military action and corruption would have been especially appropriate in 1647–1648 during the Masaniello Revolt in Naples. The painting, however, has been dated to the 1650's on stylistic grounds.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Madrid; [Somerville and Simpson, London, in 1981]; private collection, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Clovis Whitfield and Jane Martineau, *Painting in Naples, 1606–1705*, ex. cat. (London, Royal Academy of Arts, and Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1982–1983), 147; Ann Percy and Ann Tzeutschler Lurie, *Bernardo Cavallino of Naples*, ex. cat. (Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art; Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum; and Naples, Museo Pignatelli Cortes; forthcoming, 1984–1985).

5

5. CANALETTO
(Giovanni Antonio Canal)
Italian, 1697–1768
View of the Dogana, Venice, 1744
Oil on canvas, 60.3 x 96 cm (23¾″ x 37¾″). Inscribed *Ant. Canal Fecit. MDCCXLIV* at lower left.
83.PA.13

COMMENTARY: Although it appears peripherally in a large number of Canaletto's paintings, the Dogana was a central theme in only three works. This painting, heretofore unpublished, makes it the focus of an elaborate composition that includes boats and a schooner flying an English flag. The schooner appears to be almost as much the focus of the work as the Dogana, implying perhaps that the painting was commissioned by an Englishman who arrived on this vessel, which does not seem to appear in any other of Canaletto's paintings.

Works both signed and dated by Canaletto are fairly rare, and of the nineteen recorded instances, all but five are in the English royal collections, acquired from the famous collection of Consul Smith, who got them directly from the artist. All but two in this collection are dated from the years 1742–1744, a period during which Canaletto created his best paintings. The *View of the Dogana, Venice*, dated 1744, belongs, therefore, in style and character to this very special phase of the artist's work, and it possibly also had some connection with Consul Smith, Canaletto's greatest patron.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Paris; private collection, Europe, 1937–1981; [Wildenstein and Co., New York].

6

DUTCH

6. JOACHIM WTEWAEL
Dutch, 1566–1638
Mars and Venus Surprised by the Gods, circa 1606–1610
Oil on copper, 20.25 x 15.5 cm (8″ x 6⅛″). Inscribed *JOACHIM WTEN/ WAEL FECIT* at lower right.
83.PC.274

COMMENTARY: In the *Metamorphoses* (4.177ff.), Ovid tells how Vulcan assembled the gods to surprise his wife, Venus, in bed with Mars. In this small panel Joachim Wtewael depicts this titillating narrative with the appropriate raucous humor. The astonished lovers recoil as Vulcan draws the net from the bed. Cupid and Apollo raise the canopy for a peek, while a gleeful Mercury looks up to Diana in the clouds. Saturn and Jupiter crane their necks to behold the embarrassed adulterers. The rhythmically paired, heroic nude figures show Wtewael at the height of his inventive powers as a Mannerist artist.

Mars and Venus seem to have been favorite subjects of Wtewael. An earlier but closely related treatment of the Ovidian narrative is in the Mauritshuis in The Hague. Moreover, Van Mander, whose *Schilder-boeck* first appeared in 1603, singled out for praise two "excellent, small, upright paintings on copper" of Mars and Venus. It is unlikely, however, that the Getty copper is identical with either of these if, as Anne Lowenthal suggests, it is datable to circa 1610.

A preparatory study for the figures of Saturn and Diana is in the Prentenkabinett in Leiden (pen and brown ink with wash, 12.8 x 16.7 cm, inv. no. PK 6866), and Lowenthal identifies another related drawing, *Venus at the Forge of Vulcan* (The Saint Louis Art Museum, pen and gray-brown ink with gray wash, 33.5 x 23 cm, inv. no. 126:66), in which the poses of Vulcan and an assistant resemble the two different figures of Vulcan in the painting under consideration here.

PROVENANCE: Count Stroganoff, Saint Petersburg, by 1807 (sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 22, 1924, lot 1); Jules Bache, New York (sale, Kende Galleries, New York, April 23, 1945, lot 4); [Gumuchian and Co., New York, 1945]; private collection, New York, circa 1945–1975; sale, Sotheby's, London, July 6, 1983, lot 69; [Hoogsteder-Naumann, Ltd., New York, 1983].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Anne Walter Lowenthal, *Joachim Wtewael and Dutch Mannerism* (forthcoming).

7

7. AMBROSIUS BOSSCHAERT THE ELDER
Dutch, 1573–1621
Flower Still Life, 1614
Oil on copper, 28.6 x 38.1 cm (11¼″ x 15″). Inscribed *.AB. 1614.* in monogram at lower left.
83.PC.386

COMMENTARY: With the rise of interest in exotic flowers and gardening, flower painting had become popular by the early seventeenth century in Holland. The pioneers of this tradition were Jan Brueghel the Elder in the southern Netherlands and the Dutchmen Ambrosius Bosschaert, Roelandt Savery, Jacques de Gheyn, and Balthasar van der Ast.

Ambrosius Bosschaert, the founder of a dynasty of fruit and flower painters, influenced the development of Dutch flower painting past the middle of the seventeenth century. The artist is best known for his vertical compositions of flowers in niches, and this arrangement is a rare departure in type. Only four such baskets of flowers are known today, three of which have been discovered since 1980 (Bergstrom, 66–75). While all are signed in monogram, only the Getty painting is dated.

Typically for Bosschaert and his followers, this bouquet contains a profusion of flowers that could not have bloomed in the same season: roses of different kinds, tulips, forget-me-nots, lilies of the valley, a cyclamen, a violet, a *Fritillaria meleagris,* and a hyacinth (Bergstrom, 67). The symmetry and calculated placement of each blossom, their enamel-like translucence, crisp contours, and brilliant colors account for the painter's fame. The small group of four paintings of baskets of flowers exercised a formative influence on van der Ast, who adopted the flower basket as one of his favorite themes.

PROVENANCE: Zickenbraht, Berlin, circa 1911; Carl S. Mahler, Berlin; private collection, Great Britain (sale, Christie's, London, December 2, 1983, lot 122).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ingvar Bergstrom, "Baskets with Flowers by Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder and Their Repercussions on the Art of Balthasar van der Ast," *Tableau,* vol. 6, no. 3 (December 1983/January 1984), 66–75.

8a (*A Merry Company*)

8b (*A Jeu de Paume*)

8. ADRIAEN VAN DE VENNE
Dutch, 1589–1662
A Merry Company in an Arbor, 1614
A Jeu de Paume before a Country Palace, 1614
Oil on panel, each 15.8 x 21.6 cm (6¼" x 8½"). *Merry Company* signed *AV* [in monogram] *VENNE* 1614 at lower left; *Jeu de Paume* signed *AV* [in monogram] *V* [illegible] 1614 at lower center.
83.PB.364 1–2

COMMENTARY: The Mannerist tradition represented by Joachim Wtewael's mythological paintings was supplanted in the first two decades of the seventeenth century by scenes of aristocratic and bourgeois life set in interiors or in the open air. Typical of such settings are the elegant garden in *A Merry Company in an Arbor* or the park in *A Jeu de Paume before a Country Palace,* companion paintings executed by Adriaen van de Venne in 1614. In *A Merry Company* the playful activities depicted range from elegant ladies making music to jesters leaping from trees and gallant young men playing hide-and-seek.

A Jeu de Paume before a Country Palace illustrates the so-called balloon game, which became popular in the Netherlands circa 1580. The wooded landscape with its open fields and streams echoes the Flemish tradition of Jan Brueghel the Elder and reflects the strong link between sixteenth-century Flemish landscape painting and seventeenth-century Dutch landscape painting.

For Adriaen van de Venne, an important figure in Dutch book illustration, as well as for his contemporaries, activities of the type represented in these two paintings probably had symbolic significance and provided an opportunity for moralizing commentary on various forms of social behavior. Bol has pointed out, moreover, that the romantic and leisure activities of gentlemen and ladies in idyllic settings look forward to the art of Watteau (Bol, 255).

PROVENANCE: Ralph Bernal, London (sale, Christie's, London, March 10, 1855, lot 616); Henry Lee (sale, Christie's, London, May 1, 1889, lots 40, 41, bought in [?]); Frederick Lee; British Red Cross Sale, Christie's, London, April 20, 1918, lot 1911; [Agnew's, London]; [Frank Partridge, London, by April 22, 1918]; Sir John Ramsden, Bulstrode, Gerrards Cross, Buckinghamshire (sale, Christie's, London, May 27, 1932, lot 46); Machonachie; private collection, U.S.A. (sale, Christie's, London, March 30, 1979, lots 9, 10); [John Hoogsteder, Ltd., The Hague].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Laurens J. Bol, "Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne schilder en teyckenaer, II Zomerlandschappen. De 'Schildery-Winckel' gezien als een Middelburgs cultureel centrum," *Tableau,* vol. 5, no. 3 (December 1982/January 1983), 254–255.

9

9. AELBERT CUYP
Dutch, 1620–1691
A View of the Maas at Dordrecht, circa 1645–1646
Oil on panel, 50 x 107.3 cm (19¾" x 42¼"). Signed *A. Cuyp* at lower left.
83.PB.272

COMMENTARY: The Maas and the city of Dordrecht comprised the subject of a number of paintings by Cuyp, but his wide-angle views of the river are relatively rare. An earlier treatment, unfortunately cut up, is now divided between the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and the Museum der bildenden Künste in Leipzig. A later version with Dordrecht on the left

is in the Rothschild collection, Ascot, Buckinghamshire.

The Getty painting represents Dordrecht on the right with Zwijndrecht opposite. Alan Chong has identified two drawings related to the composition, a view of Zwijndrecht in black chalk and gray wash (18 x 30.9 cm, Christie's, Amsterdam, November 16, 1981, lot 55) and a view of Dordrecht in the Hamburger Kunsthalle (no. 29339) that may, however, be after the painting. *A View of the Maas at Dordrecht* is almost certainly datable before 1647 when a number of changes occurred in the Dordrecht skyline. A date of about 1645–1646 seems likely.

PROVENANCE: Johan van der Marck, Amsterdam (sale, Amsterdam, August 25, 1773, lot 47); Fouquet; Jules Porges, Paris; L. Koppel, Berlin; Bachstitz, 1949; [J. Rosenberg, New York, in 1953]; [Edward Speelman, Ltd., London, in 1954]; private collection; [Edward Speelman, Ltd., London, in 1983].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Hofstede de Groot, *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke der hervorragendsten holländischen Maler des XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Esslingen am Neckar and Paris, 1907), vol. 2, no. 648b; Stephen Reiss, *Aelbert Cuyp* (Boston, 1975), 63, no. 32, ill.

10

10. GERARD TER BORCH
Dutch, 1617–1681
A Maid Milking a Cow in a Barn, circa 1650
Oil on panel, 47.5 x 50 cm (18¾″ x 19⅝″). Illegible remains of a signature appear above the trough on the right.
83.PB.232

COMMENTARY: Representations of stables were popular with Dutch painters during the 1640's. Among the artists who portrayed such scenes were Cornelis and Herman Saftleven, Egbert van der Poel, Govaert Camphuisen, and Isaac van Ostade. *A Maid Milking a Cow* is a rare example of the stable theme by Gerard Ter Borch, who brought to it some of the artistic concerns characteristic of his better-known domestic interiors. Shrouding the setting in a dull gray light, Ter Borch illuminated the contrasting textures of the figures and utensils in the foreground with characteristic finesse and subtlety. He infused the scene with the quiet concentration of the bourgeois interiors produced during his maturity.

S. J. Gudlaugsson has dated this painting early in the artist's career, shortly after 1650, based on its similarity to the portrait of the *Family of Grinders* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie), which can be securely dated between 1650 and 1654. A painting of similar dimensions, executed about 1654 and representing a horse in a stable (private collection, California), is a variation on the theme represented here. Gudlaugsson also lists a copy of the Getty painting on canvas in a private collection in Prague.

PROVENANCE: Samuel van Huls (sale, The Hague, September 3, 1737, lot 87); William Lormier (sale, The Hague, November 10, 1756, lot 298); Galitzin collection, Saint Petersburg; Dr. P. V. Delaroff, Saint Petersburg; A. K. K. W. Erasmus, Aerdenhout; Frau Bertha Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, Essen; Dr. A. Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, Essen; Waldtraut Thomas (née von Bohlen und Halbach); sale, Christie's, London, December 11, 1981, property of two sisters, withdrawn; [Edward Speelman, Ltd., London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Hofstede de Groot, *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke der hervorragendsten holländischen Maler des XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Esslingen am Neckar and Paris, 1907), vol. 5; S. J. Gudlaugsson, *Katalog der Gemälde: Ter Borch* (The Hague, 1960), vol. 1, *Gerard Ter Borch*, 75–76, and vol. 2, *Katalog der Gemälde: Gerard Ter Borchs*, 94, no. 74, fig. 74; Mauritshuis, The Hague, and Landesmuseum, Münster, *Gerard Ter Borch Zwolle 1617 Deventer 1681*, ex. cat. (The Hague and Münster, 1974), 92–93, no. 18.

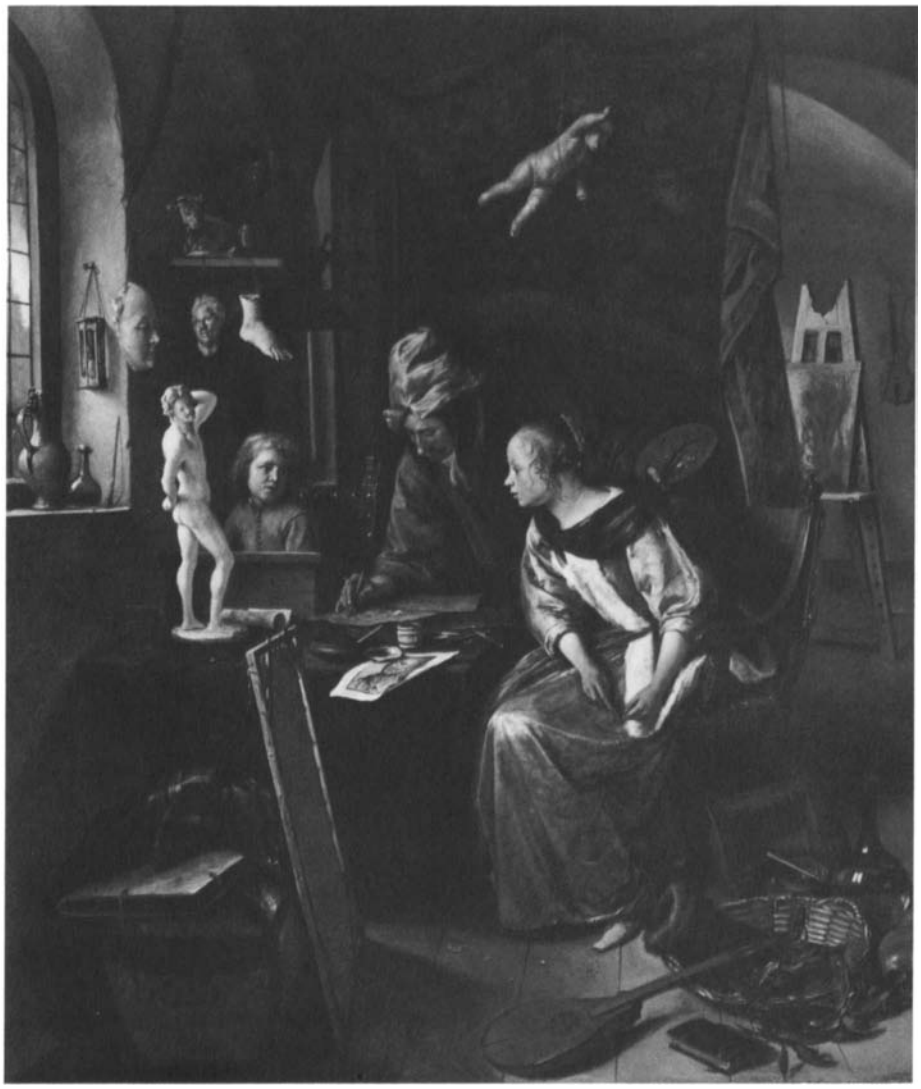
11. JAN STEEN
Dutch, 1626–1679
The Drawing Lesson, circa 1665
Oil on panel, 48 x 40 cm (18½″ x 15¾″). Inscribed *JS* [in monogram] *ti*--- [unclear] at lower left.
83.PB.388

COMMENTARY: In *The Drawing Lesson*, Jan Steen depicts a painter, who bears a striking resemblance to himself, instructing a young woman in his studio. The woman has been identified as one of Steen's daughters, probably Eva, and the young apprentice as his son Cornelius. The studio is filled with plaster casts: a putto, a resting cow, a head, a face, a foot, and a male nude. Steen appears to be correcting his student's study of the nude. On the table, a chiaroscuro print by Jan Lievens (Hollstein, no. 106) is visible; the painter's easel stands in the background; and a large tapestry that figures in many of Steen's paintings, as well as assorted artist's paraphernalia, appears together with more familiar still life elements. The student's complete absorption in her task establishes the tone of the painting, which lacks the broadly humorous elements that have earned Steen his fame.

The Drawing Lesson shows Steen at his most accomplished as a painter of light, color, and texture. Moreover Martin has argued that such details as the laurel crown in the right foreground make *The Drawing Lesson* something other than a witty commentary on human behavior. It may represent an allegory of painting. This subject was also treated by another Dutch artist Frans van Mieris the Elder in a painting executed in 1661 and now in the Getty Museum. Furthermore, if Martin's dating for the Steen, circa 1663, is correct as seems likely, Jan Vermeer's famous *Allegory of Painting* was almost certainly executed within the same decade. The iconography of *The Drawing Lesson* merits closer scrutiny.

The pose of the woman is followed in a painting of this subject in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (no. 78) that has been called a late work of the artist.

PROVENANCE: Probably sale, Amsterdam, May 15, 1708, lot 7; F. van Hessel, Utrecht (sale, Amsterdam, April 11, 1747, lot 1, bought by auctioneer); duc de Lavalliere (sale, Paris, Hôtel de Bullion [A. Paillet], February 21, 1781, lot 74, bought by Roche); [Colnaghi, London, in 1897]; [Forbes and Paterson, London, in March 1901]; [Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell, London,



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in 1907]; A. de Ridder, Cronberg, Germany, by 1913 (sale, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, June 2, 1924, lot 68); [Kleinberger Galleries, New York]; A. Reimann, Sjaelland, Denmark, by 1926.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Hofstede de Groot, *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke der hervorragendsten holländischen Maler des XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Esslingen am Neckar and Paris, 1907), vol. 1, no. 247; A. Bredius, *Jan Steen*, English ed. (London, 1927), 67, no. 25, ill.; W. Martin, *Jan Steen* (Amsterdam, 1954), 17; F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, circa 1450–1700* (Amsterdam, 1955), vol. 11, 77, no. 106; Mauritshuis, The Hague, *Jan Steen*, ex. cat. (The Hague, December 20, 1958–February 15, 1959), not paginated, no. 27.

12

12. JACOB VAN RUISDAEL
Dutch, 1628/29–1682
Landscape with Wheat Field, circa 1670
Oil on canvas, 40 x 46 cm (15¾″ x 18″). Signed *JR* [in monogram] *uisdael* at lower right.
83.PA.278

COMMENTARY: Jacob van Ruisdael captured drama in the most benign views of nature. Low, rolling fields of grain under a sky of billowing clouds were especially popular with this artist. Dutch painters rarely represented grain fields, but more than twenty examples by Ruisdael are known, among them the present canvas, datable to circa 1670. In these works, the artist dramatically contrasted the expanse of the sky and the low fields, the play of sunlight and of shadow across the earth. Ruisdael's profound sense of wonder in the face of the natural world is conveyed in the Museum's painting by the solitary stroller who appears dwarfed by the magnificent setting.

PROVENANCE: Possibly Albertus Brondgeest, Amsterdam; Baron Verstolk van Soelen, The Hague, in 1842–1846; Thomas Baring, London, in 1846; Chaplin; private collection, Scotland, in 1983; [Edward Speelman, Ltd., London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: John Smith, *Supplement to the Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters* (London, 1842), 707, no. 80; C. Hofstede de Groot, *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke der hervorragendsten holländischen Maler des XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Esslingen am Neckar and Paris, 1907), vol. 4, no. 135.

FRENCH

13

13. VALENTIN DE BOULOGNE
French, 1591–1632
Christ and the Adulteress, circa 1620–1630
Oil on canvas, 220 x 168 cm (86½″ x 66″)
83.PA.259

COMMENTARY: The theme and the treatment of the main figures in *Christ and the Adulteress* are related to Valentin's *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* and the *Noli me Tangere* (Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell' Umbria), both dated circa 1620, and the

Christ and the Samaritan Woman of circa 1628 in the Barberini collection, Rome. In this painting, the presence of soldiers and onlookers heightens the emotional tension of the composition. The onlookers appear with shadowed, withdrawn faces; their downcast eyes, perhaps indicating the recollection of their own transgressions, contrast with the intense glances of the two illuminated main figures, whose eyes seem to lock as Christ rises from his stooped posture.

It is possible that the canvas has been trimmed along its lower edge.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Rome, circa 1958; private collection, Milan, 1964; private collection, Switzerland; [Colnaghi, London, 1983].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roberto Longhi, "A propos de Valentin," *La Revue des Arts*, vol. 8, no. 2 (March-April 1958), 59-66, ill.; M. Cinotti, *Maestri della pittura dal '300 al '700*, ex. cat. (Milan, Galleria Levi, 1964), 62-64, no. 23; Jean-Pierre Cuzin and Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée, *Valentin et les Caravagesques français*, ex. cat. (Paris, Grand Palais, 1974), 252; Pierre Rosenberg, *MMAJ* 17 (1984), 44-45; Jean-Pierre Cuzin, forthcoming monograph on Valentin.

14

14. JEAN-BAPTISTE GREUZE
French, 1725-1805
The Laundress (La Blanchisseuse), circa 1760-1761
Oil on canvas, 41 x 33 cm (16⅛" x 13")
83.PA.387

COMMENTARY: Exhibited in the Salon of 1761, Greuze's *Laundress* was acquired by the great collector of French painting Ange Laurent de La Live de Jully (1725-1779), one of the artist's principal patrons at the time. P.-J. Mariette, commissioned to write a catalogue of La Live de Jully's collection in 1764, noted the singularity of this type of painting in the artist's early work: "Ce tableau est un des plus précieux et de plus piquants qu'ait fait ce savant artiste."

Greuze's *Laundress* has obvious connections with Chardin's scenes of servants at work—the artist would have been familiar with Chardin's *Blanchisseuse* (Leningrad, State Hermitage) in the collection of Baron de Thiers—while the mood of license and disarray invokes seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting, particularly the work of Jan Steen.

A painted replica, probably by Greuze and last recorded in the de La Ferronnays' sale, April 12, 1897 (Lugt 55256), has been confused with the original by Seznec and Adhémar (following Smith) in their edition of Diderot's *Salons*.

PROVENANCE: La Live de Jully, Paris (sale, March 5, 1770, acquired by Langlier for Count Gustav Adolph Sparre); Count Gustav Adolph Sparre, Kulla Gunnarstorp; by descent to Count C. de Geer, Wanås; by descent to Elizabeth Wachtmeister, Gustav Wachtmeister, and Alex Wachtmeister, Wanås.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: John Smith, *A Catalogue Raissonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters*, 8 vols. (London, 1837), vol. 8, 408; O. Granberg, *Inventaire général des trésors d'art en Suède* (Stockholm, 1911), 116; Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, *Fem sekler fransk kunst*, ex. cat. (Stockholm, 1958), 78; J. Seznec and J. Adhémar, *Diderot: Salons*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1957), vol. 1, 98-99.

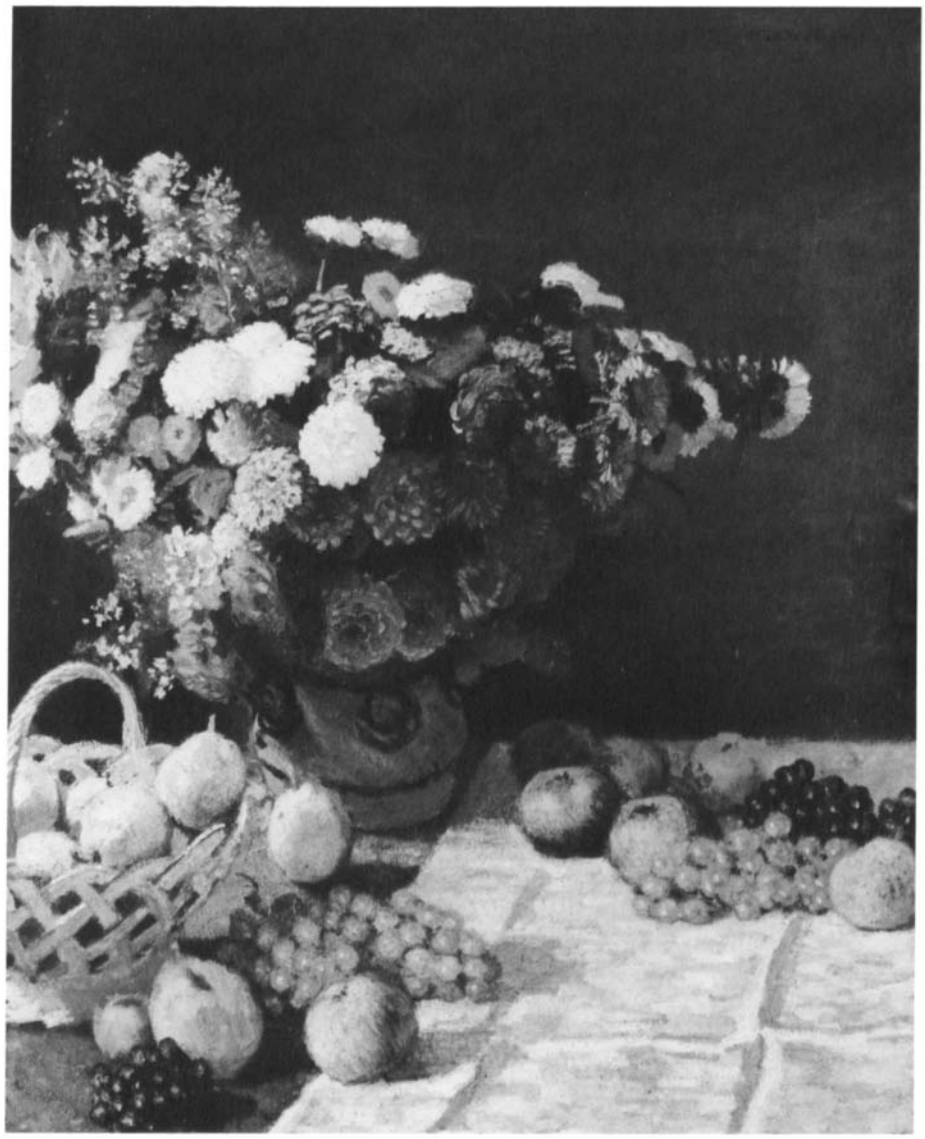
15

15. ANNE-LOUIS GIRODET DE ROUCY TRIOSON
French, 1767-1824
The Burial of Atala, 1808
Oil on canvas, 50.5 x 62 cm (19⅞" x 24⅜"). Monogrammed *GT* on back of canvas.
83.PA.335

COMMENTARY: The subject of this painting is taken from the novel *Atala* by François-René de Chateaubriand published in Paris in 1801. Girodet's treatment of the subject exists in several versions, not only because of his careful development of the composition through a series of studies but also because the great success of the finished picture (Paris, Musée du Louvre) at the Salon of 1808 inspired numerous copies or replicas, some by Girodet himself.

The Getty version is a preliminary study that is close to the final composition. In his first drawings for the painting (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins; Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada), Girodet fixed upon the burial as his subject, grouped his figures as if for an entombment, and experimented with a reversed composition. A small oil study (21.5 x 24.5 cm, private collection, exhibited at the Musée de Montargis, 1967, no. 38) also represents the reversed composition. The freely painted Getty study, close to the Louvre painting in essentials, nevertheless exhibits significant differences: the arrangement of the foliage; the inscription on the cave wall from the Book of Job 14:2 reading *"J'ai passé comme une fleur/J'ai seché comme l'herbe de champs"* (whereas the final version reads *"J'ai passé comme la fleur..."*); and the addition of a strip of brown paint at the upper edge to compress the space.

PROVENANCE: Château de Bourgoin, near Montargis, in 1961; anonymous Swiss collection.



16

16. CLAUDE MONET
French, 1840–1926
Still Life with Flowers and Fruit, 1869
Oil on canvas, 100 x 80.7 cm (39⅜″ x 31¾″). Signed *Claude Monet* at upper right.
83.PA.215

COMMENTARY: Following the jury's refusal of his paintings for the Salon of 1869, Monet spent the summer and autumn of 1869 painting at Bougival—one of the resorts within easy access of Paris. There, he and Renoir painted their celebrated views of La Grenouillière, works that reflect an essential stage in the evolving plein air technique.

Monet's *Still Life with Flowers and Fruit,* painted during this sojourn at Bougival, is another example of a motif shared by both artists. (Renoir's *Still Life* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, reproduces the same vase and flowers in a somewhat different spatial arrangement.) In Monet's painting vigorous impasto and delicate chromatic modulations combine with a feeling for compositional structure that characterizes his greatest paintings of the 1860's. The artist's technique here reveals his debt to the work of Edouard Manet.

PROVENANCE: Rouart collection, Paris; Rosenberg collection, Paris, circa 1904; Prince de Wagram collection, Paris; Ernst collection, Berlin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Rewald, *The History of Impressionism,* 4th rev. ed. (New York, 1973), 230, 232; D. Wildenstein, *Claude Monet, biographie et catalogue raisonné* (Lausanne and Paris, 1974), vol. 1, 45, 180.

17

17. EDGAR DEGAS
French, 1834–1917
Dancer and Woman with Umbrella Waiting on a Bench (L'Attente), circa 1882
Pastel on paper, 48.2 x 61 cm (19″ x 24″). Inscribed *Degas* at upper left.
83.GG.219, owned jointly with the Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena

COMMENTARY: Degas painted or drew the seated dancer massaging her ankle or adjusting her slipper several times circa 1878–1885 (Lemoisne, nos. 658, 698, 699, 826). In this particular painting, the limber, diaphanously clad performer is accompanied by another woman whose heavy black garments and umbrella seem to root her to the bench. The juxtaposition of such different figures, also found in *La Famille Mante* (private collection, New York), invites interpretation. The artist may have intended a contrast between the brilliant, artificial world of the theater and the drabness of everyday life or between active youth and sober, reflective maturity. Louisine Havemeyer, who purchased the pastel from Durand-Ruel in 1895, described the subject as a young dancer from the provinces waiting with her mother for an audition at the Paris opera (*Sixteen to Sixty: Memoirs of a Collector* [New York, 1961], 246). If she is correct, a contrast between the glamorous, albeit brief, career of a Parisian opera dancer and the respectable, perhaps dreary, life of a provincial may also be implied. Each woman is withdrawn, absorbed in her own thoughts, yet shares with the other a sense of tension and anticipation. The subtle bond created as each endures the stress of waiting seems to be the main theme of the composition.

PROVENANCE: Clapisson, Paris, in 1892; [Galerie Durand-Ruel, Paris, 1892–1895]; H. O. and Louisine Havemeyer, New York, 1895–1929;

Horace and Doris Dick Havemeyer, New York (sale, Sotheby's, New York, May 18, 1983, lot 8).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pennsylvania Museum of Art, Philadelphia, *Degas 1834–1917*, ex. cat. (Philadelphia, 1936), 93, no. 41; Lillian Browse, *Degas Dancers* (Boston, n.d.), 362, no. 71; P. A. Lemoisne, *Degas et son oeuvre*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1946), vol. 1, 115, 150, and vol. 2, 394, no. 698.

18

18. PAUL GAUGUIN
French, 1848–1903
Breton Boy with a Goose, 1889
Oil on canvas, 92 x 73 cm (36¼" x 28¾"). Signed and dated *P. Gauguin [18]89* at lower left.
83.PA.14

COMMENTARY: In October 1889, Gauguin retreated to the desolate hamlet of Le Pouldu on the Atlantic coast twenty-five kilometers south of Pont Aven (where he had painted regularly since 1886). During his four-month stay there he produced some thirty works—figure compositions, religious paintings, and landscapes—inspired by the primitive conditions of Le Pouldu and its environs. Acceptance of these harsh realities informs the *Breton Boy*. Autumn is indicated by the changing color of the trees; relentless coastal winds whip through the bleak landscape; and the resignation of the young boy, who is dwarfed by the rocks and trees, creates a mood of melancholy.

Drawings for the goose, the boy, and the swaying evergreen exist in the artist's *Arles Notebook*, published by René Huyghe (*Le Carnet de Gauguin* [Paris, 1952]). The farmhouses in the background appear in *A Breton Farm* (Bürhle collection, Zurich; Wildenstein, no. 370) and *The Milkmaid* (private collection; Wildenstein, no. 343).

PROVENANCE: Joseph Brekpot, Paris (sale, Paris, December 17, 1907); Bernheim Jeune, Paris (sale, March 22, 1909); Gustave Fayet; [Wildenstein and Co., New York, 1941]; Paul Rosenberg, New York, 1945; John H. Blaffer, Houston, 1975; by descent to his daughters, Mrs. Catherine B. Taylor, Mrs. Camilla B. Royall, and Mrs. Sarah B. Hardy, 1981.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Wildenstein, *Paul Gauguin* (Paris, 1964), vol. 1, no. 367; B. Welsh-Ocharov, *Vincent Van Gogh and the Birth of Cloisonism* (Toronto, 1981), 212–213.

SWISS

19

19. JEAN-ETIENNE LIOTARD
Swiss, 1702–1789
Portrait of Maria Frederike van Reede-Athlone at Seven Years of Age, 1755–1756
Pastel on vellum, 53.5 x 43 cm (21" x 17"). Inscribed *peint par/J E Liotard/ 1755 & 1756* at the upper right corner.
83.PC.273

COMMENTARY: Liotard visited Holland in 1755 and remained for over a year, during which time he was patronized by members of the Dutch court and by aristocratic sitters from The Hague, Amsterdam, and Delft. The artist was introduced to the van Reede family by the diplomat William Bentinck, Second Earl of Portland, whose portrait he painted (Loche and Roethlisberger, no. 187). The Baroness van Reede, née Louisa Isabella Hermeline van Wassenaar van Duivenvoorde, who was related to Bentinck's half sister, was painted by Liotard (van Aldenberg Bentinck collection, Château Amerongen, Utrecht), as were her two children. Her seven-year-old daughter, Maria Frederike (1748–1807), is portrayed dressed in a winter cape of blue velvet trimmed with ermine. The sitter's pose recalls that of young Prince William V of Orange Nassau, painted by Liotard the same year (Loche and Roethlisberger, no. 203), but the image is made less formal by the presence of a lap dog and the artist's evident delight in the young girl's fresh and captivating features.

PROVENANCE: Van Heiden Reinenstein family, The Hague, until 1983.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Numa S. Trivas, unpublished manuscript, ex. cat. (Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire), no. 192; A. Staring, *Fransche Kunstenaars en hun Hollandsche Modellen* (The Hague, 1947), 26–30; R. Loche and M. Roethlisberger, *L'Opera Completa di Liotard* (Milan, 1978), no. 191; M. Roethlisberger, forthcoming catalogue raisonné.

SPANISH

20. FRANCISCO JOSE DE GOYA Y LUCIENTES
Spanish, 1746–1828
Portrait of the Marquesa de Santiago, 1804
Oil on canvas, 209.5 x 126.5 cm (82½" x 49¾"). Inscribed *La Marquesa de S^n Tiago/Goya 1804* on ground at right.
83.PA.12

COMMENTARY: Exhibited only once at the International Exhibition in Munich in 1892 (cat. no. 3345), this painting seems to have been inaccessible to scholars until its reemergence ninety years later. It is listed in all catalogues of Goya's works, but errors in the recording of the inscription suggest that it was not studied at first hand. Its critical history is further complicated by the apparent existence of two replicas or copies, one in the Tamames family (owners of the original in the early twentieth century) and another formerly belonging to Artemis International, London. In photographs one of these versions, which lacks the inscription, seems to have been occasionally mistaken for the original. The Getty portrait with the label from the 1892 exhibition on its stretcher is the original canvas.

The Marquesa de Santiago was described by an English visitor to Spain as

"very profligate and loose in her manners and conversation, and scarcely admitted into the female society.... She is immensely rich. Her husband is a well-bred man, a Navarrese." Goya's portrait of her husband, the Marques de San Adrian (Gudiol, no. 493) has dimensions and an inscription similar to those of the marquesa's portrait. The pair may have been conceived as pendants.

PROVENANCE: Duke of Tamames, Biarritz, by the nineteenth century; private collection, Switzerland, circa 1930; private owner and [Artemis International], by 1983.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: X. Desparmet Fitz-Gerald, *L'oeuvre peint de Goya: Catalogue raisonné* (Paris, 1928–1950), vol. 1, 36, and vol. 2, 180, no. 467, pl. 386; J. Gudiol, *Goya, 1746–1838: Biography, Analytical Study and Catalogue of His Paintings* (Barcelona, 1971), vol. 1, 142, 147, 314, no. 549, and vol. 4, 261, figs. 886, 888; Pierre Gassier and Juliet Wilson, *The Life and Complete Work of Francisco Goya* (New York, 1981), vol. 3, 253, 261, no. 879.

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